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BIOGRAPHY Vol. 27 2004

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PERSONAL EFFECTS: THE TESTIMONIAL USE OF LIFE WRITING

GUEST EDITORS

Cynthia Franklin

&

Laura E. Lyons

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ne 27 . number 1 . winter 2004

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EDITORS' INTRODUCTION

Cynthia Franklin and Laura E. Lyons
Bodies of Evidence and the Intricate Machines of Untruth v

Franklin and Lyons discuss how the essays and interviews in this volume evidence the important ways that the agency that witnesses to human rights abuses possess is both circumscribed by state institutions and ideologies, and asserted in the face of state violence, past and present. They also analyze two contexts not addressed within the special issue. In examining Argentinian Claudia Bernardi's artwork, pictured on the cover, they consider the connections between anthropological excavation of massacre sites and the forensic uses of human rights testimony in the public sphere. Concluding with a reading of Nancy Stohlman and Laurieann Aladin's *Live from Palestine,* Franklin and Lyons explore how this collection provides testimony to the horrors of the Occupation that speaks to both individual responses and collective resistance, demonstrating important possibilities for the testimonial uses of life writing.

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Kay Schaffer and Sidonie Smith
Conjunctions: Life Narratives in the Field of Human Rights 1

In the fifty years during which human rights have gained an international currency, personal narratives have become a potent vehicle for advancing human rights claims. This article considers the importance of storytelling within an emerging and increasingly fractured human rights discourse as the circulation and reception of stories result in unpredictable readings and outcomes that both make visible and also forestall new rights claimants, subjectivities, and futures.

Andrew S. Gross and Michael J. Hoffman
Memory, Authority, and Identity: Holocaust Studies in Light of the Wilkomirski Debate 25

Holocaust scholars often privilege survivor testimony by contrasting it with the more detached way history is traditionally studied. By communicating affect rather than fact through its gaps and inconsistencies, testimony's emotional intensity guarantees its authority. The scandal surrounding Binjamin Wilkomirski's *Fragments,* the false testimony of a troubled man, challenges trauma theory's tendency to identify with victims by showing that the

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author's trauma can be authentic even when his testimony is not. It is clear that Wilkomirski validated his personal suffering by attributing it to a broad human catastrophe. That such mistaken memory, or memory envy, could be so widely acclaimed challenges the ways we study and use the Holocaust within both American and American-Jewish culture.

Rosanne Kennedy
The Affective Work of Stolen Generations Testimony: From the Archives to the Classroom 48

Stolen Generations testimonies offer insights into the history, effects, and legacies of colonization in Australia—a history that is currently being contested in the public domain. In this essay, I analyze the ways in which these testimonies address audiences, and the ways in which listeners respond, taking my classroom as a particular site of reception. Based on an analysis of some of my students' responses, I suggest that Stolen Generations testimonies sometimes provoke non-Indigenous teachers and students to become aware of our own subject-positions as the inheritors of a post/colonial legacy, a consciousness that can potentially contribute to the reconciliation process in Australia.

Tikka Wilson
Racism, Moral Community, and Australian Aboriginal Autobiographical Testimony 78

From almost the first moment of colonization in 1788, British authorities sought to "civilize" Aboriginal Australians by separating Aboriginal children from their families. Racist discourse located Aboriginal people as not quite human Others who were outside moral community with white colonists. As excluded Others, Aboriginals were subject to treatment that would be deemed "criminal" if inflicted on persons located within the moral community. Autobiographical testimony by Aboriginal people separated from their families has been a significant political tool for undermining racialized moral exclusion. This article explores how Margaret Tucker's *If Anyone Cared* (1977) uses autobiography to challenge assumptions of white moral superiority, and to call white readers into moral community with Aboriginal speakers.

Wendy S. Hesford
Documenting Violations: Rhetorical Witnessing and the Spectacle of Distant Suffering 104

If one of the prominent rhetorical features in human rights documentaries is to create a rhetorical space of intersubjectivity—of bearing witness—how to account for ruptures in identification? Hesford explores the documentation of rape warfare and ethnic violence as human rights violations and the ethical challenges such representations pose for us as witnesses, and as scholars, teachers, and members of the international community.

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Sandra Young
Narrative and Healing in the Hearings of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission 145

The South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission generated the extraordinary hope that individual testimonies would bring about national catharsis. This article asks whether narrative structure, shaped by the language and rituals of the church, psychotherapy, and nation-building, encourages an orientation towards the future that sanctions forgetting as well as remembering.

Allen Feldman
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To enclave the human rights violation story at a primordial scene of violence is already to preselect the restorative powers of legal, medical, media, and textual rationalities as post-violent. Where violence is and is not positioned in the narrative of witness and the witnessing of narrative is the concern of this essay. I pose this question: Does the cultural intelligibility of the biographical and witnessing artifact depend on the violence of the signifier—by which I mean repressive authentication by various expert knowledge practices, truth-claiming procedures, and mass media circuits? And if so, how do we witness this particular violence?

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Juan Velasco

Automitografías: The Border Paradigm and Chicana/o Autobiography 313

For Chicana/o cultural critics, the border paradigm has defined the boundaries of writing and experience in contemporary Chicana/o autobiography, and has constituted a valuable contribution to American Studies. In fact, the unique voices coming from Chicana/o autobiography are expressed through a network of cultural codes involving liminality and hybridity, the rewriting of borders, and the challenging of boundaries created by mainstream cultures and official truth. Based on this deep relationship of border paradigm, Chicana/o experience, and the writing and representation of that experience, in this article I will discuss the possibility of building an organic and systematic methodology for studying autobiography.

Hosam Aboul-Ela

The Writer Becomes Text: Naguib Mahfouz and State Nationalism in Egypt 339

In October of 1994, Naguib Mahfouz, Egypt's respected octogenarian Nobel Laureate, fell victim to an assassination attempt outside his home in Cairo. The outpouring of support for the aging writer during his convalescence eventually evolved into a discourse that reflected the way the Egyptian State had been complicit all along in making the writer a symbol for the regime. Ultimately, the packaging of Mahfouz by the Egyptian government made him an embodiment of the exploited and powerless Third World intellectual in the era of globalization.

Michael Keren

National Icons and Personal Identities in Three Israeli Autobiographies 357

This analysis of autobiographies by three Israeli military and political leaders—Yigal Allon, Moshe Dayan, and Yitzhak Rabin—explores how the three men's status as national icons affected their life writing, and how the different ways in which they negotiated a compromise between the iconicity attributed to them in their youth and their identities as mature human beings affected some of their political attitudes, especially toward Arab-Israeli coexistence.

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Helga Meise
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Victoria A. Elmwood
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This essay considers *Maus* as a work that spans the genres of autobiography and collaborative biography, as Art Spiegelman negotiates the difficulties of heteropathic identification—most successfully with his father Vladek, and more problematically with his mother Anja and brother Richieu. In analyzing the ways that Spiegelman struggles to narrate an identity within a family for whose founding trauma he was absent, the essay also investigates the ways that he seeks to intervene in public debates on visual art of the Holocaust.

Frédéric Regard
Replacing the Self in Cardinal Newman's *Apologia* 721

This essay analyzes how Newman's *Apologia* seeks to articulate nineteenth-century conceptions of time through a canonical conception of prophetism, and how the question of private space is made into a national issue through Newman's narrative. The paper finally argues that Newman's technique of "replacement" deconstructs itself as a metaphorical process, which makes for the unique literariness of the *Apologia.*

Donna Krolik Hollenberg
"Obscure Directions": Interpreting Denise Levertov's Ambivalence about Ezra Pound 737

This essay documents Levertov's ambivalence about Ezra Pound as it appears in a variety of sources, both public and private. It explores the discovery of this ambivalence in Levertov's life and in her poetic development, particularly in relation to her ethnic identity and friendship with members of Pound's circle. It also discusses the biographer's problems in interpreting this documentary evidence in the light of such recognized psychological issues as empathy, idealization, and anger, issues particularly pertinent to the female biographer/subject relationship. The essay shows that, in writing about Levertov's ambivalence about Pound, the biographer undergoes a similar process of self-discovery, one that uncovers differences as well as points of imaginative congruity.

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BODIES OF EVIDENCE AND THE INTRICATE MACHINES OF UNTRUTH

CYNTHIA FRANKLIN AND LAURA E. LYONS

El Mozote, El Salvador, 1992: An assistant at an exhumation painstakingly removes dirt with small spoons, wipes away dust with a brush to reveal bone, the skeletal remains of one of nearly 300 people massacred at the site in 1981.

Berkeley, California, 1996: An artist applies layer upon layer of pure pigment onto paper, rolls the paper through a press, imprinting the color more deeply, then scratches through the color with a porcupine quill to incise human figures, fragments, and words.

These scenes are literally worlds apart, and yet both represent the work of Claudia Bernardi, an artist and a member of the Argentine Forensic Anthropology Team. For her, both activities are ways of attending to the dead, of making visible a violent history that has been covered over. Considered together, these different kinds of work—the excavation of victims of torture and murder, and the creation of art that testifies to both the lives those remains represent and the extremity of state violence—evoke the connections between bodies of evidence and the uses to which they are put. Both forms of work are intimately concerned with personal effects: the remains of human beings, the effects their stories have on others, the attempts to make their lives and deaths matter. The term "forensic" applies both to scientific and medical processes of determining causes of death and to argumentation—to persuasion in a public forum that turns on evidence. This special issue of *Biography*, "Personal Effects: The Testimonial Uses of Life Writing," investigates the articulations among the forums in which testimony to human rights abuses are given, the reception and dissemination of such testimony, and its effects on both those testifying and their audiences.

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Early on, we knew that we wanted an image by Claudia Bernardi for the cover, because her life and work so vividly set forth the concerns central to this special issue. Bernardi grew up in Buenos Aires during the country's "dirty little wars"; among her generation were the first of "los Desaparecidos" (the disappeared ones). Bernardi fled to Berkeley around 1980, where she now has a studio. Her sister, Patricia, was a founding member of the Argentine Forensic Anthropology Team, which has investigated mass grave sites throughout Central and Latin America. In October 1992, Claudia Bernardi joined her sister as an assistant in El Mozote, where eleven years earlier, over one thousand people in the district had been murdered by the Atlacatl Battalion, a US trained counter-insurgency Salvadoran army unit. Her sister's team had been asked to investigate the site by the United Nations Truth Commission. At the grave site in El Mozote where Claudia Bernardi worked, of the nearly 300 people murdered, 131 were children, with an average age of six. Bernardi has since participated in other exhumations, including one in El Peten, Guatemala, where the team uncovered 143 bodies, almost all children. This arduous work profoundly affected Bernardi and her art:

> I don't think anyone can be inside an exhumation and not undergo a transformation of one sort or the other. . . . We are not expected to be so close to death. The tools in an exhumation are brushes and spoons and maybe something a little larger, like a dustpan, but the whole exhumation is based on unearthing and touching the least as possible until the whole skeleton has been identified. The tools then are very gentle. It's just brush and spoon and collect and remove and in the artwork, it's the same: smaller brushes, but spoons and collect and move away and collect— (qtd. in Fleming)

Bernardi's artistic technique, fresco on paper, which she developed herself, echoes the archaeological process of uncovering, and resonates with the risky matter of testimony. In an artist's statement, Bernardi describes her method:

> I use pure pigments that are embedded in the paper by the pressure of a printing press. No binder, oil or medium is used in this process allowing the pigments to maintain their purest intensity. Each fresco on paper is the result of multiple runs through the press where layers of pure powdered pigments are pressed into wet paper. The coloration, often times, is a process of subtraction, a scraping away from the layers, a patient uncovering of colors reacting among themselves alchemically.

Linked to various forms of cancer, pure pigments are so toxic, and potentially volatile, that Bernardi must at times wear what is tantamount to a space suit to achieve the brilliance of color that is the hallmark of her work. The

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purity and intensity of the colors that Bernardi uses—and their danger and volatility—register the nearly blinding clarity that testimony can produce. And as the articles in this issue suggest, testimony can be blinding in yet another sense: it can be so visceral and bespeak such terror that it simply cannot be taken in, but requires the psychic equivalent of the protective clothing that Bernardi must don.

For Bernardi, her art not only evokes the process of exhumation but also gives expression to how the experience of witnessing such atrocities stretches "the membrane which divides lucidity from madness" (Godoy). Likening her art to the process of disinterment, she explains: "I scratch the surface of the piece identifying human figures that interact with the world of the hidden images. The pigments convey the essential 'materia prima'. The intensity and the fugitive condition of pigments, so fragile yet persistent, are metaphors of the elusiveness of life and the never ending determination of hope." Bernardi's work provides her with a form of expression, and also stands as testimony to the lives of "people who are amputated from their histories" (qtd. in Sussman). Finding a way out of the silence that for all too long has protected the state from its own violence is especially important to Bernardi. In order for the teams that she works with to have their findings taken seriously at both the local and international levels, they cannot participate in public discussions that address the particularities of their investigations. Her art, then, serves as a means to negotiate speech and silence, and to address the truths of what she has seen in a way that goes beyond the merely factual. Poised between fragility and resilience, beauty and horror, the known and unknown, the submerged and the revealed, the human and inhuman, her art captures the illusive qualities of memory, and conjoins the witness with the Disappeared, who remain only in their personal effects, however fragmentary. As Bernardi insists, "My intention goes beyond political criticism. It is a way of retaining the communal memories of the survivors."

This volume's cover image, "The Intricate Machine of Untruth" (1996), eerily evokes the personal effects that persist in the face of state violence. This picture is bordered on the left and right by a cloudy blood red that seeps into the middle of the picture, where the figure of a woman has been revealed through layers of a dust-like pigment. Her body is partially decomposed, her legs bone, her face and breasts flesh. This oddly tender image constitutes a form of mourning. The woman's partial presence refuses the line between the living and the dead, and also the dehumanizing distance that almost inevitably accompanies our confrontation with a massacre. Bernardi visually re-members the dead, reanimates their personal effects. In testifying to scenes of horror, Bernardi resists a therapeutic model, the goal of which is

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healing. Indeed, she resolutely refuses the closure implied by healing: "It has dangerous ramifications because from certain things there is no healing possible. . . . I know where the wound is, and I don't want to forget it, to make it less" (Godoy). Instead, her art stands as an unofficial form of remembrance. Its beauty is not in the service of aestheticizing suffering; rather, as Bernardi asserts, "Finding this beauty is itself an act of resistance" (Godoy).

"The Intricate Machine of Untruth" stages the difficulty of uncovering truths that have been long buried. Looking at the picture, the viewer must strain to make out what appears to the woman's right, but what is there cannot be fully determined. Neither does the fresco's title allow us to discern what we are looking at. Together, however, Bernardi's title and image conjure the state's machinations, first to conceal and deny the massacre of its citizens, and then to instrumentalize acts of truth-telling by fashioning forums constructed to contain the effects of those truths. Attention to Bernardi's work and its conditions of production illuminate the need for an expansive understanding of "personal effects," "testimony," and "life writing."

TOWARDS AN ARCHEOLOGY OF "PERSONAL EFFECTS"

In choosing as our title "Personal Effects: The Testimonial Uses of Life Writing," we wish to focus on how the "personal" aspects of testimony not only affect individuals (those telling the stories as well as those hearing them), but also how they contribute to structural or societal change. We also are interested in "personal effects" because sometimes it is only testimony that is left behind. "Personal effects" refers to the belongings of the dead, and testimony constitutes a narrative remainder. In the context of struggles against human rights abuses, often what remains of victims are the stories that can be told about their work, their relationships, and what is known of their end. Human rights testimony reveals complex stories. In narrating what has happened, the witness regularly articulates her politics, her personal relationships, and losses that not just she but families and whole communities have suffered. In so doing, testimony demonstrates how politics infuses the most personal aspects of people's lives—how it enters into their most intimate relationships.

A consideration of the testimonial uses of life writing is critical as we enter the twenty-first century. Human rights abuses are on the rise in sites old and new (Israel/Palestine, Iraq, Afghanistan, Colombia, and the United States, to name but a few). The late twentieth-century saw a resurgence in genocidal violence along ethnic lines. At the same time, there have been attempts to come to terms with histories of violence through the creation of new political structures in parts of the world with long-standing conflicts.

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Some of these projects, such as the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa, or the Australian National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children from their Families, have been centralized and administered through the government. Other efforts, such as those in Northern Ireland or in US communities of color, have been more ad hoc and "unofficial." These different arenas have generated new narratives and forums for publicly telling stories of political persecution and personal survival.[1]

The emergence of new testimonial forms has fuelled and helped refashion the burgeoning field of life writing. Such stories and the forums for telling them have contributed to the transformation of autobiography studies into life writing studies. Starting from the late 1980s, as Latin American *testimonio* increasingly became a visible and contested part of university curricula, autobiography studies was redefined as "life writing," in order to accommodate these and other genres for telling a life story. Testimonial genres have provided particularly important insights into the connections between individual stories and collective bodies. They remind us that telling one's story can be first and foremost a profoundly political act, rather than primarily one of self-expression and self-making.[2] In an essay that serves as a foundation for this volume, "Conjunctions: Life Narratives in the Field of Human Rights," Kay Schaffer and Sidonie Smith provide a comprehensive historical overview of the development of human rights struggles in relation to life writing.

In the west, human rights abuses are most often represented through attention to individuals. Even organizations like Amnesty International find it useful to organize their campaigns by highlighting the case of a particular individual whose story might generate enough interest and concern to instigate forms of intervention. Similarly, political movements are often understood in relation to their leaders (for example, Nelson Mandela or Yasar Arafat) or to individual victims whose stories receive international attention (for example, Rachel Corrie or Mumia Abul Jamal). These individuals come to embody or singularly represent nations, movements, or specific human rights abuses. People who achieve representative status regularly use their words in rhetorically shrewd ways, and often in ways that challenge divisions between the individual and the collective.

The genres in which, following on Barbara Harlow's formulation, human rights are written to right human wrongs are multiple (256). Contributors to this volume explore a range of testimonial genres: oral testimonies, written autobiographies, interviews, film documentaries, photographs, popular music, native dance, anecdotes, slave narratives, petitions, and government

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documents. Despite the fact that slave narrative, in addition to *testimonio*, was one of the genres that opened up the field of life writing, the essays in this volume have a largely contemporary focus. In our interview with her on the testimonial uses of life writing in Hawai'i, "Land, Leadership, and Nation," Haunani-Kay Trask discusses the 1897 petitions against the annexation of Hawai'i. Her insightful analysis points to how historical instances of giving testimony are foundational to contemporary political struggles.

In addition to the interview with Trask, this volume also features our interview with Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak. These interviews constitute a way to include those who, although not necessarily associated with or invested in the field of life writing, have much to contribute to it. Their work, regardless of the differences in their orientation, invites a reconsideration of "testimony" and human rights. Not only do Trask and Spivak explore concerns relevant to life writing, but in the process, they also discuss their own personal histories and how stories about them as individuals have been used by others. Interestingly, both women have been asked repeatedly to write their autobiographies, and both have refused. These interviews serve as commentary *and* oral history. The interviews occupy a middle space between the written and the oral. In this way, they share much with other forms of testimony examined in a number of the essays included here.

Addressing a range of human rights testimony necessarily requires an interdisciplinary approach and an attention to the political geographies of specific nations. Such interdisciplinarity is reflected in the wide range of fields of study from which contributors to this volume come: Anthropology, Communications, English, Hawaiian Studies, Jewish Studies, Social Inquiry, and Women's Studies. The contributors also write from a number of geographical locations (Australia, Germany, Hawai'i, South Africa, the continental US), and consider a number of national frameworks: Australia, Bosnia, Hawai'i, India, South Africa, the United States. Even for essays concerned with particular kinds of human rights abuses (for example, Wendy S. Hesford's work on rape warfare, or Tikka Wilson and Rosanne Kennedy's essays on forced separation of parents and children), those forms of abuse are understood within specific national frameworks. Three of the essays—those by Andrew S. Gross and Michael J. Hoffman, Wendy S. Hesford, and Allen Feldman—address the transnational reception and dissemination of texts without foregoing attention to the effects these texts have in different national contexts.

For us, it was especially important to include work on Hawai'i, a site of ongoing anticolonial struggle, as the offices of *Biography*, and the University of Hawai'i classrooms in which we teach, sit on ceded lands.[3] Native Hawaiians' struggles at the national and international levels for never-relinquished

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land and sovereignty make Hawai'i a rich site for considering how life stories and testimony come together. At the same time as testimonial uses of life writing are everywhere in evidence, those best positioned to write about this are, by and large, immersed in other scholarly projects and in on-the-ground struggle, so that submission to a *Biography* issue might be less than pressing. For this reason, we were particularly pleased that Haunani-Kay Trask, a leading scholar in Hawaiian Studies, with a long-standing history in the contemporary sovereignty movement, was willing to grant us an interview.

The photographs by Ed Greevy and Wayne Levin that accompany this interview themselves testify to both the legacy of state violence and Native Hawaiians' struggles against it discussed by Trask.[4] Greevy is known for his long-standing and sympathetic documentation of the sovereignty movement. His photograph that begins the interview was taken at 'Iolani Palace during the 100th Anniversary Commemoration of the 1898 Annexation of Hawai'i. We selected this photograph of a poster board display chronicling Hawaiian history from a Hawaiian point of view because it testifies to necessary forms of protest that, although not dramatic, nonetheless demonstrate the everyday work of marking and disseminating the history leading up to an event such as this commemoration. An example of history in the making, this display—and Greevy's photograph of it—becomes part of the very history of resistance that it documents. By contrast, Wayne Levin's photograph of US army tanks along the Saddle Road of the Big Island exposes a form of colonial violence that depends upon an absence of witnesses. The eerie quality of the photograph comes from the way in which the only visible human presence—the soldiers—appear as an undifferentiated part of the military machinery that obscenely cuts across the otherwise serene landscape. This image not only illustrates Trask's closing point about the transformative power of visual testimony; but like the work of the other contributors to this special issue, it also powerfully exposes one of the many theatres of state violence. Levin's photograph closes the volume with the reminder that the US has its own ongoing history of state violence, one that cannot be relegated to the past tense.

We have attempted to organize this volume so that contributions build on, and in some cases, provide commentary on one another. Indeed, Allen Feldman's essay, "Memory Theatres, Virtual Witnessing, and the Trauma-Aesthetic," was initially commissioned as an afterword. Now an essay that stands on its own, it also references each of the essays that precede it to foreground their points of connection and common concerns. The essay by Schaffer and Smith provides a crucial groundwork for understanding the history and scope of human rights narratives. The next article, by Gross and Hoffman, "Memory, Authority and Identity: Holocaust Studies in Light of

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the Wilkomirski Debate," is foundational in another way, since narratives about the Holocaust too often serve as "ur-texts" for understanding trauma and testimony. Their article importantly intervenes in discussions of the authenticity and affective work of testimony within Holocaust Studies. When placed in dialogue with the essays that follow, the limitations of understanding testimony to other human rights abuses through the paradigm of the Holocaust become evident. As subsequent essays take up other, and sometimes lesser known, cases of human rights abuses, they show how the related issues of empathy and identification are differently articulated in other contexts. In the essays and the interviews that follow Gross and Hoffman, contributors raise a number of intersecting questions and concerns.

Issues of empathy and identification come up in every contribution to this volume, albeit from different angles. Gross and Hoffman, like Trask, issue pointed critiques of the excesses of empathy, which can serve to erase history, and for Trask, stand in the place of material reparations. Spivak, especially, voices suspicions of the uses to which empathy can be put, and like Trask, insists that individuals look at their structural relationships, not merely their personal ones, to human rights violations. In contrast, Hesford, Kennedy, and Wilson are concerned with the potential for empathic identification to raise consciousness, create solidarity, and initiate political change. Wilson, for example, in "Racism, Moral Community, and Australian Aboriginal Autobiographical Testimony," analyzes Margaret Tucker's *If Anyone Cared* as a vehicle for calling white readers into moral community with Aboriginal speakers.

The issue of therapeutic healing and its relationship to structural change or containment interests a number of contributors. As Feldman notes, "These essays are thus concerned that the modes of publicness and consumption through which these biographies pass will simulate a cathartic affect that too easily transcends the violence described, as the biography is inlaid into a juridical or therapeutic resolution" (164). Gross and Hoffman offer serious challenges to theories of trauma and to the uses to which the Holocaust is put, both for Jewish studies scholars and in US culture more broadly. In a consideration of the Wilkomirski case, this essay profoundly questions both reigning theories of trauma by Shoshana Felman and Dori Laub, and also popular ideas about the unrepresentability of the Shoah. To provide another example, Sandra Young's essay, "Narrative and Healing in the Hearings of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission," takes up questions raised by Schaffer and Smith that pertain to the possibilities and limitations of therapeutic models for testimonial. In a complex analysis of the TRC, Young exposes the limitations of mapping a therapeutic, and particularly Christian, model of healing onto a nation in transition, while at the same

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time acknowledging the necessary work that the testimony from the TRC accomplishes, both for those testifying and for those listening.

Along with other contributors, Young points to the incommensurable difference between state-sponsored programs for reconciliation or even material reparations and justice. Spivak argues that forums like the TRC, with their philosophical underpinnings tied to the role of Christian confessional narrative, represent "a literalization of a Christian model" that is then transposed "onto the socius"; she nevertheless firmly asserts that "The first duty is to endorse the work of human rights commissions, truth commissions, reconciliation commissions" (205, 206). Trask links the theological concept of "cheap grace" to forms of reconciliation or apologies that are unaccompanied by actions to better the actual circumstances of the aggrieved (242). Feldman suggests an alternative way of looking at reconciliation projects. For example, he sees a syncretic framework for the work of the TRC, noting in addition to its Christian elements, how an "Africanization of remembrance" structured the hearings (175). Moreover, he argues that reconciliation itself was conceived not as cathartic resolution, but as "reconciling experiences and historical facts that had been silenced and distorted by state secrecy and propaganda" (179).

Kennedy, Hesford, and Feldman all direct our attention to the performative aspects of giving testimony, as well as to the packaging and consumption of that testimony. In "The Affective Work of Stolen Generations Testimony: From the Archives to the Classroom," Kennedy explores the performative and pedagogical uses of testimony from Aboriginals who, as children, were forcibly separated from their parents by the Australian government. In her account of a classroom visit by a woman who had been removed, Kennedy explores how the woman's staging of the seating in the room led students to reflect—with productive discomfort—upon their own racialized positions vis-à-vis the history of removal. From a different angle, Hesford addresses the dangers of identification and consumption of the spectacle of violence. In her essay "Documenting Violations: Rhetorical Witnessing and the Spectacle of Distant Suffering," she primarily analyzes representations of Bosnian rape warfare, and argues for the need "to reconfigure rhetorical listening and witnessing in ethical terms, which entails recognition of the ongoing state of and need for the call to action" (130). In his discussion of "memory theaters," Feldman exposes the media's propensity to create a commodified spectacle out of the TRC hearings. In contrast, he looks at other "theaters" that are at work; for example, scenes of intense communal mourning, not cathartic healing, that followed the Commission's exhumation of bodies of victims of Apartheid violence. He warns that

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although legal and therapeutic discourse and media publicity may place the victim center stage in the historical process, "this installation will not disinstall violence from history" (196). He worries that the assumed normative and restorative values of such discourses ultimately posit a present that is somehow "post-violent"—historically marked off from a violent past.

In their various approaches to life writing and human rights testimony, all of the essays in this volume are bound up with questions of agency. As in Bernardi's image of the body, the pieces in "Personal Effects" evidence the important ways that the agency witnesses possess is both circumscribed by state institutions and ideologies, and asserted in the face of state violence, past and present. In the last section of our introduction, we turn to *Live from Palestine* to bring into consideration a discussion of Palestine, and to explore how this collection demonstrates important possibilities for the testimonial uses of life writing.

"PERSONAL EFFECTS," DIRECT ACTION, AND INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY IN *LIVE FROM PALESTINE*

Although a number of important national contexts are not represented in this volume—for example, Afghanistan, Iraq, and the experiences of those in Latin America and throughout the African subcontinent—we especially regret the lack of attention to Palestine. This absence reflects an aporia in public discourse. Representations of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict are notoriously one-sided. The history of Palestinian dispossession, the appalling conditions under which Palestinians live today, and the deterioration of their situation since September 11, 2001, remain only minimally represented in the dominant US culture. Indeed, Palestinians are most often represented through the endless repetition of images of suicide bombers.[5]

As a multifocused and collectively authored text, the 2003 collection *Live from Palestine: International and Palestinian Direct Action Against the Israeli Occupation* not only provides much needed alternative information on Palestine, but also demonstrates that Palestinians have many articulate advocates on a range of issues related to the Occupation. Coedited by Nancy Stohlman and Laurieann Aladin, this collection provides a model for bringing together analysis and testimony to the horrors of the Occupation that speaks to both individual responses and collective resistance.

The volume includes a range of contributors: Palestinians, Palestinian Americans, American and Israeli Jews, and other Americans and Europeans. While all of the contributors are opposed to Israel's repressive campaign against Palestinians, they nonetheless have different positions on issues related

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to violence, for example, or the Palestinian leadership, or even the two- versus one-state solution. Contributors range from internationally known activists and scholars like Noam Chomsky and Edward Said, to Palestinian leaders like Hanan Mikhail-Ashrawi and Mustafa Barghouthi, to "everyday" Palestinians and US citizens active in solidarity work. Differences in status among contributors are not highlighted. For example, a contribution by internationally recognized human rights worker Kathy Kelly, twice nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize, falls between contributions by less known activists Brian Wood and Ida Auduh. Without leveling differences among contributors, the volume's arrangement of its various contributors represents all engagements as meaningful. As a result, readers encountering *Live from Palestine* are invited to believe that the editors refuse to draw lines around militancy, and instead insist that "direct action" takes many forms, all of which have their importance. Moreover, readers learn that they can participate, insofar as direct action requires primarily conscience and will.

The volume's organization insists upon the primacy of Palestinian accounts of life under the Israeli regime and resistance to the Occupation. The volume opens with maps and a brief history. The maps graphically illustrate Palestine as an occupied territory; indeed, a map detailing "The Separation Wall," with all its twists and turns, serves as horrifying evidence of the extent and reach of Israel's containment policies, and the ways that such a divider must inevitably and aggressively encroach on Palestinian land and lives. Together the maps and the history provide a means to educate readers quickly and incisively, to orient them to the geography and politics of the conflict, and to provide a context for the accounts that follow.

The first main section, "Dignity Under Occupation," features Palestinian accounts of life in both Israel and areas under the control of the Palestinian Authority. By putting this section first, the editors highlight and privilege the Palestinian people, who all too often are erased. Although this volume demonstrates the valuable work of Jewish individuals and groups, it does so without undermining Palestinian agency or compromising the principle of self-determination. The next section, "Catalyst For Change," which features analysis primarily by Palestinians and Palestinian Americans, includes an interview with Huwaida Arraf and Adam Shapiro that underlines the importance of Palestinian-led movements for justice in the region. In the headnote, Arraf and Shapiro are identified as "a Palestinian American and Jewish American couple" known as "informal spokespeople" for the International Solidarity Movement (ISM) (67). Their partnership is not represented as a model for Arab-Jewish harmony. Rather, their answers in the interview demonstrate that their political commitments provide the basis for

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their ability to act together. Their "partnership" is based on the shared belief in the primacy of Palestinian self-determination. As Arraf makes clear—and Shapiro later reinforces—the ISM must be led by Palestinians "because Palestinians have so long been cheated by the word 'peace,' which hasn't meant justice for Palestinians" (70).

The final two sections, "Through Our Eyes" and "Solidarity Movements," admit contributors with more "outsider" perspectives. Thus, the volume moves from witnessing that takes place from the most inside perspective to ones that come from those only temporarily in the area. These sections include statements from collective action organizations, and eyewitness accounts of everyday life under occupation. The last piece, by Hanan Mikhail-Ashrawi, lays out the role that the US should play to bring about a just end to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. An extensive resource guide concludes the volume, inviting readers to continue to be informed through alternative news outlets, as well as to become involved in one of the many organizations supporting the Palestinian people.

The variety and mix of genres included in *Live from Palestine*—diaries, emails, journal entries, phone interviews, essays, statements, eyewitness accounts, photographs, maps—combine to provide a range of representations of the Occupied Territories, and to give a collective context of resistance for individual accounts. For example, Edward Said's analysis of the "new secular nationalist current emerging among the Palestinians" (55) works in tandem with descriptions of the conditions of daily degradation under which Palestinians are forced to live. Thus, although the book includes structural analysis, it does not privilege such writing over more immediate, first person accounts.

Indeed, the provisional qualities of many of the entries convey the immediacy and urgency of the situation, as well as the need to document what is happening as it occurs. This on-the-go quality captures the need to produce and disseminate testimony and analysis about events that, like the decimation of Jenin, are continuously unfolding, but which are not being officially recorded. For example, we read of interviews with ISM or other human rights workers that take place in hotels under siege and under the pressure of dying cell phone batteries. These eyewitness accounts are resolutely unaestheticized. While they are often quite arresting, there is no sense that they have been crafted to produce their effects. In "A Day in Palestinian Hell," Abdel Fattah Abu-Srour narrates the daily but intolerable navigations through checkpoints that make going to work often an impossibility. His piece concludes, "Lying in bed, I think, 'Will I be able to go to work tomorrow or not? And if I get through the checkpoint, will I be able to return home, or will I

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be stuck in Bethlehem for days again?' I just remembered that I didn't repair the water containers for my parents" (31). Allowing for no sense of closure, these accounts underline the ongoing nature of crisis. The title *Live from Palestine* foregrounds this sense of emergency; it emphasizes the lives that must find ways of going on in the face of utter dehumanization, as well as the sense of reporting on the ground. The pieces and the volume, like the conflict itself, exist *in media res.*

The volume's emphasis on the arduous effort even the most basic daily tasks require in the Occupied Territories provides to readers details recognizable and concrete enough to grasp and to use as points of comparison. While the volume does not allow readers any facile identification with Palestinian contributors, it does offer a glimpse into the horror and trauma that attend even the most mundane activities. As Rachel Corrie, the ISM volunteer who was killed by the Israeli army on March 16, 2003, notes in an email home: "Nobody in my family has been shot, driving in their car, by a rocket launcher from a tower at the end of a major street in my hometown" (170). Her insistent evocation of the similarities and differences between life in the Occupied Territories and in Olympia, Washington, calls for recognition of the Palestinians' humanity without allowing for an easy identification. Her email corroborates Palestinian accounts about the impossibility of getting to work or school. Inviting emotional engagement and even limited points of identification that paradoxically bring home to readers the unimaginability of life under Occupation, pieces by Palestinians and witness observers living in the Occupied Territories testify to the struggles and triumphs of everyday life.

Throughout the volume, the most ordinary activities become sites of trauma. Describing trauma, however, serves not so much as catharsis in this volume, but rather as testimony to that which cannot and should not be endured. In "Ravaged Childhood: Journal Excerpts from Médecins Sans Frontières, Paris," psychologists from Doctors Without Borders describe their visits to children suffering from psychic trauma induced by having been shot or having witnessed the destruction of their homes by the Israeli military. The forms of trauma that the children experience suggest the inseparability of physical and psychological violence. The doctors do not represent their conversations with the children as providing long-term therapeutic effects. The stories instead serve to expose conditions from which there is no easy recovery—they testify to forms of violence that must be stopped.

Live from Palestine is a call to action. It produces an empathetic identification that insistently asks the reader to do something other than feel guilt or sympathy. In our introduction, we have outlined how some contributors to

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"Personal Effects" issue important critiques of the political uses of empathy and identification. Yet *Live from Palestine* offers a particularly strong example of how empathy can be politically enabling. We want to focus on its inclusion of Rachel Corrie's email letters to her parents and friends to suggest how *Live from Palestine* provides a powerful model for the possible uses of empathy.

A twenty-two-year-old student from Evergreen College in Olympia, Washington, Rachel Corrie lived in the Occupied Territories for approximately two months before her death on March 16, 2003. Despite the fact that she was wearing a bright orange vest to make her visible, she was killed while attempting to prevent a military bulldozer from razing a Palestinian home. An Israeli military investigation cleared the demolition crew of any responsibility, and the driver returned to work in less than a month. Before (and especially after) her death, Corrie's email circulated on the internet, and was, in fact, addressed to a wider readership as well as to family and friends.

Her death exposes the ferocity and scope of state violence in the Occupied Territories. For people in the US who feel that they have the luxury to ignore or be untouched by the effects of a deadly foreign policy directly supported by the US, Corrie's story, and her belief in her own protection and agency, serve as a poignant example that governments do not formulate their policies based upon concern for individual lives, even American ones. Rachel Corrie's death sadly (if unsurprisingly) prompted neither George Bush nor Ariel Sharon to reconsider their policies. Although Corrie's story has not led the US government to change its position in regards to the Israeli-Palestinian situation, it has served and will continue to play an important role in mobilizing people throughout the world to oppose political support for Israeli policies. This is perhaps particularly the case for US citizens, whose tax dollars aid Israel, enabling it to buy thirty-foot tall bulldozers (like the one that killed Corrie) manufactured in the US by Caterpillar, Inc.

Reading "Rachel's Reports" now, what stands out is the discrepancy between her belief that her privilege as a white US citizen would protect her, and our knowledge as readers that it did not. Describing the realities of the Occupation, Corrie writes, "You just can't imagine it unless you see it—and even then you are always well aware that your experience of it is not at all the reality: what with the difficulties the Israeli army would face if they shot an unarmed US citizen, and with the fact that I have money to buy water when the army destroys wells . . . " (170). Here, as throughout her emails, Corrie insists upon the privilege that not only distinguishes her experiences of the Occupation from the Palestinians', but that prevents her from fully understanding its material and psychic effects. Whereas Corrie for the most part expresses a belief in the protections her status as a white American affords

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her, the occasional insertion of a subjunctive clause disrupts this certainty. She writes to her mother, "if the Israeli military should break with their racist tendency not to injure white people, please pin the reason squarely on the fact that I am in the midst of a genocide that I am also indirectly supporting, and for which my government is largely responsible" (174). Here, Corrie articulates her awareness that in a genocidal situation, all bets are off. There is an uncanny quality to Corrie's formulation, in that even as being a white American protects her, it is American imperialism that also endangers her.

For Corrie, part of holding the US accountable for its role in the region involves her in asking her readers to question the identification of Palestinians with representations of "terrorism." She writes to her mother, and presumably to the many others who condemn Palestinian violence, "I thought a lot about what you said on the phone about Palestinian violence not helping the situation" (172). In response, Corrie details how only 600 of 60,000 people in Rafah now can work in Israel, and how the formerly 40-minute drive to Israel now takes 12 hours, if it can be made at all. She also enumerates how all sources of economic growth have been destroyed in Rafah, along with 600 homes, since the beginning of the current Intifada, and states, "I think it is official now that Rafah is the poorest place in the world" (172). Having amassed this body of evidence, she concludes with a question:

> If any of us had our lives and welfare completely strangled, lived with children in a shrinking place where we knew, from previous experience, that soldiers and tanks and bulldozers could come for us at any moment and destroy all the greenhouses that we had been cultivating for however long, and did this while some of us were beaten and held captive with 149 other people for several hours—don't you think we might try to use somewhat violent means to protect whatever fragments remained? . . . I really think, in a similar situation, most people would defend themselves as best they could. (173)

With this rhetorical question, rather than deny Palestinian use of violence, what Corrie does is to refuse stereotypes of terrorism and to bring home to readers that such violence is a *human* response to extreme dehumanization, even genocide. After enumerating the military, economic, and ideological warfare against the Palestinian people, Corrie states, "So I think when all means of survival are cut off in a pen (Gaza) that people cannot get out of, I think that qualifies as genocide" (173–74). Again and again, in the face of genocidal practices, it is the humanity and resilience of the Palestinian people that Corrie finds remarkable: "I am discovering a basic ability for humans

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to remain human in the direst of circumstances—I think the word is dignity" (175).

Corrie's call is not simply for transformed consciousness or recognition of Palestinian humanity, but rather that people reading her reports engage in some form of activism. She does not prescribe what form this should take, nor does she assume her own actions are the most effective. In an email to her father, Corrie says, "Thanks also for stepping up your anti-war work. I know it is not easy to do, and probably much more difficult where you are than where I am" (175). In her analysis, she recognizes the broader political effects that the war against Iraq holds: "If anyone isn't already thinking about the consequences of this war for the people of the entire region, then I hope you will start" (171). Although she values all kinds of activism, Corrie increasingly understands what an enormous effort it would take to stem the tide of violence in the Middle East. She concludes, "I think it is a good idea for all of us to drop everything and devote our lives to making this stop. I don't think it's an extremist thing to do anymore" (174). Here, she marks how being in the Occupied Territories has further politicized her. "Rachel's Reports," and *Live from Palestine* more generally, speak to how absolutely necessary travel to this area is in order for accounts to get out, and how deeply committed many people are to effecting change for the Palestinian people.

One of the insights we take away from *Live from Palestine* is how testimony can be framed to preserve witnesses' political commitments without undermining them; in addition, the collection presents the affective qualities of the testimony without cheapening it with sentimentality. *Live from Palestine* attempts neither to exaggerate testimony's affective qualities, nor to defuse them.

Contributors to "Personal Effects: The Testimonial Uses of Life Writing" have pointed to the problems of taking the rawness, clarity, and power of testimony, and through institutional frameworks such as the TRC, working to blunt or contain its pain and rage, to consign these emotions and a history of violence to a past conceived of as "over and done with." Narratives that testify to the violence of human rights abuses have the power literally to explode, unleashing still more violence. Institutionalizing such testimonies often represents the state's response to confronting its own violent history. Contributors to this volume expose the mechanisms by which the state attempts to "decommission" human rights testimony, to deactivate both its personal and political effects, while also recognizing that however carefully orchestrated or framed, the personal and political effects of testimony cannot be predicted or controlled. Just as Claudia Bernardi works "within the dust of pigments, where the alchemy of colors reveal the story" (qtd. in Sussman),

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so does testimony to human rights abuses scrape away at the sediments of official history to reveal a different body of evidence, one with the potential not just to change the historical record but also to dismantle the state's intricate machines of untruth.

NOTES:

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1. For accounts of the effectiveness of truth commissions located within countries with a history of state violence and human rights abuses, see Rolston; this volume is particularly noteworthy for its inclusion of participants from truth processes, both lawyers and those giving testimony.
2. See Bose for an account of how different modalities of individualism can articulate with both colonial and resistance organizations.
3. After the overthrow of the Kingdom in 1893, the Republic of Hawai'i, under Sanford B. Dole, claimed title to the Kingdom's crown lands, and then subsequently ceded these same lands to the United States at the time of the 1898 annexation. The United States continued to claim property title to the lands, and in 1959, the new State of Hawai'i was given beneficial title to them.
4. The process of tracking down photographs to accompany the Trask interview could be the subject of a whole essay on both the power of visual testimony and the fallibility of memory. Along with several other people who helped us in our search, we remembered specific images of the last ten years that we believed had circulated widely. And yet, despite the ways in which these visual pictures haunted all of our memories, albeit sometimes with differences in detail, they proved maddeningly elusive. This experience taught us that visual images have a strong afterlife, that their effects can linger and become part of an archive that is neither purely personal nor entirely public.
5. Responses to the death of Edward Said demonstrated the extent of the hostility to, and willed ignorance of, the Palestinian situation. The backlash that regularly hounded this "Professor of Terror" or, ironically, "Arafat's man," reveals the dangers of how, in our culture, individuals come to stand in for entire movements or peoples. With Said's death, a crucial voice in the US to expose human rights horrors and to demand US and Israeli accountability has been lost.

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CONJUNCTIONS: LIFE NARRATIVES IN THE FIELD OF HUMAN RIGHTS

KAY SCHAFFER AND SIDONIE SMITH

The last decades of the twentieth century witnessed the unprecedented rise in genres of life writing, narratives published primarily in the West[1] but circulated widely around the globe. This "memoir boom" has certainly occurred in English-speaking countries, from Australia to Jamaica, from England to South Africa, and in European countries, especially France and Germany.[2] However, there has been a relative boom in personal narratives coming from elsewhere in the world as well. In many global locations, in post-Maoist China and Latin America, in North Africa and the Philippines, in Northern and Eastern Europe, life narratives have been told, transcribed, published, and translated, gaining both local and international audiences.

This rise in the popularity of published life narratives has taken place in the midst of global transformations, both cataclysmic and gradual, that have occurred in the decades since the end of World War II: a succession of wars of prolonged and short duration; repeated instances of mass genocide in Cambodia, Rwanda, Bosnia, and elsewhere; violent and nonviolent decolonization movements in South America and Africa; the intensification and dissipation of the Cold War in Europe; mass migrations of peoples; and the speed of change and the fragmentation of contemporary life. These geopolitical and temporal transformations form not so much a backdrop, but rather a fractured web of intersecting geographic, historical, and cultural contingencies out of which personal narratives have emerged and within which they are produced, received, and circulated. These global transformations have spurred developments in the field of human rights as well, developments that demand, for their recognition in the international community, multiple forms of remembrance of and witnessing to abuse.

To situate the contemporary interest in life narratives in the field of human rights, it is necessary to recall briefly the origins of the Universal

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Declaration of Human Rights in the contentious and passionate debates of the mid-twentieth century. At the end of World War II, the incontrovertible evidence of the violence unleashed in the Japanese and German war efforts and of Nazi mass killings created an international climate of moral indignation. As this moral indignation attached itself to the modernist values and principles of the victors, the international community renewed its commitment to a "United Nations" of peoples dedicated to the pursuit of peace and the protection of human rights. In relatively swift succession came the signing of the Charter of the United Nations in 1945, the Nuremberg and Tokyo war crimes trials in 1945–46 and 1946–48 respectively, and the ratification by the United Nations of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948. The Nuremberg trials in particular issued a call to the world community to remember crimes against humanity. As an expression of ideals, the Universal Declaration became the point of origin binding an international community together in service to a more just future.

Debates about, refinements of, and votes on the Universal Declaration and its accompanying Covenants—one on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and a second on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR)—took place in the two decades following 1948 through movements of decolonization and Cold War politics. Whether violent or relatively peaceful, movements of national liberation from colonial rule, founded on the right to the self-determination of peoples laid out in the ICCPR, involved complex negotiations, by states, communities, and individuals, of the psychological, political, economic, and cultural legacies of a colonial past that had to be remembered, made, and remade for the sake of national futures. For its part, the Cold War effectively remapped the globe through spheres of influence that displaced earlier spheres of colonialism. Cold War politics also sparked contentious debates within the United Nations about the nature of rights, particularly the relative priority of "negative" rights that protect individuals from the state and "positive" rights that pertain to aspirational goals and an enabling standard of living that might extend human dignity and freedom for everyone.

In the aftermath of the processes of decolonization movements and Cold War *realpolitik,* over sixty human rights treaties, declarations, and Conventions have come into effect to address specific rights. For the last fifty years, differences in philosophical perspectives related to negative, positive, and group rights, as well as disagreements about appropriate interventions and modes of redress, have been rehearsed in local, national, and international venues. Campaigns have ensued. Conventions and Declarations have taken shape after heated negotiations. The reach of rights discourse has extended

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beyond the institutional settings of the United Nations and the official bodies of nation-states responding to rights initiatives to formal NGO networks and informal meshworks of advocacy—the dense and nonhierarchical flows of connections among groups and peoples working on behalf of human rights that transcend national boundaries (Harcourt). Within these global information flows, the very meaning of a human right, and the foundational assumptions supporting it, have been challenged, critiqued, and redefined. At the heart of these debates, voices of dissent have prompted ongoing critiques of human rights discourse, frameworks, and mechanisms for implementation.

RIGHTS AND STORIES

By the last decades of the century, the modernist language of rights had become a *lingua franca* for extending—sometimes explicitly, sometimes implicitly—the reach of human rights norms, not everywhere, but across an increasingly broad swath of the globe. Post-World War II struggles for national self-determination and equality for women, indigenous peoples, and minorities within nation-states led to the rise of local and transnational political movements and affiliations—movements for Black and Chicano civil rights, women's rights, gay rights, workers' rights, refugee rights, disability rights, and indigenous rights among them—all of which have created new contexts and motivations for pursuing personal protections under international law. In each instance, personal storytelling motivated the rights movement. These collective movements have gained momentum and clarified agendas for action through attachment to the goals of the Universal Declaration and attendant discourses, events, and mechanisms. The collective movements have also argued for new claims, pressing for reinterpretations of rights frameworks, and lobbying for Covenants and Declarations that expand the kinds of rights that require recognition and protection.

In the 1960s, group action and advocacy led to the adoption of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (1969). In the 1970s, women's and feminist activism led to the adoption of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (1981). In the 1990s, trade union and indigenous advocacy led to the adoption of the International Labor Organization Convention 169 concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples (1991) and the Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People (1993). Together, these latter two instruments, if and where ratified, could significantly alter the parameters of rights discourse in that they acknowledge and support group rather than individual rights, encompassing the aspirations of indigenous and minority peoples for

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self-determination and their claims to culture, language, religion, and land rights, sometimes in opposition to states' claims of sovereignty. In the early 1990s, rights activists lobbied for the Convention on the Rights of the Child.

In this evolving culture of rights, personal witnessing plays a central role in the formulation of new rights protections, as people come forward to tell their stories in the contexts of tribunals and national inquiries. In its role as an advocate for peaceful forms of civic engagement within nations and across nations, the United Nations itself has generated audiences for local stories muted within the dominant cultures of member states through its "decade" strategy; that is, through the targeting of a particular group and the concentration of attention on its issues for a decade, as in the International Decade for Women (1975–1984) and the International Decade of Indigenous Peoples (1995–2004).

Local movements that "go national" or "international" often generate climates that enable the reception and recognition of new stories, attaining what Gillian Whitlock refers to as a "discursive threshold" (144). Emergent in communities of identification marginalized within the nation, such movements embolden individual members to understand personal experience as a ground of action and social change. Collective movements seed local acts of remembering "otherwise," offering members new or newly valued subject positions from which to speak and to address members of their own community in acts of solidarity. They also offer members of the dominant community occasions for witnessing to human rights abuse, acknowledging and affirming the rights of others. Through acts of remembering, individuals and communities narrate alternative or counter-histories coming from the margins, voiced by other kinds of subjects—the tortured, the displaced and overlooked, the silenced and unacknowledged—among them. These counter-histories emerge in part out of the formerly untold tales of those who have not benefited from the wealth, health, and future delivered to many others by the capital and technologies of modernity and postmodernity. Individuals and groups may also engage in narrative acts of critical self-locating through which they assert their cultural difference and right to self-determination, or they may imagine leaving the past behind for a new social order or a newly empowered collective subjectivity. Members of collective movements deploy personal narrating to witness many forms of trauma—sexual violence and abuse, economic and political degradation, racism, terrorism, and forms of genocide. Their stories enable new forms of subjectivity and radically altered futures.

In authoritarian, fundamentalist, and rigidly patriarchal nations, including some newly constituted Asian, Islamic, and other democratic states, where

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victims may be unable or unwilling to speak publicly, professional rights advocates may seek out stories of abuse from victims, speak on their behalf, and frame their stories within the field of human rights. Often these stories must be solicited and circulated anonymously by NGOs. This has often been the case in relation to non-Western women telling stories of sexual, domestic, religious, and cultural inequality and oppression. In such contexts, activist framing may enfold the narrative within the individualist, humanist, and secular frameworks of Western rights, overwriting the customs and beliefs of the victims. Local campaigns, particularly those that involve stories of violence against women, have been most successful when local activism is harnessed to an international rights movement. In these instances, transits between the local and global and within pockets of modernity involve complex negotiations of traditional and modernist discourses and practices.[3] In other instances, stories may be framed within traditional, communal, religious, or philosophic frameworks different from, but arguably consonant with, modernist aspirations for human dignity and social justice.

Since the late 1980s, wide-scale transformations—geographic, economic, political, cultural, and psychic—have also impelled people to tell their stories. These include the opening of the Berlin wall, the collapse of the Soviet Union into ethnic states pursuing agendas of ethnic nationalism, the end of the policy of apartheid in South Africa, the global movements of indigenous peoples to reclaim lands and have their cultures acknowledged, the changing demography of the new Europe through immigration, the rise (and collapse) of Asian economies and the expansion of the Asian diaspora, the refugee crises around the globe, and before and after September 11, 2001, the rise of international religious fundamentalisms. Unprecedented global unrest has called forth and called for repeated acts of remembering, through which people reclaim identities at home, in transit, and in new communities and nations.

The violence unleashed by resurgent ethnic nationalisms at the end of the Cold War has multiplied the number of people displaced into refugee camps, and dispersed into welcoming and not-so-welcoming nations, intensifying the distress of dislocation in recovery and in peace. The proliferation and increasing reach of ethnic diasporas through mass migrations has brought about displacements of peoples, values, and identifications, often motivating the reconstitution of communities of tradition in exile. Ongoing processes of decolonization have led people released from their colonized status to struggle with the internalized, psychic legacies of colonization. In white settler nations, indigenous struggles to survive state-sponsored acts of oppression compel acts of witnessing to a past erased in official histories of the nation.

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Within different democratic nation-states, the rise of the politics of multiculturalism and diaspora, and calls for recognition of the claims of indigenous groups, have challenged conventional understandings of the relationship of ethnicity and indigeneity to citizenship. As a result, new or newly identified citizen-subjects reimagine the grounds of their communal identities, test the individualist ethos of the UDHR, and contest master narratives of national belonging and identity.

Forces of turmoil, often violent, move individuals, communities, ideas, cultural forms, and economic wealth around the globe in ways that unsettle old identities and understandings of the past, and presage the imagining of possible futures. Such dislocations of identity unsettle psychically experienced understandings of time (the before, the now, the possible future), space (the old place, the new place), subjectivity (the me I used to be and the me I am becoming), and community (the ones to which I used to belong and the ones of which I am now a member). The scrambling of zones of time, space, subjectivity, and community engenders new patterns of remembering and new modes of response on the part of individuals, communities, and nations. The condensations and expansion of temporal and spatial dimensions of past and present set in motion rememberings of old selves and imaginings of new selves, rememberings of old belongings and allegiances and new ones in the diasporic spaces of dispersed, postmodern communities and nations (Baucom 160–62). While some people may be reluctant narrators, preferring to forget or forestall the pain of unrest, dislocation, and exile, others may be energized to tell their stories in order to work through the political and social, psychic and embodied residues of trauma and loss. Furthermore, displaced, migrant, and diasporic people arrive at destinations where different discursive fields and different histories of activism offer new terms and storytelling modes (sometimes foreign, sometimes familiar; sometimes shunned, sometimes embraced) through which they might remember, interpret, understand, reconstruct, and come to terms with a complex past.

In the midst of dislocations and relocations, personal and collective storytelling can become one way in which people claim new identities and assert their participation in the public sphere. It can also become a way of maintaining communal identification in the face of loss and cultural degradation. Or it can be enlisted in witnessing to the failures of democratic nations to realize and live up to their democratic principle of inclusive citizenship, making visible rents in the social fabric that undermine unified narratives of national belonging. In all cases, storytelling functions as a crucial element in establishing new identities of longing (directed toward the past) and belonging (directed toward the future).

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THE LITERATURE OF TRAUMA AND THE HOLOCAUST

Stories emerging from collective rights movements and the cataclysmic geopolitical displacements of the last two decades have been identified with a larger body of literature concerning trauma and traumatic remembering. The cultural focus on "trauma" in the last decades of the twentieth century, arising out of feminism, psychoanalysis, and ethnic identity studies, motivated life writing that mapped and mined the disruptive effects of significant events in the past. Circulating within professional, academic, and popular perceptions of and discourses about trauma in the West, this literature has become a prominent genre of personal narrating at the end of the twentieth century. Journalistic reports, popular magazine articles, academic studies, feminist activisms around sexual abuse, and medical diagnoses of Post Traumatic Stress Syndrome (officially accepted in 1980) as a condition suffered by victims of the war in Vietnam—all have contributed to the public awareness in popular and academic domains of multiple forms of trauma and traumatic remembering.

In English-speaking and European cultures, the experience of trauma is understood predominantly through psychoanalytic frameworks of interiority that describe trauma as self-altering and self-shattering, and acts of traumatic remembering as fitful, incomplete, and belated, caught in a "dialectic between dissociation and compulsory repetition" (Ball 2). The literature of "trauma" at once compels and sustains the contemporary practice of trauma therapy specific to the West. Once this psychoanalytic understanding of trauma and the healing process it underwrites take effect and become enlisted in human rights frameworks for telling and listening to stories, this psychoanalytic model spreads through global circuits into dispersed local sites. This form of remembering presumes and prescribes a particular kind of storytelling about the past. It also serves to locate narratives produced in dispersed global locations in the field of trauma and to reinterpret them as a part of the contemporary literature about trauma.

Exemplary of the literature of traumatic remembering in the West have been Holocaust stories and all that has come to signify "the Holocaust" as the emblematic limit case of human rights abuse in the twentieth century. So important and influential have Holocaust stories become, and so ingrained in Western audiences invoking a pattern of response, that this signal event has become a template for all forms of traumatic telling, response, and responsibility within the contemporary field of human rights.

In the last two decades of the century, an imperative for Holocaust survivors to work through the trauma of the past took on particular urgency

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with the passing of the last generations of survivors. Popular and scholarly audiences throughout the United States, Europe, Australia, and other Western nations have reacted profoundly to the resultant outpouring of Holocaust stories. Empathetic identification with witness and second-generation testimony has prompted diverse readerships to respond ethically and to explore the challenge of the ethical in the face of radical suffering. Individual and collective testimonies of survivors of the Holocaust have come to comprise a significant literature in the field of human rights.

It is instructive to review the history through which the Holocaust and Holocaust stories came to be exemplary of the literature of trauma, linking that history back to the Nuremberg Trials at the end of World War II. The Nuremberg trials, so much a part of the environment of outrage out of which the regime of human rights had its inception, may have called Nazi leadership to account, but did not focus on the systematic, mass killing of Jews and others labeled "undesirable" by the Nazi regime as a crime against humanity. The event that would later be labeled "the Holocaust," and become paradigmatic in defining the limits of unimaginable and unspeakable trauma in the latter part of the twentieth century in the West, had not yet reached a discursive threshold of intelligibility (Stratton). That would take another thirty years.[4]

The first turning point came in 1961, when the Eichmann Trial in Israel televised to the world the testimony of survivors of the Nazi Judeocide, testimony that was accepted as evidentiary and took on juridical authority. While the Eichmann Trial brought the horrors of the Nazi genocide to an international audience, it did not provide a unifying discursive framework for understanding the nature of the event as Holocaust, as an unprecedented traumatic world event exceeding the understanding of Jewish history as a succession of pogroms (Arendt 35). Israeli success in the 1967 Six Day War marked another turning point, affecting as it did the re-masculinization of the Israeli nation. It also promoted transnational identification and affiliation between an Israeli and an American Jewry (Breines 72). The emergence of an Israeli state with a history of victory, coupled with "the revival of the public culture of countries humiliated by occupation and collaboration" (Winter 55), provided an environment in which stories of the traumatic past could be told and heard.

By 1978, the word "Holocaust" came to signal not only an event within Jewish history, but also a unique and unprecedented "world" (or European) experience. Personal memories of the Nazi genocide became part of a public discourse beyond the personal, resonating within world cultural memory. This transformation was aided by the proliferation of published life

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narratives, films, and the immensely popular television mini-series *Holocaust*, broadcast in the United States and subsequently in Europe (Breines 72). Over the next decade, at academic conferences and in university courses, scholars and students debated the ethics, politics, and aesthetics of Holocaust representation with reference to the growing body of Holocaust narratives. Exploring the status of witness "truth" and "genocide," this work seeded the emergence of the field of Holocaust Studies. Jon Stratton remarks that "it is only when the Judeocide becomes discursively constructed as the Holocaust, and as traumatic that there is a public space in which the traumas of Holocaust survivors make sense, not just as individual trauma, but as experiences within a greater, cultural trauma" (6). In the context of the culture of trauma, the Holocaust story became commodified and reified as the premier instance of traumatic remembering.

By the final decades of the twentieth century, as scenes of personal witness gave way to processes of historical recovery (Wajnryb 2), Holocaust remembrance took many forms. The first and second generations of children of Holocaust survivors enacted what Marianne Hirsch describes as "postmemory," "a powerful form of memory" attached not to the event but to images, stories, and transgenerational hauntings "mediated not through recollection but through projection, investment and creation" (9). In paintings, websites, videos, and personal narratives, these children of survivors gave meaning and structure to an event that had occurred outside their lifetimes but nonetheless persisted through received memories and the residues of personal and cultural affect.[5] Artists and activists dedicated to building and maintaining an archive of testimony produced documentary and feature films, and assembled exhibitions, oral histories, and video archives at various places[6]—in Israel, the United States, Australia, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, and elsewhere.[7] Communities built and sponsored memorials and museums housing collections of photographs and witness testimony. All of this occurred in an era when anti-Semitism and Holocaust denial were on the rise (Winter 55).

The literature of trauma in the West, exemplified by Holocaust narratives, has become the dominant paradigm for understanding the processes of victimization, remembering, witnessing, and recovery. And psychoanalysis has provided the explanatory framework through which the survivor's embodiment of traumatic memory, explorations of the traumatic past, and mourning and "working through" of trauma's radical disruption in the present has been understood.[8] Responses to these stories focus on ethical processes of responsibility and psychoanalytic understandings of the processes of healing, both personal and cultural. Because of the paradigmatic status of

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Holocaust stories and their interpretation as limit cases of trauma, the production, circulation, and reception of those stories have shaped modes of response for other events, histories, and forms of suffering.

Recently, however, the universal applicability of a psychoanalytic model, with its emphasis on the closed interiority of trauma, has been contested as inadequate to address the diverse experiential histories, languages of suffering, structures of feeling, and storytelling modes evidenced in diverse cultural traditions around the world (Bennett and Kennedy 4). Critics argue that the psychoanalytic model privileges stories suffused with traumatic remembering and suffering, and silences other kinds of stories that may not unfold through the Western trope of trauma (see Ball; Berlant; and Boler). They argue that it universalizes diverse and multiple structures of feelings, eliding gender, racial, and ethnic differences. It renders individual suffering and psychic interiority the ground of trauma, making it difficult to register the cultural transmission of stories and their imbrication in institutional and political structures and practices. Furthermore, the psychoanalytic model of trauma cannot adequately address the genealogies and architectures of cultural memory, such as those characterizing the evolution of "the Holocaust" as it has come to be represented not only as story, but as preeminent event, emblem, haunting, history, and transcendent myth on a world stage.

Though foundational to Holocaust studies, for millions of people elsewhere in the world this model for understanding trauma and processes of healing may have little relevance to the ways in which people respond to and deal with a past of suffering. Many cultures have adopted other ways of understanding and figuring cataclysmic events, including genocide. For example, in indigenous struggles in South America, liberationist theology provides a model for resistance within the struggle and recovery in its aftermath. In some East Asian countries, shamanic inscription and Daoist modes of spirit possession become experiential models and embodied forms of dealing with a traumatic past. In some Islamic fundamentalist contexts, Jihad becomes a form of recovery from the past of degradation. In the immediate face of radical suffering and distress, telling and healing can take more pragmatic forms, even in Western settings (see Rall).

STORIES AND MARKETS

These historical contingencies help us to understand larger global contexts for the production of narratives of displacement, suffering, and trauma, some but not all of which arise out of or are enlisted in human rights activism. In order to more fully comprehend the force of storytelling in the

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late twentieth century, we need also to consider the economic and cultural forces imbricated in the local and global transits of circulation and reception of life narratives.

Life narratives have become salable properties in today's markets. They gain their audiences through the global forces of commodification that convert narratives into the property of publishing and media houses (Baxi 40–41). Publishing houses in turn convert stories of suffering and survival into commodified experiences for general audiences with diverse desires, and also for an increasing number of niche audiences interested in particular kinds of suffering. The expanding market for life stories coincides with the increasing education, disposable income, and leisure time of the post-World War II generations in Western democratic nations and pockets of modernities elsewhere around the globe. Postwar educational initiatives and modernization campaigns provided greater access to higher education, resulting in a broader-based reading public and wider markets for stories.

Different communities around the globe, however, have differential levels of affluence, education, leisure, and access to media and print technologies. In relationship to print technologies, Philip G. Altbach notes that developing countries, which may have a public eager for stories from home and elsewhere, often have a poorly developed publishing industry (2). In such locations, a paucity of publishing venues seriously affects the ability to "communicat[e] a culture" at the local and national levels, and within a global marketplace of commodities and ideas (3). The same point could be made about the access of people in developing countries to nascent local and national media outlets in the face of the globalizing force of Western syndicated and corporate media transmission. At this historical moment, telling life stories in print or through the media by and large depends upon a Western-based publishing industry, media, and readership. This dependence affects the kinds of stories published and circulated, the forms those stories take, and the appeals they make to audiences. That is, stories coming from local sites around the world or from sites of exile, as they are taken up within Western-dominated global information flows, may lose their local specificity and resonance in translation. What is lost and gained in the local to global transits affects patterns of recognition and redress in diverse and often unpredictable ways.

The "triumph" of global capitalism and the dominance of the West, particularly the United States, have meant that the culture of the individual, with the belief in the individual's uniqueness and unique story, and in individual rights, has gained an international currency as it has been exported to ever expanding areas of the globe. Interlocking media venues, serving the interests

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of global capital, keep personal stories in various kinds of circulation. The culture of talk shows feeds audience desires to hear other people's stories. Publishers seek out and put in print the personal narratives of celebrities of all kinds: actors, politicians, sports figures, and the little people whose small stories are made newsworthy for their fifteen minutes of fame due to a traumatic or freakish event (Massumi 3–4). Television producers turn out video biographies, called biopics, to feed to the history channels or the channels and programs targeted to engage the emotional sympathies of women. Olympics coverage, broadcast around the world every two years, features mini-biographies of star athletes, stories that enhance the investment that viewers can have in the games, stimulating identification with personal struggles to overcome adversity. The market for personal stories, often telling of individualist triumph over adversity, of the "little person" achieving fame, of people who struggle and survive illness, catastrophe, or violence, seems insatiable to readers and viewers in the West, and is expanding with the media reach of global capitalism.

Publishers and media conglomerates recognize that stories of suffering and survival sell to readers. The marketing of these life stories takes place in different cultures—of fear, suspicion, trauma, recognition, and advocacy. If the post-World War II era began with new hopes for a transcendent future and faith in democratic governments, the century ended with a sense of nostalgia, melancholy, and cynicism in the midst of communities fractured and unsettled. Cataclysmic shifts in power relations and the movements of populations abroad and within a nation have bred a culture of fear, borne of insecurities. Local identity movements within Western democratic states (gay, feminist, and indigenous rights, to name a few) also foster insecurities, raising fears in others by challenging beliefs, relationships, and seemingly stable identities, and by demanding recognition of different experiences and pasts.

Markets feed these insecurities and provide commodified stories through which readers can reinvent imagined securities. Some readers may respond to insecurities by enacting empathetic identification that recuperates stories of radical differences into their more familiar frameworks of meaning. Such acts of consumption of other peoples' lives enable them to dispel the fear of otherness by containing it. This type of recuperation occurred when Western feminist readers of Iman's *I Am Iman* sensationalized African and Islamic women's lives and translated their empathetic identification with Iman into a white, Western-inflected campaign against the practice of cliterodectomy. In this case, empathetic identification became a means to the reader's own self-affirmation as an empowered agent, here an agent of social change and humanitarian betterment.

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Some readers may respond to the insecurities of fragmenting national environments by recuperating stories of difference in ways that reconfirm national myths and heroic fictions, as occurs when immigrant stories such as Frank McCourt's *Angela's Ashes* and *'Tis,* or indigenous stories such as Sally Morgan's *My Place,* are read as assimilation success stories. In the midst of insecurities, some readers seek out stories as a means to displace their fears and supplement the sense of their own modernist anxieties through the vicarious consumption of other people's lives. Or they may seek in those lives opportunities for trying on different, more exotic, exhilarating, romantic, or outlaw identities. This kind of reading occurred when readers adopted characters of Armistead Maupin's *Tales of the City* as if they were fragments of their own imagined lives.

Life narratives may also provide ways for readers to imagine the security of a common past or common future in the midst of the fragmentation and the pace of change of the present. If, as Jay Winter suggests, memory is "a metaphor for a broader movement of uncertainty about how to frame the past" (65), then narratives of personal remembering become sites for knowing the past differently in the present. Winter describes the capacious absorption of stories of suffering in the United States as the compulsion to recover the past, particularly for privileged, wealthy, educated urban elites. For Andreas Huyssen, the commodification of storytelling is one way for the culture to forestall postmodern fragmentation and the uncertainty of contemporary life by anchoring belief on some imagined foundation around which people can keep at bay the impending forces of chaos. This openness to remembering the past through the consumption of stories of trauma and suffering reverberates with a desire of readers to believe in the promissory note of modernism within the postmodern condition. Andreas Huyssen calls this preoccupation with memory a "new imaginary of temporality" (16) in which Western audiences feed their need to believe in the achievable goals of justice and freedom, to keep faith in narratives of progress, and to believe in the efficacy of collective action against the overwhelming forces of fragmentation.

For other readers, sensationalized stories of suffering feed the darker passions of what Kirby Farrell labels the post-traumatic "wound" cultures of postmodernity. Farrell describes post-traumatic culture as a culture desensitized to suffering, "a world in which power and authority seem staggeringly out of balance, in which personal responsibility and helplessness seem crushing, and in which cultural meanings no longer seem to transcend death" (7). In a post-traumatic environment, some readers seek out spectacles of suffering and trauma to fuel sadomasochistic fantasies and voyeuristic pleasures. Identifying with perpetrators rather than victims, such readers may turn to

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another person's potential violence to both experience and exorcize their own "post-traumatic demons" (Farrell 7). Others may turn to narratives of suffering and trauma to feed their needs to "feel" something, anything, any sensation, to experience some concatenation of affects and pleasures. This "recourse to traumatic narratives," argues Ball, "paradoxically serves simultaneously to defer, to organize, and to reproduce the low-grade angst" (19).

Despite the vagaries of the cultures of trauma and post-trauma, the insatiable reach of capital, the commodification of narratives of suffering, and the standardizing forces of globalization, a counter-desire for local knowledge arises as local communities struggle to distance their stories from a "panoptic mastering viewpoint" (Clarke 242; Baucom 161).[9] In local sites of struggle, a culture of disbelief and cynicism about "official" or normative narratives of history, identity, and nation motivates people to narrate as well as read stories that contradict, complicate, and undermine the grand modernist narratives of nation, progress, and enlightenment. These stories of cultural difference proliferate as voices of dissidence claim the legitimacy of their local experiential histories. These are the stories that are told by people who have been displaced into new communities and nations, or who have been previously subjugated within their respective nations, who have broken silence to tell the stories of racism, discrimination, and degradation, but also of survival, resilience, and transformation. For readers who identify with collective movements, whether they are in them or not, narratives coming out of a shared experience offer new avenues for activism and self-understanding, new models of remembering. Such narratives can enable access to and potential recognition of the incommensurable differences between the teller's experience and that of the reader, making possible circuits of connection across differences, and circuits of difference across connection. Although always compromised, stories offer readers new ways of gaining knowledge about peoples around the globe, calling into existence new cultural forms, new modes of circulation, and new forms of civic engagement.

In the midst of the transits that take stories of local struggle to readerships around the world, NGOs and activists enlist stories from victims as a way of alerting a broader public to situations of human rights violations. They also solicit and package stories to attract readerships. The kinds of stories they choose—sensationalized, sentimentalized, charged with affect—target privileged readers in anticipation that they will identify with, contribute to, and become advocates for the cause. The frames they impose on stories are designed to capture the interest, empathy, and political responsiveness of readers elsewhere, in ways they have learned will "sell" to publishers and audiences. NGOs harness their rights agendas to the market and its processes of

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commodification. And yet, the processes of commodification are never fully complete, nor are the efficacies of stories in action entirely predictable. Given their imbrication in the flows of global capital and the commodification of suffering, stories are received and interpreted in unpredictable ways by the audiences whose attention they seek and garner.

PUBLISHED LIFE NARRATIVES AND HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGNS

Published life narratives have contributed directly and indirectly to campaigns for human rights. Although this article addresses the conjunction of narrated lives and human rights discourses and activism in the last twenty years, this linkage between stories and actions extends back to the earliest discussions of an international rights movement. As David Rieff notes, it was a memoir that spurred the adoption of the Geneva Convention of 1864. In *A Memoir of Solferino* (1859), Swiss humanitarian Henri Dunant witnessed the carnage of the decisive battle of the Franco-Austrian war. The memoir provided an affective springboard for subsequent debates about just and unjust wars, leading to the founding of the International Committee of the Red Cross and the adoption of the Geneva Convention.[10] Rieff goes so far as to suggest that "the conference at Geneva succeeded in translating the reaction to the book into a body of law" (68–69).

In the last decades of the twentieth century, countless numbers of published narratives have fuelled and been fuelled by campaigns for human rights. Told from diverse locations by diverse people, many of whom have been previously silenced, they offer hybrid modes of telling stories, and hybrid modes of mediating political, ethical, and aesthetic imperatives. Latin American *testimonio,* the recorded and transcribed testimony of indigenous and/or poor peoples, bears witness to collective struggles against massive state violence and oppression. Postcolonial *bildungsroman,* the story of education into and for national citizenship, explores the possibilities for and constraints limiting the decolonization of subjectivity in postcolonial worlds. Survivor narratives tell stories of abuse through which narrators turn themselves from victims to survivors through acts of speaking out that shift attention to systemic causes of violation. Coming-out stories have played a critical role in campaigns to achieve human rights legislation for lesbians and gay men. Personal narratives of displacement and cultural marginalization, such as those written by ethnic Turks in Germany, bring stories of second-class citizenship to the bar of public opinion around the world. Narratives of disability claim that the failure of the state to address the particular needs of the disabled is a denial of basic human rights. Stolen Generation narratives in

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Australia collectively reframe "well-intentioned" policies of assimilation as forms of cultural genocide. Narratives by former "comfort women" such as Jan Ruff-O'Herne's *50 Years of Silence* force attention on military rape cultures through which women's rights to life and bodily integrity are violated, bringing to the fore recognition of the importance of women's rights and human rights. Prison narratives of political dissidents, like the letters from prison by China's champion of democracy Wei Jingsheng, while often banned in their country of origin, find publishers elsewhere, and thereby exert continued international pressure on non-compliant nations to address, justify, and modify their human rights record.

Sometimes narratives published previous to the public recognition of a specific rights campaign are recirculated and resituated within the context of that campaign, as has been the case with Sally Morgan's *My Place.* Published in the year of Australia's bicentenary of white settlement/invasion, Morgan's hybrid narrative reconstructs her coming to consciousness as an Indigenous Australian, and incorporates the oral histories of her mother, grandmother, and uncle. Initially received as an individual journey in search of a lost identity, *My Place* was reinterpreted as a "stolen generation" narrative about lost childhoods after the publication of the *Bringing Them Home* report (Wilson) issued by the National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children from their Families (Kennedy 237). In such cases, a narrative's popularity, built up through years of new editions, provides a threshold that seeds the reception of narratives by succeeding witnesses.

Sometimes published narratives serve as lightening rods in rights campaigns. Take, for example, the case of Rigoberta Menchú's powerful *testimonio, I, Rigoberta Menchú: An Indian Woman in Guatemala,* published originally in Spanish in 1983 and issued in English in 1984, quickly finding a responsive audience, particularly in the United States. "This is my testimony," she begins: "My experience is the reality of a whole people." Menchú's *testimonio* chronicled the means through which the ruling elites and the military sustained their power and maintained their control over the Quiché Indian population through physical violence, economic dependency, and cultural denigration. It chronicled as well the passionate commitment of the indigenous community to withstand degradation and forge a politics and an activism of resistance. Throughout her testimony, Menchú provided graphic details of her own personal and familial tragedy at the hands of a repressive army that tortured her mother to death, murdered her father, and burned her brother alive. Menchú's narrative and her extensive activism directed world attention to the plight of the Quiché Indians in Guatemala, contributing to the efforts of Indigenous Guatemalans, united in local guerrilla

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resistance movements, to bring an end to state-sponsored massacres and an increased respect for Mayan culture.

Through her narrated life, Menchú told the story of her people, performatively enacting the culturally specific mode of collective testimony that exposed the oppressive conditions within Guatemala and secured her authority to speak as a representative of her people elsewhere. The attention generated by the *testimonio* produced an aura-effect around Menchú herself, elevating and legitimating the Quiché woman as an international authority on the struggles of indigenous peoples. In 1992 Menchú was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, international acknowledgment that brought increased sympathy for her cause and increased interest in her narrative. She was subsequently appointed Goodwill Ambassador for the United Nations-sponsored International Year (and now decade) of Indigenous Peoples, becoming a spokesperson for indigenous communities around the world that are engaged in local campaigns and are claiming rights to self-determination and cultural integrity.

Taken up in the United States as testimony to human rights abuse, and promulgated largely through the advocacy of the urban left, Menchú's narrative became a symbol of the revolutionary spirit and struggle of a people. It also entered mainstream academe when selected as a core text in the undergraduate curriculum at Stanford University, and when placed on the reading lists of courses in literary and cultural studies, Spanish languages and literature, and anthropology at many other colleges and universities. These modes of circulation and reception in America reified the narrative as an exemplary *testimonio*. When taken up in university classrooms and scholarly journals, the text became a locus of postcolonial critique in the United States. It spurred debates among Latin Americanists, postcolonial critics, anthropologists, and women's studies and cultural studies scholars about the nature of the postcolonial condition, the evidentiary status of *testimonio*, and the intersections among cultural formations, reading publics, and politics. The combination of popular and scholarly attention turned close attention back on the narrative itself.

In the late 1990s, *I, Rigoberta Menchú* provoked a scandal in academic and activist circles in the United States with the publication of David Stoll's analysis, *Rigoberta Menchú and the Story of All Poor Guatemalans*. Stoll, an American anthropologist, challenged the text's status as *testimonio*. While sympathetic to the Quiché cause espoused by Menchú, he charged Menchú with fabricating details of her own history, of the violent oppression of her family, of the deaths of family members, and of the extent of her leadership role in the resistance.[11] His critique fuelled yet another set of contestations. Among other issues, commentators questioned the nature of the collaborative

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relationship between Menchú and Elisabeth Burgos-Debray, the anthropologist/collaborator who is sometimes listed as the "author" of the text. Debray's role as interlocutor and editor of the text called into question the "authenticity" of Menchú's narrative as witness documentary. Readers, critics, and activists took sides. Menchú's cause was joined. In fiercely contested debates, advocates and detractors invoked Menchú's narrative in newspaper columns, academic journal articles, and conference sessions in the United States, where they took up issues having to do with personal and collective forms of remembering, narrative authenticity, and juridical versus non-juridical understandings of truth telling.

The circulation and reception of Menchú's narrative demonstrates the contested and unpredictable impact such stories can have. In some contexts, as Attwood and Magowan suggest, published stories can become a form of cultural and political capital for oppositional groups (xi), and the knowledge they represent can generate proprietary claims within communities that distinguish insiders from outsiders. In others, readers and audiences can impose competing demands and tools of interpretation through what Leigh Gilmore terms "extrajudicial 'trials'" or "forums of judgment" that provoke engagements around the evidentiary status of narrative meanings. Through these contradictory channels of circulation and reception a "levering forward of ethics, truth telling, and scandal" unfolds, setting in motion many potential outcomes (Gilmore, "Jurisdictions" 695–96).

The history of reception of *I, Rigoberta Menchú* suggests that those who publish their stories of oppression, abuse, trauma, degradation, and loss can neither know nor control how that story will be received and interpreted. A story can generate recognition, empathy, critical awareness, advocacy, and activism elsewhere that helps to empower people struggling locally in Guatemala to extend their campaigns for human rights. The same story can become a commodity, and the teller a celebrity on a world stage, as the narrative is dispersed through book clubs, radio and television interviews and talk shows, classrooms and living rooms, picked up by independent documentary filmmakers, and distributed internationally. The same story can become a "scandal" overseas that produces resistance within and beyond the boundaries of Guatemala as it generates, as did *I, Rigoberta Menchú,* controversy that turns international attention to claims and counterclaims having to do with issues of juridical veracity.

Through the rise in publication of "minority" life stories, the literature of trauma, and hybrid forms of life writing, storytelling has become a potent and yet highly problematic form of cultural production, critical to the international order of human rights and movements on behalf of social change.

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Personal narratives in all their generic variety and locational specificity reveal the effects of the traumatic past whether the past be one of radical dislocation, "terrorism," physical torture, profound loss, forced assimilation, discrimination, oppression, or sexual abuse. The very aesthetics of form, the very forms of narrative address to the reader, enable victims to speak truth to power. As meta-sites for social critique, published narratives sometimes unsettle received conceptions of personal and national identity, sometimes dismantle the foundational fictions through which nations and imagined communities construct and reconstruct their histories, sometimes promote new platforms for and forms of political action, and sometimes produce a backlash of actions that forestall recognition and redress. In local communities and through global flows, stories sometimes enable the re-constitution of lost subjectivities, call forth new narratives of affiliation and belonging, and open up new international debates on the practical means through which to achieve justice with respect for the historical, national, religious, and philosophic traditions both consonant with and different from those foundational to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

At other times, however, their efficacy remains severely limited. The personal voice, as it is picked up, edited, translated, published, and disseminated by dispersed media, institutions, and advocacy groups around the world becomes at once reified as the authentic voice of suffering and depersonalized through various forms of recontextualization. The narrative reaches broader audiences beyond the local community, but those audiences subject the narrative to different and unpredictable readings, put the narrative to different and unpredictable uses. At any historical moment, only certain stories are tellable and intelligible to a broader audience. Ultimately, historical contingencies also bring historical occlusions.

OTHER SITES OF NARRATION

Published life narratives, although widely circulated and influential, are only one site of personal storytelling in the field of human rights. Storytelling in the context of human rights takes place in diverse venues and occurs for a variety of intentions. Sometimes it occurs in the field, where abuses are ongoing, or in preparation for a commission hearing or national inquiry. In these instances the taking of testimony is purposeful and directed at a particular goal or specific aspect of a human rights campaign. Sometimes the narrating is embedded in UN-sponsored documents and NGO handbooks and Internet sites, or framed by the UN-sponsored aims and objectives of national forums and reports. At others, it is gathered into anthologies of testimony

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assembled by activists, academics, and publishers. Sometimes stories are produced by local campaigners and circulated through dispersed media. At other times the aims and objectives of personal storytelling are more diffuse, as in the many scattered sites of rights activism, and in mediascapes where reporting on rights and rights advocacy is advanced. Some sites are organized and supported by human rights institutions. Some operate underground in opposition to state laws, constantly subjected to surveillance, censorship, and possible prosecution. Other venues of public culture—sporting events or rock concerts for example—may seem entirely unrelated to human rights activism but can suddenly be mobilized to call attention to rights violations.

CONCLUSION

Our survey of the role of storytelling in human rights campaigns throughout the world in the late twentieth century highlights some of the many conundrums that unsettle the utopian, and modernist, ideals promulgated by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The last fifty years of human rights activism underscores the importance of storytelling in bringing the specificities of local conditions of abuse and the inadequacy of the modernist framing of rights to the attention of a global community, however compromised those stories become when subjected to the unpredictable transits of reception between local and global locations. Claims on behalf of new and specialist rights challenge the universalist assumptions of the UDHR, presaging new human rights agendas. These agendas prompt diverse platforms for advocacy, especially as they respond to the cultural contingencies of minority cultures and indigenous groups or to the concerns of activists in Asian and Islamic countries. They prompt calls for new approaches to justice (Douzanis 368–69). They also prompt new modes of witness.

New rights agendas, challenging the authority of Enlightenment-based principles, now circulate in a global environment radically altered by the September 11, 2001, terrorist attack on the United States. A new regime, that of the global "war on terror," seems to be displacing the regime of human rights, sidelining certain principles of justice and reorienting the politics of alliance and responsibility along the way. These changes have prompted some commentators to suggest that we are now witnessing the demise of an era of human rights and commitment to social justice. Nonetheless, the international market for local stories has not diminished, nor have the capacities of readers to respond ethically to the violations inflicted upon others, nor the commitments of human rights campaigners to pursue channels of redress. While there appears to be an erosion of human rights principles and

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mechanisms and a loss of moral authority for the international, national, and local institutions charged with promoting justice, there remain in place a multitude of witnesses, activisms, alliances, and challenges, seeding new definitions of rights and new human rights campaigns. Thus, despite the challenges to the philosophies and politics attached to the international regime of human rights, calls for justice, dignity, and freedom continue to engage listeners and call readers to respond ethically by joining the cause of disempowered and disenfranchised people in many parts of the globe. As balancing acts, directed back to a past that must be shared and toward a future that must be built collectively, acts of personal narrating remain foundational to the expansion and proliferation of claims on behalf of human dignity, freedom, and justice.

NOTES

AUTHORS' NOTE: This article forms part of the discussion taken up in our forthcoming book *Human Rights and Narrated Lives: The Ethics of Recognition* (Palgrave, in press).

1. The West is obviously a contested concept. By it, we mean to imply not a geographic location but a locus of symbolic and grounded power relations, emanating mainly from the United States, Europe, and the English-speaking world, sharing Enlightenment traditions and (post)colonial histories. The term entails a complex and often contradictory set of philosophic, political, economic, and social relations. There is no ground for identifying an essential "Western" subject, discourse, or nation. The Western subject shares many attributes of modern, or modernizing, subjects, nations, and cultures across the globe. Often, critics in non-Western countries who are contesting Western frameworks use hybridized Western-based political, legal, and cultural theory to make their case. Often those living in and identifying with the West inflect their arguments with theories and analyses contrary to Western traditions. We will try to work with some of these complications in our analyses of storytelling in a human rights field.
2. As Leigh Gilmore recently noted, the number of books published in English and labeled as "autobiography or memoir" tripled from the 1940s to 1990s (*Limits* 1). Gilmore goes on to discuss factors contributing to the memoir boom, particularly in the United States. Jay Winter notes that in the last twenty years historians in France, Germany, Italy, and Portugal have sought and published numerous collections of memoirs as ways of understanding historical legacies of events in the twentieth century (52).
3. The Sisters in Islam is a case in point. Working in Malaysia, but connected to reformist Islamic women's groups throughout the world, Sisters in Islam solicits testimony from abused Muslim women with a view to promoting equality and justice in accord with the teaching of the Koran. Although the group adopts modernist philosophies and feminist practices from the West that are "not welcomed" by conservatives and traditionalists (Langlois 60), it has nonetheless been influential in a number of spheres, particularly in relation to law reform and advocacy for Islamic women suffering domestic violence. Working between democratic states rights and religious obligations of the

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Islamic state, Sisters in Islam argues that grounds can be found in the Koran to promote equality, justice, and freedom for women through democratic Shari'a (or religious) law reform.

4. Elie Wiesel and Primo Levi were two of the more widely circulated witnesses from the 1960s and 1970s, contributing their testimony to public Holocaust remembrance.
5. Hirsch defines postmemory as "the relationship of children of survivors of cultural or collective trauma to the experiences of their parents, experiences that they 'remember' only as stories and images with which they grew up, but that are so powerful, so monumental, as to constitute memories in their own right" (8).
6. Films include documentaries like Claude Lanzmann's *Shoah,* and features such as Steven Spielberg's *Schindler's List.* Representative exhibitions and archives include the Spielberg Shoah Visual History Foundation, the Fortunoff Video Archive at Yale University, and the dramatic scenes of witness in the Holocaust Museum in Washington, D.C.
7. The reception of Holocaust narratives by different audiences both inside and outside of Israel suggests how critical location is to reception. In Israel, the dominant mode of response is to receive these narratives as examples of heroic resistance and survival. In the United States, Holocaust literature is consumed and interpreted within national narratives of redemption, as stories that tell "of the wider struggle for tolerance, for freedom of religion, for freedom from persecution: they locate the Holocaust within the American narrative, itself configured as universal" (Winter 54).
8. See, for example, Caruth; Felman and Laub; and La Capra, among others.
9. For some social commentators, however, "the global reach of the media and of power mechanisms with which they are in complicity dwarf local efforts to fight back" (see Massumi 30).
10. Dunant shared the first Nobel Peace Prize (1901) with Frédéric Passy.
11. See *The Rigoberta Menchú Controversy,* edited by Arturo Arias; with a response by David Stoll.

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MEMORY, AUTHORITY, AND IDENTITY: HOLOCAUST STUDIES IN LIGHT OF THE WILKOMIRSKI DEBATE

ANDREW S. GROSS AND MICHAEL J. HOFFMAN

My religious friend had told me that I survived so that I could bear witness. I have done so, as best I could, and I also could not have done so; and I am still doing so, whenever the opportunity presents itself; but the thought that this testifying of mine could by itself gain for me the privilege of surviving and living for many years without serious problems troubles me because I cannot see any proportion between the privilege and its outcome.

—Primo Levi, *The Drowned and the Saved* (83)

"HIER IST KEIN WARUM"

During a well-known scene from early in *Survival in Auschwitz,* Primo Levi reports that while suffering from thirst he broke off an icicle outside a barracks window. When a nearby guard "snatched" it from him, Levi asked "Warum?" ("Why"). The guard responded, "*Hier ist kein warum*" ("Here there is no why") (29). This moment has come to stand for the arbitrariness and irrationality of the Nazi extermination program. Jews are "vermin," they get "deported" and worked to death or gassed, and there is no explanation offered; nor is it acceptable to ask for one. But for the last thirty or forty years, and for many of the most prominent Holocaust figures, there has also been no "why" in Holocaust studies. In well-known statements, such figures as Elie Wiesel and Claude Lanzmann have announced that the mere question of "why the Holocaust" is somehow obscene, because it suggests that some justification may actually exist for the Shoah. A "why" implies a "because," according to this argument, and "because" suggests the Nazis

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might have had sufficient reasons, or the Jews might have given them sufficient cause, for creating ghettos and death camps.

In an essay entitled "*Hier Ist Kein Warum,*" Claude Lanzmann uses the Levi incident to establish the authority of his own position regarding which questions about the Holocaust we might appropriately ask. "It is enough," he says,

> to formulate the question in simplistic terms—Why have the Jews been killed?—for the question to reveal right away its obscenity. Not to understand was my iron law during all eleven years of the production of *Shoah.* I had clung to this refusal of understanding as the only possible ethical attitude. . . . "Here there is no why," Primo Levi was abruptly told upon his arrival at the camp. This law is equally valid for whoever undertakes the responsibility of such a transmission. Because the act of transmitting . . . is the only thing that matters and no intelligibility, that is to say, no true knowledge pre-exists the process of transmission. (qtd. in Rosenbaum 265)

Aside from stating categorically that we must not ask "why," Lanzmann also valorizes "transmission," or, in the case of the Shoah, testimony, as the only source of "true knowledge."[1]

What does it mean to say that "no true knowledge pre-exists the process of transmission"? Does it suggest that there is no way to validate the "authenticity" of testimony? Does authorship, then, confer unchallengeable authority upon the teller of the tale? It is our belief that Lanzmann's emphasis on authority over authenticity has become an accepted bias in Holocaust studies. It suggests not only that the testimony of survivors should not be challenged, but that because there is no morally responsible answer to the question "why," we should not ask it at all. The problem with Lanzmann's transformation of the guard's refusal into a representational standard is that it collapses authoritarianism and authority, dismissing dissent along with the possibility that "why" might lead to important insights. This dismissal and the consequent elevation of certain individuals and books to an untouchable status has been, in our view, damaging to Holocaust studies. If serious questions are neither asked nor accepted, then mystification is the frequent result. Unchallenged acceptance of Holocaust testimony has allowed us, to a great extent, to glorify survivors while mystifying their accounts.

Some dissatisfaction with this situation has arisen among prominent Holocaust scholars. The Yad Vashem historian Yehuda Bauer expressed concern in his essay "Is the Holocaust Explicable?" that "'an increasing number of commentators—theologians, writers as well as historians—argue that ultimately the Holocaust is a mystery, an inexplicable event in human history.

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. . . But the fact that in some ways . . . it's unprecedented, doesn't remove it from the realm of human nature or human comprehension'" (Rosenbaum 281). A few years later, in *Reading the Holocaust,* Inga Clendinnen added her voice to Bauer's; and we are pleased to add our voices to both of theirs.[2] We believe that no arbitrary limits should be placed on any open inquiry into history, and no exception made with regard to the Holocaust. We also believe that asking questions is particularly important at the present juncture, when the various American Holocaust museums and testimonial projects have brought about a heightened awareness of the Holocaust among both Jews and non-Jews. The positive effects of these projects cannot be denied; however, we are concerned that they might also be turning survivors into secular saints and their memories into holy writ. This paper will study the connection between the foreclosure of "why" and the mystification of the Holocaust in relation to the recent scandal connected with Binjamin Wilkomirski's *Fragments,* a fraudulent narrative that purported to be a survivor's memoir. It will also analyze what the history of the reception and subsequent rejection of *Fragments* tells us about the role of testimony in Jewish and American cultures. In our discussion we shall examine how the Holocaust has come to ground an increasingly secularized Jewish identity in a victim culture that seems to stand in for traditional worship, and how this victim culture manifests itself in national and international politics, as in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

FRAGMENTS AND ITS TORTURED HISTORY

In 1995 a book titled *Bruchstücke,* or *Fragments,* was published in Germany. It was a memoir of a Jewish child's experiences in ghettos and Nazi death camps. The first-time Swiss author was Binjamin Wilkomirski—until then a musician and maker of clarinets—and the story indicated that he was a survivor. Holocaust survivors' narratives have become a major form of autobiographical writing in the past half century. Most such texts are the only books by their authors, and they are often written with the help of someone else. They tend not to be sophisticated narratives and are often crudely composed, but they compel the reader by the sheer weight of the events and circumstances they describe, because all survivors are escapees from a death sentence. Some of these autobiographical works, however, have become literary classics, and are therefore the standard against which other survivors' narratives are measured. Elie Wiesel's *Night* and Primo Levi's *Survival in Auschwitz,* for instance, have become part of the university curriculum in modern literature and not just in courses on the Holocaust.

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Wilkomirski's *Fragments* was immediately measured against the standard of Wiesel and Levi, and came out well.[3] The narrative was unusual in that it was one of the few survivors' testimonies to be written deliberately from a child's perspective. It contains scenes of incredible vividness, and uses a fragmented structure that reminds readers of classic twentieth-century novels, as well as a self-conscious voice associated with postmodern forms of writing. The first reviews were almost uniformly ecstatic, and the book was eventually translated into a dozen languages.

Although not a huge bestseller, *Fragments* earned a number of prestigious awards. In England it won the Jewish Quarterly-Wingate Prize, along with a stipend of 4,000 pounds. In the United States it received the National Jewish Book Award, being chosen over books by such competitors as Wiesel and Alfred Kazin. In France it was awarded La Prix de Memoire de la Shoah.[4] As a result, Wilkomirski became something of a public media figure, being interviewed on television shows in more than one country, participating in public performances in which he played the clarinet while someone else recited from *Fragments,* and giving talks sponsored in the United States by the US Holocaust Memorial Museum. Response to Wilkomirski seemed especially strong from other Holocaust survivors, who saw in him a spokesman for their own painful experiences. The greatest sales occurred in the United States, which has a larger number of Holocaust survivors than any other country, and is a place where Holocaust remembrance has become a highly organized cultural phenomenon.

Although there were a few dissenting voices in the chorus of praise for *Fragments,* few people—Wilkomirski perhaps least of all—were prepared for the reversal of fortune that began during the summer of 1998. On August 27th of that year, a Swiss journalist named Daniel Ganzfried published "an article [in] . . . *Die Weltwoche* in which he accused Wilkomirski of having invented his autobiography" (Maechler vii).[5] Ganzfried claimed that as a child Wilkomirski had never been in a concentration camp or in Poland, and that he had actually been born in Switzerland in 1941. Having carefully researched his subject, Ganzfried claimed that Wilkomirski was in fact born as Bruno Grosjean and wasn't even Jewish. Wilkomirski immediately denied these allegations, and a number of people associated with him came to his defense. Ganzfried's article was summarized by a number of newspapers in Europe and the United States, and these were followed in 1999 by two long, thoughtful essays—in *Granta* by Elena Lappin, and in the *New Yorker* by Philip Gourevitch. Both journalists added their own research as well as further interviews, and indicated their support for the substance of Ganzfried's claims. Gourevitch's tone, in particular, was stern and unforgiving. All of

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Wilkomirski's publishers, including Schocken (the American publisher), eventually pulled the book out of circulation. He was thus quickly transformed from heroic Holocaust testifier to pariah, from sympathetic victim to betrayer. Wingate, for example, withdrew the prize it had awarded, although it did not try to reclaim the 4,000 pounds.

In April 1999 Wilkomirski's Swiss agent Liepman, in response to all the controversy, hired Swiss historian Stefan Maechler to pursue an independent investigation of the Wilkomirski matter in order to discover the validity of Ganzfried's claims. Wilkomirski maintained throughout this period that his critics were trying to steal his life; that he was, in effect, a singular victim of Holocaust denial (Maechler 149–50, 160). But by this time he had lost most of his credibility, and it was soon impossible to find *Fragments* anywhere but in a used-book store. The complaints from a variety of sources were frequently vituperative, with some critics retracting their earlier praise, prize-givers withdrawing recognition, and many journalists as well as survivors condemning Wilkomirski as a type of criminal who himself gave satisfaction to the Holocaust deniers. Wilkomirski retreated from public view, refusing to give interviews and continuing to proclaim his innocence. In October 1999, a Zurich attorney actually filed a formal suit against Wilkomirski. He called the book "a cold-blooded swindle," saying that he had "been deprived of the book's price, since I would never have bought it had it been publicly offered as a novel. Moreover—beyond the strictures of the law—I have been cheated of a portion of my life and maliciously tricked into feeling sympathy for this topic" (Maechler 299).

Maechler's findings against Wilkomirski were made public in 2000—again accompanied by Wilkomirski's denials—and a book presenting Maechler's analytic narrative, which included *Fragments* as an appendix, was published in English by Schocken in 2001. For the first time in two years *Fragments* was back in print, although this time at the end of the volume. This solution allows the publishers to keep the book in circulation, but it makes it difficult for readers to experience *Fragments* as an independent narrative. It will thus be almost impossible for any reader from now on to respond to *Fragments* as anything other than a pathological document.

WHY DID WILKOMIRSKI DO IT?

The history of Wilkomirski's life, as established by Maechler, suggests that he was born out of wedlock to a twenty-six-year-old woman named Yvonne Grosjean who named him Bruno, and it is as Bruno Grosjean that Binjamin Wilkomirski appears on his Swiss birth certificate. The single mother struggled

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to raise the child on her own, receiving minimal support from the father, who seems never to have seen her or his son after Bruno was born. Yvonne's mothering was supervised by an unsympathetic civil-service guardian, and because of her straitened circumstances, she had to move frequently. When Bruno was two years old he was placed in foster care for the first time. He lived thereafter in a series of such homes, a few of them apparently violent and abusive, and the records in the guardian's office indicate that he became increasingly difficult to manage.

When (in 1945) Bruno was four years old he became the foster child of Dr. and Mrs. Kurt Dössekker of Zurich, a childless older couple. The man was in his fifties, the woman in her forties. They were German-speaking Protestants. Although Wilkomirski continued living with the Dössekkers, the adoption was not finalized until 1957, when Bruno was sixteen. Why did the Dössekkers wait so long to formalize their relationship with this child, and what effect might the lingering uncertainty have had on young Bruno? It is clear from the records that Wilkomirski experienced a traumatic, frequently disrupted early childhood. In *Fragments* he describes the couple based on the Dössekkers as being almost emotionally frigid (a description both confirmed and disputed by others), and so he had to live—even in comfortable circumstances—without much in the way of what he felt as parental warmth and emotional support (Maechler 269–70).

Bruno Dössekker lived with his adoptive parents until he went to Geneva to study medicine at the University. But he left the University fairly quickly, and enrolled in the Geneva Conservatory to continue his musical studies. This decision caused a rift between him and the Dössekkers, who had apparently hoped that Bruno would continue his father's medical practice. Bruno was awarded his degree from the Conservatory, and then received a scholarship to attend the Vienna Academy of Music, before assuming a career as a musician and music teacher. Some time in the 1960s he began graduate historical studies in Zurich, in order, he claimed, to research his own origins. In the meantime he had married and become a father. This marriage ultimately ended in divorce.

In 1979 Wilkomirski met an Israeli psychologist named Elitsur Bernstein, who had been practicing in Zurich for almost twenty years. With Bernstein, Wilkomirski began to work on recovering his "repressed memories," this being Bernstein's area of expertise. This form of therapy has become extremely controversial in the United States, in great part because the evidence obtained has been used (some would say abused) in both criminal and civil litigation, and also because the methods used to retrieve the memories frequently involve a great deal of intervention on the part of the

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therapist, sometimes in conjunction with hypnosis and psychotropic drugs.[6] It is these "recovered" memories that allegedly make up the substance of *Fragments*—that of an utterly traumatized small child bereft of parents, who has witnessed the death of his father and experienced the abandonment, restoration, and death of his mother in a concentration camp barracks. The book is full of mother figures, all of whom fail the small, nameless boy in some way.

To support his obsessive historical studies, Wilkomirski has apparently amassed a library of more than two thousand books related to the Holocaust. He is expert on many aspects of that history, and has read more than his share of survivors' autobiographical narratives. According to Maechler, what seems to have happened is that in creating his autobiographical narrative Wilkomirski retained the emotional traumas that lie at the heart of his emotional dissociation, but substituted for the actual events of his early childhood—which would at best be difficult to recall—events drawn from the history of the Jews in the Holocaust, a subject on which he has apparently brooded for more than thirty years (Maechler 269–73). This history, in Wilkomirski's telling, is full of the deaths or disappearances of parents, the brutality and emotional aridity of parent figures, and the apparent nurturance and subsequent abandonment by surrogate mothers. All of this does not suggest someone maliciously setting out to deceive others as much as someone who, in adopting a level of traumatic autobiography that would fit the level of his own emotional disturbance, has succeeded in deluding himself into believing the "facts" of his own fictionalized account. It seems apparent, then, that this troubled man believes his own story, and has conveyed that belief so passionately and effectively that he has persuaded others to accept it as well. Geoffrey Hartman uses the term "memory-envy" to describe the feeling of those who, coming after the Holocaust, long to establish an identity with the survivors (111). Wilkomirski, by substituting a story of the Holocaust for his own life history, at once validates his personal trauma and becomes the honored member of a group whose contemporary identity is a function of historical persecution.

THE CONTEXT OF WILKOMIRSKI'S CAREER

Explaining the arc of Wilkomirski's critical success and subsequent fall, Maechler points out that "The author of *Fragments* would not have unleashed such outrage if he had simply thought up any given biography." The Holocaust is not off-limits per se; politicians and historians have "applied it as a metaphor to the Gulag, to Palestinian refugees, to the transatlantic

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slave trade, to their own personal suffering, to endangered nature" (Maechler 294). Wilkomirski, however, appropriates the Holocaust not only as metaphor but as memory. This encourages readers, both survivors and those who have no direct relation to the Holocaust, to identify with his memories, and to treat them as a kind of historical evidence now approaching extinction: the survivor's testimony.

Testimony and identification have become central to the way we remember the Holocaust in the West, and especially in America, so to understand the Wilkomirski affair, we must first explore the function of the Shoah in Western politics and culture. Towards this end, Maechler turns to the historian Peter Novick, whose recent book, *The Holocaust in American Life*, tackles the related questions of why the Holocaust has become central to Jewish-American identity, and why it has become important in the United States, a country that had no direct experience of the events (Maechler 310).

According to Novick, the Holocaust became an essential part of collective memory when the American Jewish community began to feel threatened by a "demographic crisis" of secularization and assimilation. In other words, the Holocaust emerged as the rallying point of a collective identity on the verge of disappearing, replacing ritual, belief, and traditional forms of community as the defining center of American Judaism (7). Though many commentators understand the resurgence of Holocaust memories fifty years after the event as the "return of the repressed," Novick argues that the recent explosion of books and films about the Holocaust should be understood politically, not psychologically. Neither the Nuremberg trials nor the Eichmann trial produced as much American interest in the Holocaust as did the Six-Day War of 1967, when the state of Israel seemed threatened with extinction (10). The Holocaust helped explain that war as the resurgence of murderous anti-Semitism. Now the Shoah serves a different ideological function, justifying what the critics of Israel call "the occupation" as self-defense. Novick argues that though Israel's difficulties since the 1970s stem from war and the struggle for land, it is easier to recruit support for Israel by claiming that the Palestinian uprising is the Holocaust in a new form (155).

The Holocaust serves another political function in a society which, in Novick's view, is increasingly preoccupied with victimization. Novick says that in an age of identity politics, when being a victim is a mark of distinction, the Holocaust gives Jews a perverse preeminence, setting them apart as the secular equivalent of the "chosen people" (198). This preeminence among victims shows up most strongly in the debate over whether the Holocaust should be understood as a "unique" historical event, without equivalent or comparison, or as one particularly egregious example of genocide (9,

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197). (Another variant of this debate is whether the Holocaust can be defined in terms of historical factors—modern technological developments, ancient anti-Semitism, bureaucratization—or whether it is something incomprehensible and unnamable, and therefore best approached through the memories of survivors.) Novick, who is extremely skeptical of Holocaust exceptionalism, argues that even non-Jewish Americans are apt to treat Jews as exemplary victims, both because it is easy to identify with an assimilated Jewish population, and because the consensus arrived at on the Holocaust allows us to ignore other victims who might be in need of immediate help (234–35). As Gourevitch puts it, we can all agree that the Holocaust was evil without coming to a consensus about sending troops to Bosnia or Rwanda. Novick says that given its historical and ideological baggage, we cannot expect to derive any moral from the Holocaust, or use it to teach anything other than itself (263). Linking this point to the debate over Wilkomirski, he suggests that we actually read Holocaust testimonies not for their historical insight, but for their emotive power.[7] Like many recent students of the Holocaust, we find Novick's political analysis astute, and are indebted to his insights in what follows.

Philip Gourevitch makes similar points about the emotional power of testimony in his *New Yorker* article "The Memory Thief," the first sustained attempt in the United States to make sense of the conflicting stories in the Wilkomirski affair:

> In a time when the invocation of the intolerable offense of genocide has become a staple of sermons on tolerance, and one has only to say the word "Holocaust" to set off a shudder of sympathetic moral righteousness, Wilkomirski's fact-free fable of an irremediably and unforgettably victimized childhood is the ultimate rhetorical blunt object. It hardly seemed to matter that the solipsism of his memory allowed for no new understanding of the crimes he suffered. On the contrary, in the eyes of its admirers the supremacy of one individual's woe seemed to be what gave "Fragments" its authority. (67)

Gourevitch, more explicitly than Novick, links the affect of testimony, its emotive power, to its authority. Later in this essay we will investigate what "authority" means in the Wilkomirski debate, and how it tends to replace "authenticity" as an evaluative term, especially for those who admit *Fragments* is probably a forgery, but nevertheless praise its ability to evoke powerful responses in readers. Using Gourevitch's analysis as a guide, and recalling Lanzmann's "*Hier Ist Kein Warum,*" we might provisionally define "authority" as a subject-position made unquestionable by virtue of its suffering, or as a voice granted immunity from collective questioning. "Why?" Authority

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in this sense, is the displaced and inverted form of authoritarianism. Thus Wilkomirski's suffering under authoritarianism is what grants him authority as a witness: to question him, as he repeatedly points out, would be to subject him to the horrors of the Holocaust again.

It is, of course, impossible to question suffering. (Those who still support Wilkomirski point out that his suffering is real even if the Holocaust isn't its immediate cause.) When authority is linked to affect, the prescribed reader response is sympathy or personal identification rather than criticism. Wilkomirski's initial success shows just how personal the Holocaust has become in recent years, how unwilling critics have become to question the authority of affect. Gourevitch suggests that most contemporary representations of the Holocaust emphasize the personal over the political and the historical, substituting "sympathetic moral righteousness" for a hard look at why genocide happens, both in the past and the present. He sees this preoccupation with the personal not only in the public's uncritical reception of *Fragments*, but, as he argues in a 1995 *New York Times Magazine* article, in the US Holocaust Memorial Museum, which he says is designed to make visitors feel like witnesses: "As Americans observe the bloody unravelings of the post-cold-war world, the Holocaust Museum provides a rhetorical exercise in bearing witness to dehumanization and mass murder from a seemingly safe distance" (45).

The Holocaust museum, like Wilkomirski's book, provides a convenient point of entry into the debate over the uses and abuses of "bearing witness" in Holocaust studies. Not only does the museum privilege survivor testimony, giving videos from the Survivor's Project a central place in the exhibits, it also encourages visitors to experience the Holocaust on a personal level by assigning them identity cards bearing the names of victims. The prescribed itinerary takes visitors over actual cobblestones from the Lodz ghetto, and through a cattle car once used to transport Jews to concentration camps. The emphasis is on the visceral, the emotive, and the artifactual: the museum personalizes history, encouraging visitors to identify with and put themselves in the place of the victims. This is precisely what Wilkomirski has done, but to the point where he can presumably no longer distinguish between his personal trauma and historical events.[8]

It is easy to dismiss Wilkomirski as someone whose personal suffering has led him to over-identify with victims of the Holocaust, but in the victim culture described by Novick and Gourevitch, this is just what he is supposed to do. Institutions as influential as the US Holocaust Memorial Museum teach the Holocaust through transference and identification. In "America, the Holocaust, and the Mass Culture of Memory: Toward a Radical Politics

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of Empathy," Alison Landsberg praises the Holocaust Museum for offering a "transferential space" where "memory and affect get transferred from one person to another" (72). She argues that it is important for people who have no direct relationship to the Holocaust to remember it in a personal—even corporeal—way, precisely because those who do remember it, the last generation of survivors, are passing away, and because the traditional mechanisms for transmitting memory—community and ritual—were destroyed by the Holocaust (65, 72–73). Taking issue with Gourevitch, Landsberg argues that the traditional (detached and unemotional) way of studying history—she calls this the "cognitive mode"—is a poor substitute for the "experiential mode" of personal memory. She praises the US Holocaust Memorial Museum for encouraging visitors to experience what it was like to be a victim so they can remember, through their own experiences in the museum, how it must have felt: "these spaces [of transference] might actually install in us 'symptoms' or prosthetic memories through which we didn't actually live, but to which we now, after a museum experience or a filmic experience, have a kind of experiential relationship" (82).

Wilkomirski poses a problem for Landsberg because he illustrates the impossibility of distinguishing prosthetic memory from memory-envy. In fact, he creates a problem for all those who view memory—testimony and autobiography—as a privileged or authoritative form of historical discourse, because he illustrates that affect is no guarantee of accuracy. What the theories of prosthetic memory and testimony have in common is their belief that subjective memories, no matter how erroneous, offer a necessary corrective to the cold, clinical way history is normally compiled.[9] Theorists and psychologists like Landsberg, Shoshana Felman, and Dori Laub emphasize affect rather than fact; interviewers in the Survivor's Project don't correct inaccurate testimony, even when it is obviously incorrect. The problem is that while Wilkomirski's trauma has nothing to do with the Holocaust, it is nevertheless real. It is worth noting that even Wilkomirski's harshest critics don't doubt the authenticity of his suffering per se. Daniel Ganzfried attributes Wilkomirski's false memories to a methodologically flawed "interdisciplinary therapy" which "'treat[s]' people without an assured identity, as they bring scraps of memory to light, by attaching to those scraps the appropriate facts and locales out of actual history" ("Die geliehene"). Elena Lappin quotes Israel Gutman, a well-known Yad Vashem historian and Holocaust survivor, who says Wilkomirski's story is "important" even if it is not true because he "experienced [it] deeply" (46). Gourevitch finds it plausible that Wilkomirski might be "a victim of his own sense of victimization" ("Memory Thief" 56). Maechler says Wilkomirski tried to make sense of his very

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real childhood trauma, stemming from unfortunate foster-care experiences as well as an unhappy adoption, by tracing it back to larger historical events (269). Wilkomirski's memories straddle an irreconcilable contradiction at the heart of what testimony has come to mean in Holocaust studies: his trauma seems authentic, but his testimony doesn't.[10]

In his recent article, "Beyond the Question of Authenticity: Witness and Testimony in the *Fragments* Controversy," Michael Bernard-Donals detaches the question of authenticity from that of authority, arguing that *Fragments* has "authority" as testimony even though it is unreliable as history. Following psychologists and theorists who point out that victims are often unable to recall the specifics of traumatic experiences, Bernard-Donals defines testimony as a discourse that indicates, through gaps and inaccuracies, what is unspeakable or unknowable about the past:

> We cannot view testimony as a window on the past; at its most extreme—in memories of trauma—testimony marks the absence of events, since they did not register on, let alone become integrated into, the victim's consciousness. (1302)

> At the heart of any memory is forgetting, the loss of the original event and that loss's destructive force on any subsequent testimony; this is all the more true of traumatic memory. (1313)

Testimony, according to these formulations, emerges from and indicates a past trauma without communicating its specific content (which Bernard-Donals says is "forgotten") to "subsequent witnesses." In other words, testimony doesn't communicate fact, but it does transmit affect. That, according to Bernard-Donals, is why fictional "testimonies" can be just as powerful as firsthand accounts:

> testimonies by those who were present at the events and by those who were not function similarly and have similar effects . . . in the way they disrupt the narrative of history and force the reader or the interviewer to see something horrible, perhaps a trace of the traumatic event. (1311)

Bernard-Donals gauges the "authority" of testimony not by its accuracy, but by its ability to "allow a reader to glimpse a trauma" (1303). This shifts the definition of the term from the legal-historical, where testimony is supposed to provide evidence, to the rhetorical, where it produces an effect on the reader. Such a rhetorical definition of testimony allows Bernard-Donals to reconcile *Fragments*'s initial success with its unreliability as narrative. It also allows him to stress the personal relation between author and reader—something

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he calls "secondhand witnessing"—over the historical relation between narrative and facts.

Bernard-Donals's "secondhand witnessing," like Landsberg's "prosthetic memory," emphasizes transference, an experiential connection between people, over reference, the semantic connection between symbol and event. It is difficult for these authors to define what we get from secondhand witnessing and prosthetic memory, though they agree that it is not historical knowledge. Bernard-Donals argues that "The effect of testimony, in Doesseker's case coded in the language of the Shoah and structured by a language that displaces the reader's sense of the normal (or of history), opens a moment in which the reader of the testimony becomes a secondhand witness and sees not the experience described but something that stands beyond or before it, not history but history's real" (1308). He says elsewhere that testimony's "authority" is a function of its ability to help readers or listeners "see" what they don't understand.[11] These formulations allow Bernard-Donals to recuperate Wilkomirski, but at the price, it seems to us, of historical ignorance. Wilkomirski's testimony comes to signify what is unknowable in all testimonies precisely because of its inaccuracies. The danger of equating inaccuracy with unknowability is this: the Holocaust becomes a metaphor for that which stands outside of history (experience, memory, trauma), and conversely, false accounts like Wilkomirski's become indistinguishable from real testimonies, since we can't "know" the Holocaust anyway.[12]

Bernard-Donals's conflation of authority with affect, and the Holocaust with the unknowable, allows us to call *Fragments* a testimony, but it also turns all powerful fictions into testimonies, and all testimonies into narratives of the Holocaust. While this move makes sense in a general way, it is about as useful as saying that all art is autobiography, or that all contemporary literature points back to the Shoah. If testimony is to mean anything, we must be able to assume a direct relation between a particular trauma and a specific narrative. Otherwise, any trauma could produce any narrative—and surely this is the *reductio ad absurdum* of testimony as a critical category.

Bernard-Donals does attempt to establish a connection between testimony and trauma, not through narrative content, but through formal irregularities, namely "stutters, breaks, and impossible juxtapositions of images" which represent a form of "metonymic substitution" (1308). The metonymic or formal connection between experience and language recapitulates the personal or affective connection of secondhand witnessing: both presuppose a kind of absolute proximity, a seismic or kinetic relation between teller/listener and experience/form that transmits the magnitude of experience without communicating a message. Wilkomirski's narrative, of course, displays

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the telltale stutters, breaks, and juxtapositions, and, as Elena Lappin points out, it probably emerges from some childhood trauma. However, the dislocations Bernard-Donals reads as an effect of trauma might also be nostalgia, or rationalization, or simply learned performance. (Ganzfried describes Wilkomirski as crying a lot during his presentations, and always at the right moment). Form and feeling are no more guarantee of authenticity—or authority—than is reference. Bernard-Donals's emphasis on form and feeling, like his shift to the register of authority, becomes an attempt to valorize the shape of a narrative or memory—its idiosyncratic contours—over its content. This occurs because the "content" of the Holocaust is by now so well known that it has come to serve as a metaphor for other catastrophes, as it clearly has for Wilkomirski. The stylistic tics and symptomatic inadequacies of particular Holocaust narratives are all that remain of individual expression. In stressing form over content, Bernard-Donals tries to exhume the subjects buried under the impersonal statistic of six million. It should be noted that while Bernard-Donals's emphasis on formal irregularities personalizes our understanding of the Holocaust, it does not revolutionize the study of history. He merely replaces the notion of historical accuracy with one of formal causality, which is, after all, merely the literary formulation of the most traditional sort of historiography: cause and effect, or in this case, trauma and affect.[13]

Rather than stretching the definition of testimony to include *Fragments*, we should ask why Wilkomirski feels compelled to encode his childhood trauma in the language of the Holocaust, and why people respond so strongly to this sort of narrative. Bernard-Donals begins to ask these sorts of questions:

> We should not be surprised that [Doesseker] testifies to those experiences [his early childhood trauma] through the language of the most significant horror of the twentieth century, whose effect on the individuals and on a culture is unspeakable and perhaps unknowable and which may well take the place of and (mis)name the events to which he does not have access. (1310)

Instead of following up on this insight, however, Bernard-Donals equivocates, stating that the instability of testimony and memory leaves the authenticity of the account (though not its "authority") an "open question," thus effectively bracketing any further investigation into the politics of representation (1305, 1311).

Why privilege firsthand accounts, even if they turn out to be secondhand concoctions? The recent emphasis on testimony in Holocaust studies can be traced to Lawrence Langer's pioneering *Holocaust Testimonies: The*

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Ruins of Memory, one of the first books to stress the importance of expanding our definition of history to include survivors' testimony.[14] Langer argues that the experiences of Holocaust survivors don't fit the heroic model of traditional historiography—a model that assumes historical agents have complete control over the consequences of their actions (26). He says that to hear what the survivors have to say—and "hear" is the operative word, since he privileges oral testimonies over written memoirs—we should learn to sympathize with what he calls the "unheroic gesture" and the "choiceless choice" (26–27). Listening to testimony should encourage us to dispense with outdated models of heroism, and with the foundational myths and teleological models that go along with them:

> Unlike primal episodes such as the Fall of Man or the Fall of Troy—which formed the basis for human morality or the founding of a people, creating a future and hence an entry into history and time—the Holocaust did not offer an opportunity for an evolutionary "afterward." As testimonies constantly show, their progressive narrative collapses under the weight of died events [sic]. . . . Hearing it, we try to match our sense of authenticity against its logic, only to encounter a failure to connect. . . . The experience of nonrelation [of our sense of authenticity to the logic of testimony] is itself a form of relation, however tenuous; the sense of threatened identity accompanying it reenacts, on a smaller scale (though it does not duplicate), the fragmentation of self, family, community, and harmony with the universe that is the enduring legacy of the catastrophe. (72–73)

Langer argues that testimony's failure to conform to our expectations about history enacts for us, at a remove, the "threatened identity" experienced by survivors themselves. At the end of his book, he expands the notion of threatened identity into a general historical principle, arguing that we should reformulate theories of "human agency" to fit "our time of a diminished self" (199–205). Landsberg and Bernard-Donals both cite Langer, but they take his theory a step further, transforming a historical problem—the loss of agency—into a problem of history—the loss of meaning. Their theories suggest that testimony's failure to conform to history and agency should encourage us to dispense with these concepts altogether, rejecting the pursuit of knowledge for a sense of common victimhood through secondhand witnessing or prosthetic memory.

Landsberg and Bernard-Donals both argue that the Holocaust is something we are supposed to experience as trauma, not learn about as history. Embedded in this view is the assumption that testimony, in voicing trauma, communicates something left out of history: "A text's authority originates in its ability to indicate (though perhaps not produce) knowledge of what lies

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beyond what can be logically understood, beyond what makes sense" (Bernard-Donals 1305). Trauma theory's emphasis on what can't be understood privileges the individual by thematizing his or her specific relation to chaotic events. The logic of the argument works in this way: since most victims of the Holocaust did not understand what was happening to them or why, contemporary students of the Holocaust should not try to understand either. Instead, we should try to empathize with the victims. This approach preserves the sanctity of individual memory, but at the expense of converting the Holocaust into the sublime, something that can be felt but not understood. The individual and the sublime converge in prosthetic memory and secondhand witnessing, in Landsberg's "transferential spaces" and Bernard-Donals's traumatic forms. Their theories counter the general destruction of meaning with what is essentially a Romantic concept of individual expression. The speaker's authority lies in his or her experience of the unspeakable, and in the ability to transport listeners beyond critical distance, beyond even empathy, to a point where listeners somehow grasp the experiences behind the words. The result is not history or knowledge but a common—and transcendent—identification with the victims.

Landsberg and Bernard-Donals base their theories of trauma on a selective reading of Dominick LaCapra, who as Bernard-Donals says, warns against conflating memory with history (1302). Landsberg and Bernard-Donals tend to react to this injunction by privileging memory over history, experience over event. This, however, is not LaCapra's point. In *Representing the Holocaust,* a book cited by both Landsberg and Bernard-Donals, LaCapra seems to contradict their position directly, arguing that experience is no guarantee of authenticity or authority:

> Experience should not be hypostatized as the source of authenticity and authority. It certainly has a crucial role in defining a subject-position that is distinctive and in some cases (notably that of victims) worthy of the utmost respect and sustained attentiveness. Yet working-through, as it relates both to the rebuilding of lives and to the elaboration of a critical historiography, requires the effort to achieve critical distance on experience through a comparison of experiences and through a reconstruction of larger contexts that help to inform and perhaps to transform experience. (200)

What LaCapra calls "working-through" involves considering experience along with a host of other historical factors that often impact experience in unpredictable and unnoticed ways. It involves both "criticism and self-criticism," as the historian must not only evaluate history, but be wary of acting it out in the way he or she describes it (72, 111, 193). Landsberg and

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Bernard-Donals make the mistake of assuming that transference goes one way, as if it could be directed through the "transferential space" of a museum or the form of a narrative. They see transference as a heuristic device or a project, something that can pass on the experience of the Holocaust to the next generation. LaCapra, on the other hand, sees it as a problem of history. The difference between transference as problem and transference as project maps onto the distinction between empathy and identification made by LaCapra in his recent book, *Writing History, Writing Trauma.* Empathy is an affective relation to the other recognized as other, while identification involves acting out the problems of the other (38–40, 212). LaCapra suggests we should empathize with Wilkomirski but avoid the "disorientation" caused by the false memoir (207). We feel that this disorientation is only exacerbated by bracketing, as Bernard-Donals does, the question of authenticity in order to preserve the so-called authority of Wilkomirski's account. Encouraging museum visitors to identify with Holocaust victims produces a similar kind of disorientation.

Imposing a direction on transference is like imposing a direction, or a purpose, on suffering—the assumption Levi questions in the passage that serves as the epigraph of this essay. This teleological construction is a way of conflating purpose and identity. It makes sense of suffering and reaffirms the authority of the victim, not in the traumatic event but in its articulation. Levi's religious friend wants testimony to justify suffering. Landsberg and Bernard-Donals want testimony and suffering to justify the authority of a particular point of view. In advocating secondhand witnessing and prosthetic memory, they attempt to shore up the authority of the Holocaust and its witnesses, creating a common identity out of what—in the case of secondhand witnesses—amounts to extenuated or vicarious suffering. Memory is a figure of identity, and prosthetic memory a means of forging group identity by repeating the experience of disaster. This kind of repetition compulsion plays a role in transferring the authority of the camp guard, who says *Hier ist kein Warum,* to the authority of the unquestionable victim, in order to "prove" that there can be no total explanation of the Holocaust.[15]

CONCLUSION

So if Wilkomirski has come by his prosthetic memories in the prescribed way, through what Landsberg calls a "radical politics of empathy," and if those memories are genuinely traumatic, what are we to do with his false testimony? This practical question actually involves two deeper epistemological ones: How do we determine the accuracy of testimony? What kind of knowledge

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does testimony provide? The Wilkomirski affair proves beyond a doubt that the first question has no satisfactory answer. Many readers, including survivors, believed Wilkomirski's tale because it is so excruciating, but now that the details have turned out to be pornographic, not realistic, we know that affect is no guarantee of authenticity. Form is also no guarantee. Though the narrative looks like a survivor's testimony, with its fragmented narrative and damaged point-of-view, it is, as critics point out, merely a pastiche of testimonies (Maechler 269). Those who began by comparing *Fragments* to Elie Wiesel's *Night* now invoke Jerzy Kozinski's *The Painted Bird,* another discredited survivor's tale told from a child's point of view, which Wilkomirski admits to having read. Though it might be possible to define testimony as a genre, thereby determining where books like *Fragments* and *The Painted Bird* fall short, neither the form of a testimony nor its emotive power can establish its authenticity—or its "authority," to use Bernard-Donals's term.

It is undeniable that Wilkomirski's narrative moved a great number of people, encouraging them to think about the Holocaust in ways they might not have before. Reader-response theory and propaganda both teach all of us that narratives can be powerful even when they are not true. It seems plausible that people might still try to read *Fragments* for its emotional power in the same way that they read other fictional accounts of the Holocaust. Fiction, of course, can teach us much about fact. However, *Fragments* is not merely fiction, but fictionalized memory, and memory implies a specific relation of history to historical subjects. According to Walter Benn Michaels, we tend to transform history into memory as a way of constituting cultural identities. "We learn about other people's history," he says, "we remember our own" (185, 183). This distinction gets at the heart of the Wilkomirski scandal, since it explains why Wilkomirski's supporters and his critics take the book so personally. Originally, we read *Fragments* to remember, or to learn, what it means to be Jewish, or more broadly, what it means to be a victim. Perhaps the indeterminacy of the narrative, the defenseless child's ability to be "everybody's victim," aided in the process of identification, at least when we believed the book to be true. Now the same book reminds us that memories are metaphors and identities are constructed. The inaccuracy of these memories does not plunge us into a historical crisis for the same reason that any number of make-believe Napoleons do not discredit Waterloo. Rather, unstable memories plunge those who identify with those memories into a crisis of identity. Exposing Wilkomirski's testimony as memory-envy exposes at least some of our interest in Holocaust testimony as another form of memory-envy. If we identified with him as a victim, we are also implicated in his delusions of victimization.

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There are at least two lessons to be drawn from the Wilkomirski affair about the role of testimony in Holocaust studies. First, Wilkomirski teaches us that we do not read testimonies to supplement our knowledge of the Holocaust, which, unlike other genocides, has been and continues to be extensively studied. The correlative is that we read testimony not to learn about a person, but to learn about a people. Testimonies are questionable sources of historical evidence, but they are paramount vehicles of identification. Second, we read Holocaust testimonies to identify with the victims. This has the effect of transforming Holocaust studies into a secular religion, with Auschwitz taking the place of the destruction of the Second Temple and the Diaspora. The Holocaust serves as a foundational story for Jewish identity by giving a common past to a diverse people no longer unified by custom or belief. The presence of the US Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C. suggests that it also founds some aspects of American identity. By honoring the victims and celebrating the American role in liberating the concentration camps, the United States figures itself as a democracy ready to punish the "evil ones"—to borrow President Bush's recent memorable phrase—who practice genocide. Of course, as others have pointed out, Washington, D.C. does not yet have a memorial museum dedicated to the systematic decimation of Native Americans or to the slaughter of Black slaves during the Middle Passage, and we have to ask ourselves why. Still others have suggested that the presence of the Holocaust Memorial Museum has allowed many politically conservative American Jews, as well as their fundamentalist Christian allies, to remain indifferent to the fate of the Palestinian refugees and skeptical of a two-state solution. Representing Jews as victims reinforces the belief that Israel, no matter what it does, is acting in self-defense. In this context, we can understand why *Fragments* has become such a controversial book, namely because it exposes the politics of commemoration. It teaches us that a "people" is as contingent as its history, and that memory is a highly political metaphor. Wilkomirski might not be an actual victim of the Holocaust, but he is a fitting monument to victim culture.

NOTES

AUTHOR'S NOTE: This article is part of our book in progress on the theme of "Holocaust tourism."

1. Rosenbaum 265–66. Rosenbaum is extremely critical of Lanzmann's argument: "A truly astonishing thing has happened here. Set aside the fact that he comes close to asserting the position that the Shoah did not exist until its 'transmission' by Lanzmann in *Shoah*. Even more bizarrely, Lanzmann has taken an SS death-camp guard's 'grotesque and sarcastic' rebuke to a Jew asking why—and made that sneering mass

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murderer's command into his own commandment. He's made an insulting description (here there is no why) of a policy designed to keep the gas chambers running on time (without any troublesome Jewish questions harrying the murderers) into a moral injunction: Here there should be no why."

2. Clendinnen argues that "What most disquiets about a too-shrill insistence on the uniqueness of the Holocaust is the danger that, if the Holocaust were indeed to be accepted as unique, it would risk falling out of history—the consultable record of the actions of our species, and the active interrogation of that record—altogether. That is something we cannot afford. We need to know both ourselves and the worlds we are capable of making if we can hope to change any part of either" (16; see also 20–21). In a recent piece in *The New York Times* entitled "Connections: Artists Seeking Their Inner Nazi," Edward Rothstein characterizes what he calls "The battle . . . over how the Holocaust (or in Hebrew, the Shoah) . . . is to be understood" in this way: "The oppositions are best stated starkly. On the one hand, the Holocaust is seen as a unique event, defying comparison. The villains are considered transcendentally evil, barely human. The Holocaust remains so beyond understanding that it seems to possess a sacred quality. Analogies are to be shunned. On the other hand, the Holocaust is seen as one horrific event among others, an example of how racism and injustice have left millions in unmarked graves. Its villains are no different from any other people who are capable if not culpable of such crimes. Analogies are to be welcomed." Though Rothstein's remarks concern the way we view the perpetrators, they could also be extended to the victims. If it is not possible to understand the victims—to look for analogies or ask why—then the best we can hope to do is to empathize with their suffering. In this paper we shall argue that an overemphasis on empathy leads to facile identification. This in turn transforms the Holocaust into a quasi-mystical, but politically useful, event.

3. Our summary of the facts connected with Wilkomirski and the publishing history of *Fragments* draws upon Stefan Maechler's *The Wilkomirski Affair: A Study in Biographical Truth.*

4. La Prix de Memoire de la Shoah is presented by the Foundation du Judaisme Français. *Fragments* shared its Spring 1997 award with Jean-François Forges's *Eduquer contre Auschwitz,* which Maechler calls a "finely differentiated pedagogical work." Interestingly enough, Forges "notes," according to Maechler, "that the real danger lies not only in the Shoah's being denied but also in its being sacralized" (114–15).

5. Daniel Ganzfried was the first to call the authenticity of *Fragments* into question in a series of articles in *Die Weltwoche*: "Die geliehene Holocaust-Biographie" (27 Aug. 1998), "*Bruchstücke* und Scherbenhaufen" (24 Sept. 1998), "Fakten gegen Erinnerung" (3 Sept. 1998), and "Binjamin Wilkomirski und die verwandelte Polin" (4 Nov. 1999).

6. Maechler however notes that "Bernstein explains that Wilkomirski's therapy did not include hypnosis, hallucinogenic drugs, or any other such methods" (89).

7. Novick 275. Others have followed Novick in critiquing the function of the Holocaust in contemporary American life. The most controversial account is Norman Finkelstein's *The Holocaust Industry,* a sustained polemic against various Jewish organizations. Finkelstein argues that in America the "Jewish elite" instrumentalizes the Holocaust in order to extort money from German and Swiss industries. He attributes Wilkomirski's

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initial success to his usefulness as a poster boy, and he even finds fault with those who criticized him for "stealing" Holocaust memories: "*The New Yorker* titled its expose of the Wilkomirski fraud 'Stealing the Holocaust.' Yesterday Wilkomirski was feted for his tales of Gentile evil; today he is chastised as yet another evil Gentile. It's always the Gentile's fault. True, Wilkomirski fabricated his Holocaust past, but the larger truth is that the Holocaust industry, built on a fraudulent misappropriation of history for ideological purposes, was primed to celebrate the Wilkomirski fabrication. He was a Holocaust 'survivor' waiting to be discovered" (61). This argument, which seems like the inversion of the traditional anti-Semitic strategy to blame the Jews for everything, amply illustrates the tone of Finkelstein's work. His point that an autobiography, fabricated or not, can serve "ideological purposes" is well taken; however, he transforms ideology theory into conspiracy theory by pointing the finger at a "Jewish elite," which he claims is bent on blaming the Gentiles for everything.

8. Ganzfried makes the argument that Wilkomirski cannot distinguish between personal trauma and historical events in the August 27, 1998, article in *Die Weltwoche* that exposed Wilkomirski as a fraud: "We tried to understand his writing process, which clearly went so far that the author completely incorporated himself into the figure in his novel. Somewhere on the borderline between fiction and historical research, the distance from his written ego must have collapsed, so that 'he' became 'I'. Wilkomirski, alias Doessekker, is no writer. His report does not move in the sphere of literature. It is probably the internalized collection of pictures of a man whose imagination has burned through, completely apart from whether or not a Wilkomirski could have existed, from whom Doessekker borrowed the story of his life in the concentration camps." This English translation can be found at <http://www.stopbadtherapy.com/experts/fragments/ganzfried.html>.

9. See, for instance, Shoshana Felman and Dori Laub's *Testimony*: "As a relation to events, testimony seems to be composed of bits and pieces of a memory that has been overwhelmed by occurrences that have not settled into understanding or remembrance, acts that cannot be constructed as knowledge nor assimilated into full cognition, events in excess of our frames of reference. . . . What testimony does not offer is, however, a completed statement, a totalizable account of those events" (5). Felman and Laub do not tackle the problem of the relation of testimony to actual events, since they assume that those compelled to testify have suffered some sort of trauma. Truth is personal and subjective and has to do with the relation of the speaker to the listener, not the relation of the narrative to an actual series of events. See, for instance, p. 91.

10. Wilkomirski might also be seen to represent a contradiction at the heart of testimony in general. He speaks with passion about his pain, but the facts he offers to substantiate his trauma cannot be verified in relation to his own life's events. This linkage back to large events in the past is not unlike some of the testimony in the repressed-memory literature in which patients speak of abuse by parents or near relatives thirty years earlier, or "recall" Satanic rituals to which they were subjected as children. That testimony can be false is nothing new, and we are not suggesting that it somehow be "dismissed" from the historical record. This is especially important because many cases of genocide are not as well documented as the Holocaust, and survivors' accounts are necessary to create a historical record in the first place. Rather, we see the Wilkomirski case as a cautionary

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tale about the dangers of linking authority to affect. Feeling something strongly does not make it "true," at least not in a historical sense.

11. "The extent to which a discourse has authority depends on its ability to move an audience to 'see' an issue or an event that exceeds language's ability to narrate it. A text's authority originates in its ability to indicate (though perhaps not produce) knowledge of what lies beyond what can be logically understood, beyond what makes sense" (Bernard-Donals 1305).
12. In *The Art of the Ridiculous Sublime: On David Lynch's Lost Highway,* Slavoj Žižek both criticizes and, it seems to us, dramatizes how the Holocaust gets converted into a metaphor for that which stands outside of history, i.e. "the Real." Speaking of what he calls Wilkomirski's "False Memory Syndrome," he makes the following point: "usually, we generate fantasies as a kind of shield to protect us from the unbearable trauma; here, however, the very ultimate traumatic experience, that of the Holocaust, is fantasized as a shield—from what? Such monstrous apparitions are 'returns in the Real' of the failed symbolic authority: the reverse of the decline of paternal authority, of the father as the embodiment of the symbolic Law, is the emergence of the rape-enjoying father of the False Memory Syndrome." In the following sentence, Žižek goes on to say that this version of the father is itself a "shield" against our fear of "unconstrained enjoyment" (31). Leaving aside the psychoanalytic implications of Žižek's argument, it seems clear that he objects to using the Holocaust as a "shield" or "screen memory," only to transform it into a metaphor for that which memory can never fully recall. In this respect, his theory is similar to Bernard-Donals's.
13. "Testimonial narratives do not disclose history; instead they disclose—where the narrative most clearly shows its seams—the effect of events on witnesses" (Bernard-Donals 1308).
14. Langer claims that "A major source of despair for humiliated memory [the traumatic memory of the victim] is the almost totally excluding effect of its revelations, on the witness's own present consciousness, as well as the audience's, at least as the witness perceives it. Thus this is not history as we ordinarily understand it; and though we have the option of rejecting such testimony as a form of history, we also face the challenge of enlarging our notion of what history may be, what the Holocaust has made of it, and how it urges us to reconsider the relation of past to present (in a less hopeful way, to be sure), and of both to the tentative future" (109). When Bernard-Donals bases Wilkomirski's "authority" as a witness on the supposed unreliability of history, he transforms what Langer calls the "excluding effect of . . . revelations" into a general metaphysical principle, arguing that we are all excluded from history's "real."
15. In *Writing History, Writing Trauma,* LaCapra links identification with the victim to cognitive impasse: "a difficulty arises when the virtual experience involved in empathy gives way to vicarious victimhood, and empathy with the victim seems to become an identity. And a post-traumatic response of unsettlement becomes questionable when it is routinized in a methodology or style that enacts compulsive repetition, including the compulsively repetitive turn to the aporia, paradox, or impasse" (47).

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THE AFFECTIVE WORK OF STOLEN GENERATIONS TESTIMONY: FROM THE ARCHIVES TO THE CLASSROOM

ROSANNE KENNEDY

TESTIMONY: A DIALOGIC APPROACH

In recent decades, personal testimony has become an important discursive practice for bearing witness to traumatic historical events. As such, it has been featured in Holocaust commemoration, and in human rights and "truth" commissions. In Australia, which is the focus of this essay, personal testimony has played a vital role in educating Australians about the history and experiences of the Stolen Generations, and has provided a basis on which to make human rights claims. Brought to international attention through Phillip Noyce's 2001 film *Rabbit Proof Fence,* the term Stolen Generations refers to the removal of Indigenous children from their families and communities during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[1] Although the circumstances of removal varied, the primary aim was to assimilate Indigenous children, particularly those of mixed Aboriginal and white descent, into white Australian culture. In the 1980s, stories of separation featured in several Indigenous autobiographies, and testimonies of removal were published in an anthology, *The Lost Children.*[2] Stolen Generations testimony only became highly visible in Australian culture, however, with the 1997 publication of *Bringing Them Home,* the report of the National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children from their Families (HREOC). This report led to the production of more testimonies, when the federal government funded the National Inquiry's recommendation to create an archive of testimonies of Indigenous separation. The *Bringing Them Home* Oral History Project, which resulted from this recommendation, was completed in 2002.[3]

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Stolen Generations testimonies bear witness to traumas inflicted on Indigenous people as a result of colonization, dispossession, and European paternalistic mentalities. They bring into discourse details of personal relations, such as the relation between mother and child, which have been interfered with and devastated as a result of government policies.[4] These intimate but public testimonies present a methodological challenge, for as Jennifer Ballengee has recently observed: "The address of the survivor . . . demands a response . . . and thus we must learn how to address or read it" (225). As one of the few sizable collections of Indigenous testimony, the Stolen Generations archive challenges us to develop approaches for reading and responding to post/colonial testimony.[5]

To date, literary critics have not developed many approaches for reading vernacular testimonies.[6] This neglect stems in part from assumptions about the referential nature of testimony, which has increasingly become a contested issue since testimony has been reconceived in the wake of theories of trauma.[7] Psychoanalytic critics have argued that trauma cannot be directly represented, and is best conveyed through non-narrative and indirect literary forms.[8] This theoretical claim has resulted in a marginalization of testimonies which position themselves as "direct" forms of witnessing—that is, witnessing based on personal experience and on claims to remember, at least in part, what happened in the past, despite the trauma involved.[9] Thus, rather than study vernacular testimony, literary critics tend to read literature for its testimonial insights into traumatic events.

While literary critics are wary of referential forms of testimony, in such fields as history, law, and the media, testimony comes under suspicion because it is not referential enough. James Young observes that many historians distrust Holocaust survivor testimonies because they tend to be "laden with pathos . . . and so dependent on individual memory" (163). Furthermore, with its origins in law, testimony is often evaluated through adversarial methods. As Leigh Gilmore points out, "Because testimonial projects require subjects to . . . make public and shareable a private and intolerable pain, they enter into a legalistic frame in which their efforts can move quickly beyond their interpretation and control, become exposed as ambiguous, and therefore subject to judgments about their veracity and worth" (7).[10] Thus testimonies are in danger of being marginalized by scholars, either because they contravene the prohibition on appropriate forms of representing trauma, or because they are judged to be too subjective and therefore unreliable. In developing an adequate response to testimony, the first task, I argue, is to recognize that Stolen Generations testimonies are "social utterances" which intervene in a present social context, rather than simple representations of a past event.

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Instead of framing an approach to testimony on theories of trauma, or judging them according to juridical notions of "truth" and "evidence," then, I approach Stolen Generations testimony as a dialogic form. As Tzvetan Todorov explains, Mikhail Bakhtin's concept of the dialogic foregrounds the social context in which communication occurs. Address is of course a central element in a dialogic approach, but the meanings of both address and response are produced from the entire social complex in which they are uttered. As Todorov notes, "[c]oncretely, one always addresses someone, and that someone does not assume a purely passive role . . . the interlocutor participates in the formation of the meaning of the utterance, just as the other elements—similarly social—of the context of uttering do" (30).[11] Although Shoshana Felman's work on testimony is rightly valued by critics for its pioneering psychoanalytic approach, embedded in her discussion of testimony are the seeds of an alternative conception—one that is compatible with a dialogic approach. She notes, for instance, that "to testify . . . before an audience of readers or spectators—is more than simply to report a fact or an event or to relate what has been lived, recorded and remembered. Memory is conjured here essentially in order to *address* another, to impress upon a listener, to *appeal* to a community"(204).[12] Like Bakhtin's notion of the dialogic, the understanding of testimony as an address draws out the listener's ethical obligation to respond.

The appropriateness of a dialogic approach to Stolen Generations testimony is suggested by *Bringing Them Home,* the report that resulted from the National Inquiry. The authors positioned the report as an appeal to the Australian community, which had an obligation to respond. The report insisted that the devastation of Aboriginal communities "cannot be addressed unless the whole community listens with an open heart and mind to the stories of what happened in the past and, having listened and understood, commits itself to reconciliation" (3).[13] A similarly dialogic conception of testimony has recently been articulated by Doreen Mellor and Anna Haebich, the editors of *Many Voices,* a text which introduces the *Bringing Them Home* Oral History Project to the public. The editors explain that "[t]he Project has been established with the intention of making it possible for people to listen with an open mind to the complex array of experiences that make up this history, and in so doing, to participate in a restorative process for our whole community" (14). These appeals to the public to listen with "an open heart and mind" serve an essentially rhetorical function—they encourage people to listen and respond generously. Such an approach, by necessity, does not consider the "complex social situation," or the potentially conflicting emotions, which

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may be experienced in the actual practice of listening and responding to testimonies.

Taking a dialogic approach to testimony, I argue, entails an analysis of reception in practice. The issue of reception—which includes reading, listening, and responding to survivor testimonies—has received little attention from theorists and critics of testimony, especially in a settler colonial context where testimonies include "unpalatable words" that challenge celebratory or comforting accounts of history, self, and nation.[14] What work there is on reception tends to be grounded in the concept of identification—in part because many critics draw on Dori Laub's transferential model of the relationship between survivor and listener. By analyzing the ways in which Stolen Generations testimonies address audiences, and the ways in which listeners respond, my aim in this essay is to contribute to discussions about how to respond to the address of the survivor. As a means of examining how listeners respond, I draw on my experiences of teaching Stolen Generations testimonies in an Australian undergraduate classroom over several years. Thus my focus is not on response in theory, but response in practice.[15] I am interested in how students responded in the specific site of my classroom.

Felman and Laub, and Geoffrey Hartman, among others, have hailed testimony as a means of teaching students about a limit event such as the Holocaust. In a post/colonial context such as Australia, Stolen Generations testimonies offer insights into the history, effects, and legacies of colonization in Australia—a history that is currently being bitterly contested in the public domain.[16] These testimonies raise such issues as how Indigenous Australians have been treated by Anglo settlers and their descendants. Not surprisingly, responses to such confrontational topics may include not only the "positive" emotion of empathy, but also "negative" emotions of anxiety, anger, frustration, shame, and denial (see Berlant). Because Stolen Generations testimonies provoke a range of responses, they provide a valuable case study for analyzing both the address of the survivor, and responses to that address. Stolen Generations testimonies, I suggest, sometimes challenge non-Indigenous teachers and students to become aware of our own subject positions as the inheritors of a post/colonial legacy, a consciousness that can potentially contribute to the reconciliation process in Australia. For as Australian feminist scholars have recently argued, reconciliation is not simply a matter of symbolic gestures; it "is a process of undoing the privileges and injustices of the ongoing process of colonisation, which . . . entail[s] a recognition by non-Indigenous people that they/we might have to give something up" (Pratt et al. 7).

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The issue of response and subject position is never straightforward or predictable. How students respond depends upon contingent and often unknowable factors, such as the composition of the class, the identities and histories of the students, the teacher's own identity and positioning vis à vis the students, the testimonies being discussed, and the reception of testimonies in the public domain, which inevitably impact on students' responses. My own subject position in relation to members of the Stolen Generations, and to my students, is that of an outsider/insider. As an immigrant to Australia, who has been teaching in Australia for ten years, I do not have a personal or direct relation to issues of Aboriginal dispossession and the separation of Indigenous children. Nonetheless, as a white American who is interpellated as a "white Australian," I enjoy the privileges accorded to white Australians. Thus, I also inherit the responsibilities that fall upon white Australians to respond to a post/colonial legacy. One way of responding is through teaching. When I came to Australia, I considered it important to teach Stolen Generations testimony, since it was being discussed in the media and in national debate. To appreciate the historical and political significance of Stolen Generations testimony in Australia, and the obstacles that threaten to diminish its visibility, it is useful to have some understanding of the "complex social situation" in which the testimonies have been produced and received. In the next section, I discuss some of the factors involved in the production and reception of testimonies by the National Inquiry and the *Bringing Them Home* Oral History Project.

THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONTEXT OF STOLEN GENERATIONS TESTIMONY

A major factor impacting upon responses to the Stolen Generations in particular, and reconciliation more generally, is the change in federal government that occurred in 1996. The National Inquiry was commissioned in 1995, in a political climate that differed radically from that which prevailed when the *Bringing Them Home* report was received barely eighteen months later. Labour Party leader Paul Keating, who was Prime Minister from 1991 to 1996, promoted reconciliation, and during his tenure, a number of developments looked promising. As recommended by the Royal Inquiry into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody, the Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation was established late in 1991. In 1992, in the landmark Mabo case, the High Court of Australia overturned the long-standing doctrine of "terra nullius," which proclaimed that Australia had been unoccupied territory when European settlers arrived. This decision opened the way for land rights claims

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from Indigenous groups. In December 1992, Keating made his famous "Redfern" speech, in which he claimed that white Australians were responsible for the devastation of Aboriginal culture, and for the appalling conditions that prevailed in Aboriginal communities in the present.[17] It was in a context sympathetic to reconciliation that the Keating government, in 1995, commissioned the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission (known as HREOC) to conduct a National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children From their Families.[18]

During 1996, the National Inquiry, under the direction of Sir Ronald Wilson and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Social Justice Commissioner Mick Dodson, both of whom had legal backgrounds, held closed hearings throughout Australia at which Indigenous people testified to their experiences of removal. Most of the testimony came from people who had been removed as children, and was based on their memories of being taken and of their childhoods spent in institutions or foster homes. The Inquiry collected evidence, orally or in writing, from 535 Indigenous people (HREOC 21). In addition, law firms, Aboriginal legal services, and other Indigenous organizations recorded testimonies and forwarded them to the Inquiry. The Aboriginal Legal Service of Western Australia, for instance, collected more than 600 testimonies. In May 1997, the National Inquiry delivered its report to the Australian Parliament. The *Bringing Them Home* report advocated reconciliation, but it also took a more confrontational approach, characterizing forced removal as genocide, and outlining a broad reparations package that included monetary compensation. By framing the separation of Indigenous children in terms of genocide, the report brought Australian treatment of Indigenous people into an international context.[19] The report used excerpts from testimonies to show that the removal of Indigenous children had been systematically practiced, and that it had catastrophic effects on the lives of the children and their families. In these excerpts, the same themes—of loss of identity, family, and community; of physical, emotional, and sexual abuse; of lack of self-esteem and a sense of purpose; of drug and alcohol dependency and suicidal thoughts—emerge repeatedly. The report drew Indigenous suffering into a familiar discursive framework of trauma and post-traumatic stress, with which many people could identify. The report was historically significant because it was the first time this history of separation was officially acknowledged by the Australian federal government, and the first time it received a prominent place in Australian culture.[20]

Although the National Inquiry had been commissioned by a Labour government sympathetic to reconciliation, its report was received by a conservative coalition government headed by John Howard, who became Prime

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Minister in 1996.[21] In a radical turnabout from Keating, Howard's conservative approach to race issues has impacted on reconciliation with Indigenous Australians, on Australia's relations with its Asian neighbors, and on its treatment of asylum seekers.[22] Out of the fifty-four recommendations the report made, the federal government has implemented seventeen.[23] These include funding for family reunions, for tracing lost relatives, for the oral history project, and for increased counseling services for people in the process of attempting to link-up with lost relatives. In the years since the report, Howard has notoriously refused to offer a national apology to the Stolen Generations, and has opposed monetary compensation, both of which were recommended by HREOC. Insisting that the "past remain in the past," he refers to histories of Australia that acknowledge the violence and dispossession occasioned by colonization as "black armband" history.[24] While the Howard government's response has not dampened enthusiasm for reconciliation amongst the Australian public, it has impacted upon the reception of testimony by, for instance, using the rhetoric of "black armband history" to trivialize it.[25]

The *Bringing Them Home* report insisted upon the importance of testimony both for personal healing, and for the reconciliation process, imagined in the report as the healing of the nation. Most of the testimonies were, however, protected by confidentiality agreements, an approach advocated by Link-Up (NSW), an Aboriginal community group that helps people who were separated trace their families and communities. The report argued that for community healing and the reconciliation process to go forward, it was necessary to continue to collect testimonies and make them accessible to the public (21). To support this view, they cited a submission from Link-Up (NSW), which called for the establishment of an Aboriginal Oral History Archive "modelled on the Shoah Foundation" which will "testify to the atrocities committed against our people . . . and ensure that the genocide against our people cannot be denied" (sub. 186).[26] The first recommendation of the report, which was consistent with the importance HREOC attached to testimony, was that the federal government provide funds to collect Indigenous testimonies of separation (22). Although the federal government implemented this recommendation, significantly two changes were made. First, the Minister for Aboriginal Affairs, John Herron, insisted that the archive include not only the perspectives of Indigenous people affected by removal, but also of white Australians involved in removal, in roles such as police officers, care givers, missionaries, and foster and adopting parents. Second, the responsibility for creating the archive was given to the National Library of Australia, rather than to an Indigenous organization, as was recommended in the report.

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The *Bringing Them Home* Oral History Project, which consists of 340 taped interviews with people involved in and affected by the removal of Indigenous children, was undertaken by the National Library of Australia between 1998 and 2002. The archive, with its "many voices," diffuses the political intent of Link-Up (NSW)'s call, by including the voices of those who still insist that removal was "in the best interest of the children," alongside stories by children who were removed.[27] Nonetheless, Jackie Huggins, Aboriginal academic and co-chair of Reconciliation Australia—an organization created following the end of the Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation in December 2000—heralds the archive as an important step: "Through knowledge of our country's history, the Reconciliation process is undoubtedly enhanced" (x). In practice, reconciliation will only be enhanced if Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians have the opportunity to listen and respond to the testimonies. In the current political climate, however, the archive, like the issue of the Stolen Generations, is in danger of being marginalized in the public sphere.

Unlike films or autobiographies, the testimonies collected for the *Bringing Them Home* Oral History project are not in wide circulation.[28] Given that many people will not find their way to the collection, the issue of reception is crucial. As Geoffrey Hartman points out, testimony "is something to be received," but we have to "enable reception, it isn't simply there." Reception, he explains, "has to do with a specific concept of the communal . . . however inadequately, the Yale Holocaust Testimony Video Project provides a provisional 'affective community' for the survivor" (220).[29] The *Bringing Them Home* Oral History Project similarly created an affective community for individuals testifying to the practices and effects of removal. Before examining reception in the classroom, I will first consider the protocols of listening in the archive project, which provides a sympathetic forum for reception.

THE RECEPTION OF TESTIMONY: THE ORAL HISTORY PROJECT AS AN AFFECTIVE COMMUNITY

Individuals who have been involved in the production of testimonies of trauma—as interviewers, archive managers, and psychoanalysts—have drawn attention to the importance of listening to people tell their stories. Hartman observes, for instance, that "An important reason for oral testimonies of the Holocaust is to allow survivors to speak for themselves. . . . [W]e have a duty to listen and to restore a dialogue with [survivors]" (192). Likewise, Doreen Mellor and Anna Haebich, the managers of the *Bringing Them Home* Oral History Project, comment that "Each interview is a reciprocal act of telling

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and listening. However, a good interviewer listens rather than shares in the conversation. . . . As sensitive and involved listeners, they allow a person the opportunity to speak" (18). In a post/colonial context, listening is a political as well as an ethical act; it is a means of redressing the past failure of white authorities to listen to Indigenous people.

Listening is particularly important in the context of the Stolen Generations because pleas from the removed children, and from their parents and families, often fell on deaf ears. Authorities lied to parents when they requested information about where their children were living, and children were frequently denied all contact with their parents and other family members. Amy Atkins, the second youngest of eleven children, was taken from her family to Palm Island when she was thirteen, and from there, she was sent to an Anglican boarding school in a country town until she finished high school. During this period, she frequently wrote to a Mr. Killoran, who had authority over her case, to ask when she could see her mother. Atkins was concerned because she knew her mother was at risk of serious domestic violence. She was repeatedly assured that her mother was fine, and was advised not to worry but to focus on her studies. When she was twenty-four, and had a two-year-old daughter of her own, she tells us:

> I had contacted Pat Killoran at the Dep[artment] of Aboriginal and Islander Affairs, asking for his help to find my mother, who I hadn't seen since I was sent to Palm Island. I found her in a nursing home. . . . She was unable to sit up. She couldn't read or write. She couldn't see properly and she had been in this nursing home for over thirteen years. [I don't know who had sent her there away from her home and family]. (5)

Her mother died two weeks later. In many other cases, letters between family members and children were intercepted by the authorities, and were not delivered to the intended recipient. Thus, children were denied the knowledge that their families tried to maintain contact, and instead believed they had been abandoned.

The ethical demand for a "sensitive and involved" listening is intensified by the intimate nature of the stories being told.[30] For instance, Atkins reveals that after the authorities took her into custody, she constantly wondered why her mother had not come to the train station to prevent her from being taken. She wondered whether her mother did not know she was being taken, or whether she had arrived too late, since the station was about six miles from the farm where they lived as itinerant workers, and they had no car. As an adult she met a cousin who told her what had happened on that fateful day:

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> I did find out . . . that the day I left on the train my mother had actually arrived there at the station [after the train had left] and she was just so distraught, she was wailing and wailing. They just had to pick her up and take her home because she didn't know what had happened, why they took me away. (5)

After testifying, Debra Chandler, a Tasmanian woman who was removed from her parents as an infant, found a letter in her mother's file. Chandler then met her interviewer again, and read the letter into her testimony. The letter exemplifies both the failure of authorities to listen, and the extraordinarily intimate nature of the documents relating to removal. Written by her mother, the letter begins

> I am writing once again to beg you to consider letting me have my babies. Please sir, if there is anything else I have to do to prove myself, could you tell me what it is. I am just waiting to give my whole life in making up to my babies for the past, but sir, the waiting is almost unbearable. . . . If I can't have them all now, can I at least have 1 of them—it would be cheering Carol up [she did have one child with her, Carol], and it would help me to carry on a bit longer until I can have them all. (Mellor and Haebich 98)

She continues in this placating vein, demonstrating that she has taken up a position of submitting to authority in an attempt to show that she will do whatever is required to have her children returned. Eventually the other children are returned, but despite her mother's frequent requests, the family that Debra had been fostered to refused to give her up. She was not reunited with her mother until she was thirty-one years old, shortly before her mother's death.

A sensitive listening entails allowing people to give meaning to their own experiences, rather than taking up the role of the "expert" interpreter.[31] Atkins, for instance, does not simply report what happened, but challenges the authorities' interpretation of her family circumstances: "My file says that I was neglected but in what sense I don't know. I think a lot of Aboriginal families went through a lot of [financial] hardships, which is what mine did. But the thing is we had our family, and we were all together" (6).

The *Bringing Them Home* Oral History Project may have successfully created the conditions for an "affective community" of interviewers who listened attentively to testimonies such as Atkins's and Chandler's. Of course, oral history interviewers are trained to listen attentively—within a controlled environment. But such listening conditions are rare, particularly in spaces such as classrooms.[32] Listening to testimonies—especially testimonies detailing painful and disturbing events and their legacies—is not an easy or straightforward process. In the remaining section, I consider some of the challenges

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listening to Stolen Generations testimonies poses, and how individuals giving testimony deal with the potential for listeners' denial by devising strategies to challenge it.

ANALYZING ADDRESS: SPEAKING POSITIONS AND SUBJECT POSITIONS

Much of the theoretical work on listening to testimonies of trauma has been conceptualized in terms of the psychoanalytic concepts of transference, identification, and secondary trauma. Psychoanalyst Dori Laub, drawing on his clinical work with Holocaust survivors, conceives of the relationship between the witness and the listener as a transferential one in which "the listener to trauma comes to be a participant and a co-owner of the traumatic event: through his very listening he comes to partially experience trauma in himself . . . [and] comes to feel the bewilderment, injury, confusion, dread and conflicts that the trauma victim feels" (57–58). As a Holocaust survivor who was working with Holocaust survivors, Laub was in a strong position of identification. He cautions, however, that the listener must remember that while s/he may identify with the survivor, s/he is not in the same position as the survivor. Laub's transferential model has had considerable purchase, particularly in relation to Holocaust testimony.[33] In the context of the Stolen Generations, however, a model of listening grounded in transference and identification may have limited applicability. The testimonies often construct complex subject positions for listeners, who do not necessarily identify with the speaking position of the person giving testimony. And some of the constructed subject positions, such as "perpetrator," work against identification.

Identification generally depends upon such characteristics as race, gender, age, personal experience, and the ability to imagine oneself in the position of the speaker. Stolen Generations testimony can—and often does—produce identification and an empathic response from listeners.[34] Identification, however, does not necessarily take the forms we might expect. For instance, Jackie Huggins notes that "The fear of losing a child is a universal feeling, transcending social, political, cultural and racial barriers," and thus understandably, "The empathy from the wider community on this subject was keenly displayed" (xi). Many people, that is, could easily identify with parents —mostly mothers—whose beloved children were taken as a result of government policy, and could readily agree that parents, and especially mothers, suffered deeply as a result of removal policies, and were certainly "victims." And yet, as the National Inquiry found, mothers whose children were removed were extremely reluctant to testify and rarely gave testimony.[35] Thus, in the case of empathy for the parent, identification is not with the person

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giving testimony, but with another (absent) figure in the story of removal. In addition, although white Australians may not admit it, they may more readily identify with the white foster or adopting parents, who may feel aggrieved and rejected when their adopted Indigenous children search for their biological parents. Identification with care givers at white institutions, such as the Anglican boarding school attended by Amy Atkins, is also possible given the common belief amongst many non-Indigenous Australians that children who were removed were better off than those who were not.[36]

And even if listeners do empathize with the speaker, as feminist critic Wendy Chun cautions, to identify too strongly with the victim of trauma is to risk confusing another's experience with one's own. Chun notes that in the aftermath of the 1989 massacre of fourteen female engineering students at the École Polytechnique in Montreal, many Canadian women responded by giving testimony about their own experiences of and anxieties about male violence, while many of the actual survivors remained silent. "The important task in listening," she thus contends, "is to feel the victim's victories, defeats and silences . . . while at the same time acknowledging that one is not the victim. . . . In this model, distance must be maintained between listener and speaker" (139).

In Stolen Generations testimonies, however, the risk is less that people will confuse their own experience with that of children who were removed, and who as adults are dealing with that legacy. Rather, the danger is that listeners will deny or reject the witness's testimony as false or exaggerated, or will claim that the experience may have been difficult, but was for the best in the long term. Denial, rather than inappropriate identification, is a challenge that narrators of Stolen Generations testimonies face when telling their stories to non-Indigenous audiences. This creates different challenges for the speakers—most notably, how to break through barriers that prevent people from listening and responding to the speakers' address.

In testimonies recorded for the *Bringing Them Home* Oral History Project, the individuals giving testimony do not assume that people are necessarily listening.[37] For instance, Indigenous artist Pamela Croft speaks from the position of someone who has had her experience denied. When the interviewer asks her what the term "Stolen Generations" means to her, she responds: "It at least has identified a time in history in Australia that really did happen. Even I was beginning to think that maybe I was a little bit crazy (and had invented my situation)." Croft explains that "People still don't really believe or somehow they give you that feeling that it was your fault that you were taken from your parents or from my mother as it was (in my case)." Croft's response suggests that she believes that distance must be overcome

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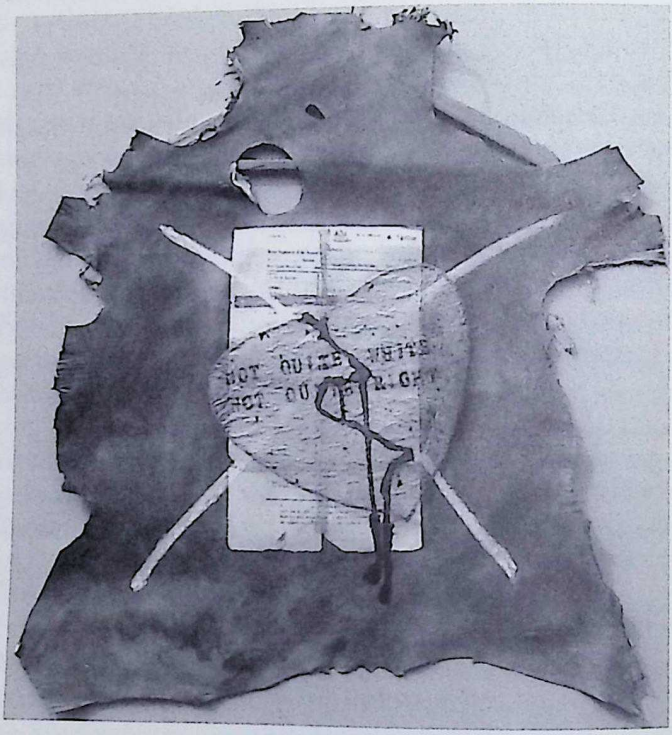
for testimony to reach a listener. Rather than ground an analysis of listening in the concepts of transference and identification, then, I analyze testimonies in terms of their modes of address, and the subject positions they produce for listeners.[38] To demonstrate this approach, I will analyze Croft's testimony in some detail. I have chosen her testimony for what it has to teach us about address and reception. She discusses strategies of address, and in her art practice she explores the issue of reception.

Croft comments on how denial of the government's racist motivations for removal has exacerbated the confusion that results from having been raised by a white family:

> You get confused because when you live with the people who ended up bringing you up, you love them and it's very hard to believe that they were part of that stealing process. Even though in your heart you know that they didn't mean it that way—that they were just trying to do the right thing as they saw it. That is white people's way, to do the right thing under how they saw the world should be.



Pamela Croft. "Not quite white . . . not quite right." Detail. 2001. Photograph (white kangaroo skin, original birth certificate, rice paper, acrylic, ink and oil, coat hanger). 90 x 60 cm. Collection of the artist. © and reproduced by courtesy of the artist, Pamela Croft.

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Here Croft positions herself as someone who has experienced a split subjectivity as a result of removal. On the one hand, she loves her adopting parents, who raised her. On the other, she now recognizes them as "part of that stealing process." Parents who love are "good," but stealing is "bad." How to reconcile these positions in relation to her adopting parents? And how is the white listener positioned? With the speaker who is trying to reclaim her Aboriginal heritage, although it means alienating her white parents? With her white parents, who loved her and who only meant to do what they thought was right? Or with the "white people" identified in relation to "white people's way"? Croft's testimony produces multiple and complex subject positions for listeners, making it difficult for them to identify exclusively with Croft or her white parents. The potential for identifying with all the offered perspectives makes us realize the devastating nature of the choices resulting from the removal policies and practices. It is hard, for instance, to reconcile the love and commitment her adopting parents showed her, with their rejection of her once she chooses to find her biological parents. Moreover, her confusion as a result of having been raised in a white family, and only later learning she is Aboriginal, is passed on to her listeners. Her testimony, in short, confuses us (white listeners) about where our loyalties lie, and where our loyalties would lie were we in Croft's position. Croft's interviewer later returns to the issue of listening: "You've also said that you feel to a certain extent people don't want to listen. . . . Why do you think that is?" Croft responds:

> We like to watch documentaries about history but when it's on that one to one personal exchange of communication and you're telling a sad story particularly if it's to non-Indigenous persons, then it just seems to be automatic that they feel guilty. Of course none of us like to be guilty for anything and that's very understandable, that's just human. People . . . [respond by] saying . . . "But I didn't do this, that was done by my ancestors". But in denying listening to the story it means that you're still a perpetrator because you're continuing the silence (of colonising practices), you're not confronting what has happened (in Australia's past). (70)

Croft thus constructs "perpetrator" as a subject position occupied not just by past government officials or adoptive parents, but by all those who "deny listening." An adequate response to her testimony, she suggests, would require the listener to do something: to confront "what has happened (in Australia's past)," and to recognize the colonizing practices that have shaped Indigenous relations with non-Indigenous Australians, and have contributed to racial oppression in Australia. In essence, she calls for non-Indigenous Australians to recognize that reconciliation might require that we have to give something up—even if that something is only a comforting account of the story of Australian nationhood.

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Croft has also addressed the issue of reception, and the potential for denial, through her artwork. "I leave it up to the viewers," she comments, "whether they want to learn more or whether they just want to read the work or even if they choose not to read the work" (65). She incorporated this practice in an installation piece based on her experience of removal, which includes personal photographs and papers from her file:

> In that particular piece I painted an ochre dotted grid around the eighteen works which then leads into an arrowhead to the heart. You (the viewer) had to actually walk on the artwork and on the ochre around the heart to be able to read the documents that were hanging on the wall. I was giving people an option. You may read this work but you have to force yourself past that western idea that art work is not to be touched and is very precious or . . . walk on by and not understand what the work is about. That's the way I like to present my art work in most instances. (65)

Croft recognizes that many viewers will choose to "walk on by and not understand." Her story may make them feel anxious or guilty, or they simply may not be interested. She prepares viewers for the confrontational nature of her story by asking them to question western ideas about art as the price for getting close enough to read the documents. Her challenge to deeply held western beliefs about art then extends through the work to challenging viewers' beliefs about colonizing practices and their effects on Indigenous people and communities in Australia today.

THE RECEPTION OF TESTIMONY IN THE CLASSROOM

Though the community established by the Oral History Project constitutes one forum for the reception of testimonies, and raises issues of listening unique to the oral history encounter, the need to create other contexts to enable reception remains. Teaching Stolen Generations testimonies is an important way of ensuring that these testimonies find listeners beyond the interviewers. Whereas Hartman uses the term "affective community" optimistically, to suggest a support network for the Holocaust survivor who testifies, the affective community constituted by the classroom (or the wider community) is neither homogenous nor necessarily supportive. Feminist critic Ellen Rooney has recently described the classroom as "a semiprivate space"—a "unique location" with its own rules and formations.[39] Although the semiprivate room is "no little Eden, free of conflict, resentment, or anger," Rooney proposes that "the forms of address, appropriation, and exchange that emerge" there provide us with the means to develop "a critique of the

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discourse of the 'public sphere'" (133). I suggest that through an encounter with personal testimony in the semiprivate space of the classroom, some students have been able to develop a critique of the discourse of the public sphere in Australia—the celebratory story of Australian nationhood.

Since 1998, I have taught at the Australian National University an undergraduate course "Trauma, Memory and Culture," which focuses on Stolen Generations and the Holocaust.[40] One of my aims is to introduce students to critical theory on trauma, memory, and history, and then to use these approaches to analyze representations of the Holocaust and Stolen Generations. Through contact with multiple representational forms, I want students to explore the idea that history is constructed, that no event is already meaningful outside of the cultural contexts in which meaning is produced, and that the chosen representational forms play a significant role in the construction of meanings. I also want to make students aware that representations of past events are often sites of struggle within a nation, and that it matters how—and by whom—events are signified. I focus on the Holocaust because it is an event of monumental significance in western culture which has shaped much of the literature in the field of trauma and memory. I focus on the Stolen Generations because it is an event close to home which is often framed within discourses associated with the Holocaust. We study a wide range of texts, including films, testimonies, novels, and artwork. On a few occasions, we have had individuals speak to the class about their experiences of removal. We have also had professionals involved in the production of discourses of the Stolen Generations, such as historians and lawyers, speak to us.

Many of the students are Anglo-Australian, but there are usually some from other ethnic Australian backgrounds, as well as a handful of overseas students, often from Japan or Singapore. Not surprisingly, the texts we analyze, and the debate generated in class meetings, produce a variety of responses, including anxiety, resistance, anger, guilt, frustration, sadness, excitement, and confusion. The first time I taught the course in 1998, I taught it with an African American woman, Tikka Wilson, who like myself was educated in the United States and had migrated to Australia as an adult. As someone adopted as an infant by an African-American family, Tikka had a keen interest in issues surrounding removal and inter-racial adoption. As an American, she takes on some of the privileges accorded to white Australians. But as an African-American she has experienced racism, and also adoption, and on those grounds can identify with Indigenous people in ways that I cannot. We both identify as feminists, and feminist theory informed our teaching.[41] It is hard to know exactly how our similar but different subjectivities impacted on the 1998 class, but I do know that having two women teachers from

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American backgrounds, one of them African American, would have been a first for the students.

Tikka arranged for a woman who had been removed as a child, whom I will call Carla, to come and share her story with the class.[42] For many students, the interaction with Carla, who shared her experience of forced removal and of abuse in various institutions, was a particularly powerful moment. For some, Carla was the first Aboriginal person they had met, so there was considerable curiosity and anxiety around her visit. After Tikka introduced her, Carla asked for volunteers to come up to the front of the small, tiered lecture theatre and sit in a circle with her while she told them her story. Both Carla and Tikka stressed that students should not feel pressured to join the circle; it was fine if they wanted to remain in the audience. Like Croft's method of challenging normative western assumptions about art, the way Carla arranged the space challenged normative assumptions about authority in the classroom. The students who chose to join the circle had to transgress the usual hierarchal space of the classroom, in which the teacher stands at the front of the class or lecture theatre, assuming the position of the (usually singular) authority figure, while the students are arranged as the (receptive) audience. The ways in which students responded with their bodies (their decisions about how close to move to Carla) can be seen as analogous to the ways viewers responded to Croft's installation piece. The students who chose to join Carla in the circle can be compared to the visitors to Croft's installation piece who walked on the artwork, and in the process challenged the assumption that art is sacred. Like the viewers who came close enough to read the documents that detailed the story of Croft's removal, the students who sat in the circle could listen and respond to Carla's story. Of the students who chose not to join the circle, some moved up to front rows of the theatre, thereby creating a more intimate space, while others remained in the back rows. The students who moved close to Carla, but did not join the circle, expressed neither "distance" nor "proximity," but a middle ground; they kept open their options for how to respond. Students who chose to sit at the back of the theatre expressed their desire to remain at a distance, possibly like those visitors to the installation who "walk on by."

As a means of encouraging the students to reflect on their experiences, I set an open-ended essay question at the end of the semester: "Has this class changed the way you think about any episode or event, either in your own life, or in contemporary culture?" A number of students took this opportunity to voice feelings that had been unspeakable during the term, in the "semipublic" space of the classroom. As a means of examining the issue of reception, and of showing how personal testimony made students aware of

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their own subject positions, I will discuss a few of these essays. Justine, a young woman, describes the interaction that took place with Carla, and its impact on her:

> So there I was, seated in a small circle at the front of the lecture theatre, wondering how on earth I came to be there. [Carla] asked the seven volunteers to state in turn their nationality and where they grew up. I understood the aim of the exercise, I knew the desired effect. Nonetheless, I was completely unprepared for the stinging effect of her words "I am an Australian Aboriginal and I grew up in foster homes and institutions throughout New South Wales." I was suddenly made aware of my privileged position as a white, middle-class Australian. I also became aware of my literal position at the time, for my place in the circle exposed me to the gaze of the observers. . . . I felt vulnerable and alone, biting on my bottom lip so hard that streams of warm blood swirled inside my mouth. It was the only thing I could do to repress the overwhelming urge to sob.

Justine's response draws attention to a number of factors at play in the testimonial encounter. She and the other students were deeply affected by the rearrangement of the classroom space. The small group of students sitting in a circle on the floor created an intimate space, yet a space that was on display to the other students who were present. Thus, the students in the circle were not only in an intimate dialogue with someone who had suffered as a result of removal policies, their responses were open to surveillance by their peers. Rather than identify with Carla's position as a survivor of removal and abuse, Justine's response suggests that her awareness of the vast difference between her own childhood experience and Carla's shocked her into recognizing her own subject position as a white, middle-class Australian.

Another student, Andrea, a woman around 50, reflects upon the impact that an embodied encounter with a witness has on reception, and how that experience differed from reading testimony (which we also did in class):

> It was a very different experience hearing someone speak about these events rather than reading about them or seeing a video or film. Sitting with [Carla] and being with her in that reconfigured space meant hearing her story first hand as well as listening to her silences and seeing her struggle sometimes to find the words for her memories. For me it gave her testimony, as a particular representation of these events, deeper meaning because she could tell it as no one else could. I was also very aware of my own subject position at that point, a white middle class woman.

Carla's struggle to find words makes Andrea aware of the painful nature of the memories being recalled, and of her position as a listener. Like Justine, she becomes aware of her own privileged subject position. Furthermore, listening

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to Carla tell her story did not result, for Andrea, in identification; rather, it prompted her to reflect on her implication in this history: "I have . . . acknowledged that I am part of a culture which perpetrated deeply racist practices, and continues to do so."

The difference between the way that the students responded to Carla's testimony and the way the Canadian women responded to the Montreal massacre can be attributed in part to differences in subject position. In relation to the Stolen Generations, white Australian students are in a position more akin to men in relation to the Montreal massacre than to other women. In other words, white Australians are in the "perpetrator" position by virtue of the history of colonization, and by race and class privilege, in the same way that men were identified with the perpetrator of the Montreal massacre as a result of the gendered nature of that violence. As the student responses suggest, listeners may identify with multiple subject positions: the removed child, the parent of the removed child, the adopting parent, the bystander, the person who thought he or she was doing the right thing by removing the child (the "perpetrator"). These identifications may produce a multiple and split subjectivity, which as Thomas Elsaesser argues, "shatters" the comfort of a unified subject position (173–79). If listening to testimony can shock students and teachers into a recognition of their/our subject positions as the inheritors of a colonial legacy, and of the responsibility that entails for making reparations to Indigenous people, then it can be said to contribute to a critique of the discourse of the public sphere. In Australia today, that discourse is hostile to the idea that Australians who were not directly involved in separation or colonization should take responsibility for events that occurred "in the past."

TOWARD A PEDAGOGY OF DECOLONIZATION

If the notion of the classroom as a semiprivate space provides one framework for analyzing why students responded powerfully to personal testimony, Arthur Frank's psychoanalytic reading of the relationship between the student and teacher provides another framework for reflecting on student responses to testimony in the context of the pedagogical encounter. Frank argues that the content of the lecture is simply the price of admission to the class, and that what distinguishes the class as a unique event is the supplement—what students receive beyond the content. "The truth of the occasion," he suggests, "cannot be spoken directly but can only be smuggled in 'under cover'" (30). Frank draws on the concept of transference to describe the student's relation to the teacher:[43]

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> The lecturer's true affinity with the [analyst] . . . is that she, like the analyst, never yields the truth that the students, like analysands in transference, become convinced she must possess. I do not mean the truth of the subject matter of the course, but rather the supposed truth of the lecturer herself and the truth of the students themselves. (31)

What does the lecture offer to students if not this fantasy that the teacher, as authority figure, does indeed possess the truth? As a series of lectures that takes place over the course of several months, the class offers the opportunity for a "moral education": the possibility for students to find "a proper relationship to authorities" (33). In other words, the teacher should not tell students how to respond to the dilemmas that emerge in the classroom, but should encourage the students to come up with their own analyses. The teacher cannot force a moral education on the students; rather, the class experience provides "a condition of possibility" for it.[44] In my view, it is useful to think of what Frank calls a "moral education" as a condition of possibility for asking ethical questions—questions about how one should respond in the face of historical emergencies, and how one should respond to the address of a survivor.

An essay by Margaret, a woman in her early 60s, exemplifies Frank's concept of teaching as a moral education. Margaret begins by distinguishing between the "course content" and the "supplement"—that is, the affective excess:

> This unit has been an extremely confronting experience. What started as an external viewing of complex film and written texts very quickly became an internal experience, one of questioning my own subject position. I had to ask myself why I was feeling guilt, frustration, anger and more, a responsibility for others' traumatic life experiences.

She locates her subject position in relation to the Holocaust and the Stolen Generations, both of which "happened during my early childhood. But the cultural beliefs and values of my generation, based . . . on the belief that 'the past is in the past', allowed a distancing. I was distanced from both of these events by race and class and my position in time." Distance, for her, created a sense that these events had nothing to do with her. "In my generation," she explains, "we were not encouraged to question or to critically examine and formulate opinions. I was raised in a culture of passive femininity with a somewhat fatalistic approach to life," a subject position that affected her response to the material:

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> Positioned between my past cultural norms and my own personal experiences I felt totally ill-equipped to confront the magnitude of the traumatic events of both the Holocaust and the Stolen Generations. And I found the questions that were being asked extremely intrusive and I felt the need for silence.

Supporting Frank's point that the student looks to the teacher for authority, Margaret writes: "I kept looking for and expected some directional line of thinking, a theory or an authority voice to neatly pin down and package these confronting issues for me." I imagine Frank saying to Margaret: "One of the crucial steps in this moral education is finding a proper relation to authorities: a relation that is neither a transference fantasy nor a resistance to any transference" (33). Margaret responds: "I began to realize that thinking like this was also a passive strategy. Taking others' views was not what this course was about."

By the time she wrote her final essay, Margaret was able to ask herself what she thought about the texts we were studying and the testimonies we had heard, rather than turn to the teacher for an interpretation:

> I . . . adopted a more critical approach . . . and questioned my subject position. Why do I feel so frustrated with . . . the way Lanzmann repetitively questions the witnesses in Shoah? It is almost as if I don't want to know why he takes this aggressive position. Because, if I do, I may know something different and then I will have to confront and perhaps take responsibility for what I now know.

She voices what this "something different" might be: "Somehow it is more comforting to view Hitler as a monstrous individual who was responsible for the Holocaust and the murder of innocent Jews. On this view, these public crimes can be explained away as arising from private pathology. Conversely, if Hitler is normal, then he is one of us, he is a human being with shared human tendencies, a truth so challenging and too terrible to accept." Margaret's comment suggests that her own unified subject position is "shattered" by this knowledge—the knowledge of her/our total impotence in the face of "this truth too terrible to accept," which as Elsaesser contends, "is also the knowledge of our own collusion and complicity."[45] I propose that her prolonged encounter with testimonies of trauma gave her access to new knowledge—that "something different" that she now knows and feels the need to take responsibility for.

In one of the most courageous moves in the essay, Margaret confronts her own ethical position: "One of the questions that haunts me is what role would I take given the same circumstances? Would the genuine horror at the atrocities become numbed in casual acceptance or adaptability?" Like Justine

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and Andrea, Margaret never imagines herself in the role of the victim. Rather, she moves from having taken up a position at a distance from events (like the students who sat at the back of the class) to a position of proximity (she is now sitting in the circle). She is now someone who actively questions her own implication in events.

Not all students, by any means, questioned their own subject positions. And in some classes, tensions and disputes related to students' subject positions simmered and eventually erupted. One year, I invited two Indigenous women to speak to the class in successive weeks. One speaker, Anne Pratten, had been removed as a child, and had made a film, *Terra Nullius,* about an Aboriginal girl who is sexually abused by her white foster father. The foster mother is depicted as being so deeply in denial that she is unaware of what is happening, in her own home. The other speaker was Doreen Mellor, the manager of the *Bringing Them Home* Oral History Project. She acknowledged that she had not personally experienced removal. A student asked each one of the speakers whether they believed that removal constituted genocide. While one speaker thought it did, the other believed that relationships Indigenous children had with their carers were far more complex than the relationship between Nazis and Jews, and that these events should therefore not be viewed as analogous. After the visit of the second speaker, two students argued heatedly about whether separation constituted genocide. One apparently believed Indigenous people should take a unified speaking position, and seemed to fear that acknowledging complexity and differences of opinion would lead to denial of the history of separation. The other resisted what she viewed as a monolithic interpretation. I sensed from the intensity of emotions displayed that their dispute about genocide in Australia was related to differences in how they performed their own identities, and to personal histories that could not be fully articulated in the semi-private space of the classroom. While both were grandchildren of Holocaust survivors, one embraced this identity early in the term, whereas the other was more hesitant both to disclose this personal information and about its significance for her own identity.

CONCLUSION

I want to conclude by reflecting on how teaching testimonies might—or might not—contribute to a pedagogy of decolonization. As Elsaesser points out, emotional responses can disempower civic, political action (73). As far as responding to the address of the survivor, identification and empathy are starting points, not ending points. They are useful when they serve as a prelude to thinking new thoughts, and to political action. The students had very

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different affective responses to the material. As their essays demonstrated, they asked themselves "What would I have done? What should I do now?" These questions are both ethical and political. We had several discussions about what we could do, and how we could respond personally and politically. I met one of the students six months after the class had finished, at a commemorative event organized by Aboriginal women in Canberra to bring together white women and Aboriginal women. The event was part of the second anniversary of the National Inquiry. Another student took up the role of advocate, and in the days after Carla's visit, repeated her testimony to family and friends. I would suggest that teaching with testimonies can encourage students to analyze their own subject positions, and can thereby play an important role in a pedagogy of decolonization. Lest I seem too optimistic, however, it is also important to note that the essays I have analyzed are by students who were prepared to self-reveal to the teacher—the "authority figure." Perhaps their essays contained what they thought I might like to hear. Others students might not have been able to write or speak those thoughts, and probably chose to write their final essays on another topic. I do not know how they responded to the testimonies. Nonetheless, the student responses give me hope that teaching testimonies can contribute to a recognition that we non-Indigenous Australians may need to reassess our own positions of privilege, and be prepared to give something up, to achieve meaningful reconciliation.

NOTES

1. Noyce's film is based on *Follow the Rabbit Proof Fence,* Doris Pilkington's story of her mother's and aunt's removal.
2. See, for instance, Glenyse Ward, Margaret Tucker, and Sally Morgan. As I discuss in "The Narrator as Witness," without the critical understanding that the removal of Indigenous children was a policy carried out by State and Territory governments, these life stories were often misread as autobiographies of the author's search for identity, rather than as testimonies to the harms inflicted by policies of separation and assimilation.
3. In the wake of the National Inquiry, several people who experienced removal have written autobiographies, including Doris Pilkington and Ruth Hegarty. While the National Inquiry undoubtedly enabled these texts, there are significant differences between the literary forms of life writing and the vernacular form of oral testimonies.
4. What Geoffrey Hartman has said of the Yale Holocaust Archive also applies to the *Bringing Them Home* Oral History Project: "The term 'oral history' . . . suggests that although what is brought into view are individual testimonies, their purpose remains the documentation of a collective fate." For human rights commissions, the particularity or uniqueness of a witness's experience is less relevant than its representative nature.

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5. I use the term "archive" to refer to testimonies collected for the 1996 National Inquiry, and for the *Bringing Them Home* Oral History Project. Extracts from some of the testimonies collected for the National Inquiry were published anonymously in the *Bringing Them Home* report; a selection of testimonies from the Inquiry was published in Carmel Bird's collection *The Stolen Children*; and longer testimonies were published anonymously in the Link-Up (NSW) submission to the Inquiry, *In the Best Interests of the Child?* The most comprehensive public collection of Stolen Generations testimonies is the *Bringing Them Home* Oral History collection at the National Library of Australia; extracts from some of these testimonies have been published in Mellor and Haebich.
6. By vernacular, I refer to everyday spoken language as distinct from literary language. In our collection *World Memory*, Jill Bennett and I place aesthetic and vernacular forms of testimony in dialogue.
7. By using psychoanalysis to reconceive testimony and witnessing in the wake of the Holocaust, Felman and Laub's *Testimony* has provided the foundation for much later work.
8. See Gilmore 6–7 and Kennedy and Wilson 122–25.
9. For a critique of this tendency to favor literary over vernacular testimony, see the Introduction to Bennett and Kennedy.
10. While the criticisms leveled against Rigoberta Menchú's *testimonio* are well known, a similar episode involving Aboriginal leader Lowitja O'Donoghue occurred in Australia. O'Donoghue, who had been considered a part of the Stolen Generations, stated that she had not been stolen, but rather her father, an Irish station worker, had taken his five children from their Aboriginal mother without her consent, and placed them in a children's home to be raised by missionaries. Conservative journalist Andrew Bolt used her comments to cast doubt on the notion of a "stolen generation," claiming that she either unintentionally misled the public, or was an outright "liar." Bolt silenced O'Donoghue's interpretation of her experience, and shifted attention from the issue of the racist social conditions that allowed her father to take the children, to that of O'Donoghue's reliability (cf. <http://www.alphalink.com.au/~rez/Journey/bolt.htm>.
11. For more on the issue of address, see Rooney, Elsaesser, LaCapra, and Whitlock.
12. In *Testimony*, Felman offers what I regard as two distinct approaches to testimony—one grounded in psychoanalysis, and the other in speech-act theory. I see the latter, in which she draws out the communicative dimension of testimony, as compatible with the concept of the dialogic: "Testimony is . . . a discursive *practice*. . . . To testify . . . is to accomplish a *speech act*, rather than to simply formulate a statement" (5). There is, however, a tension between these approaches. Felman links the psychoanalytic approach to literary uses of language, which places it at odds with the view of testimony as a discursive practice, since this practice is most prominent in vernacular testimonies.
13. Post/colonial nations such as Canada and Australia have used the concept of reconciliation to refer to the process of restoring "harmonious relations" with Indigenous peoples, who suffer as a result of colonialism (Pratt et al. 2). In Australia, the policy was officially established by the Commonwealth Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation Act in 1991. For an introduction to and a critique of the concept of reconciliation as it operates in Australia today, see Pratt et al.
14. Huggins uses the phrase "unpalatable words" in her foreword to *Many Voices* (x).

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15. I do not mean to imply that Laub's approach is not grounded in practice. Rather, my point is that the ways in which listening and response, and the dynamics of transference, occur in the private space of the clinical encounter may not extend to other contexts of reception.
16. Disputes about the historiography of Aboriginal Australia are currently being staged in the pages of newspapers, journals, and books; at academic conferences; and in public forums at sites such as the National Museum of Australia in Canberra. For two recent accounts, see Macintyre and Clark; and Manne.
17. The speech was made at the Australian Launch of the International Year for the World's Indigenous People on December 10, 1992, at Redfern, a suburb of Sydney with a large Aboriginal population. Keating stated that the problem confronting Aboriginal people in Australia "starts with us non-Aboriginal Australians. It begins, I think, with the act of recognition. Recognition that it was we who did the dispossessing. We took the traditional lands and smashed the traditional way of life. We brought the disasters. The alcohol. We committed the murders. We took the children from their mothers. We practised discrimination and exclusion. It was our ignorance and our prejudice. And our failure to imagine these things being done to us." See http://www.antar.org.au/keating-redfern.html.
18. HREOC is a quasi-judicial body—a government body but independently appointed. Significantly it differs from a Royal Inquiry in that the government does not have to act on its findings.
19. Drawing on a human rights framework, including the 1948 Genocide convention and the Van Boven principles, the report controversially argued that the separation of Indigenous children from their families constituted a gross violation of human rights, and from 1946 onward, violated international prohibitions against genocide (HREOC 266–75). Australian historian Ann Curthoys notes: "while historians have long been interested in the question of the 'extermination' and 'extinction' of Aboriginal peoples, it is only recently that they have begun to consider the word 'genocide' as applying to Australia, and sought to place their discussion in a broader international context" (48). The *Bringing Them Home* report played a significant role in producing this shift.
20. This is not to say that the practice of removing Indigenous children was unknown prior to the National Inquiry. Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, historians such as Peter Read and Anna Haebich had revealed the systematic nature of the removal of Indigenous children.
21. Howard's coalition government, made up of the conservative Liberal and National Parties, came into power when Labour lost the 1996 federal election, and is still in power in 2004.
22. Since coming into power, Howard has restricted Native Title, positioned Australia in a "coalition of the willing" with the United States and Britain in the "war on terror," distanced Australia from Asia, and detained asylum seekers in fenced detention centers far removed from urban areas, and in some cases, on islands in the South Pacific.
23. The National Inquiry's fifty-four recommendations were directed not only to the Federal government, but to State and Territory governments, to churches, to the police force, and to other organizations involved in removing Indigenous children. Recom-

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mendation 3 directly addressed the form reparations should take: "That, for the purposes of responding to the effects of forcible removals, 'compensation' be widely defined to mean 'reparation'; that reparation be made in recognition of the history of gross violations of human rights; and that the van Boven principle guide the reparation measures. Reparation should consist of, 1. acknowledgement and apology, 2. guarantees against repetition, measures of restitution, measures of rehabilitation, and monetary compensation" (HREOC 651). Recommendations 14–20 deal with monetary compensation. Recommendation 15 calls for the establishment of a National Compensation Fund, and recommends that any Indigenous person who was removed during childhood "by compulsion, duress or under influence be entitled to a minimum lump sum payment from the National Compensation Fund in recognition of the fact of removal" (HREOC 654).

24. In contrast, the alternative view has been labeled the "whitewash" view of history (see Manne).
25. On the stalled process of reconciliation, see Goodall; for an account of how the historiography of the Stolen Generations has fared since *Bringing Them Home* was published, see Read, "Clio."
26. There have been attempts to deny and to minimize the systematic nature of, and the harm done, by removal. Denial takes the form of disputing the number of children who were removed; insisting that there were not "generations" or even a single "generation," but simply isolated cases of separation; accusing witnesses of "false memory syndrome"; and insisting that children who were removed were not "stolen" but "rescued"—thus, the offensive suggestion that the "stolen generations" should be called the "rescued generations" (see Brunton for an example of this kind of denial).
27. "Testimony is a *petit recit,*" Hartman points out: "It's fragmented . . . to some extent testimony, especially from different positions, does detotalize the picture" (3). The "many voices" represented in the Oral History Project detotalizes the picture of separation, but at what some would regard as a high price. Whereas Link-Up (NSW)'s intent was to document removal from the point of view of the victims, the archive, under Herron's change, offers multiple perspectives on the history of removal, including those of people who believed (and who may still believe) that they were operating in the best interests of the children.
28. Although the collection is housed at the National Library of Australia, and is open to the public, it is likely that researchers and people tracing their family histories will be the main users. In a brief search for *Many Voices* on the web, I noted that it was referred to most frequently in Aboriginal contexts, rather than in the mainstream.
29. Mellor and Haebich also comment on the community established through the interview process, titling the first chapter of *Many Voices* "A Community of Voices." Likewise, Wendy Chun comments on the "community established by the act of testifying": "Through this speech act, one links oneself with others who have also testified and thus testimony cannot be construed as an individual act that does not involve others" (136).
30. As Mellor and Haebich observe, "the *Bringing Them Home* collection takes listeners and readers into intimate spaces of communication, disclosing deeply personal memories and creating an immediacy that is profoundly moving" (3).

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31. See my critique of the role of the expert in relation to Stolen Generations testimony in "Trauma, Historiography and the Question of Truth."
32. Karen George details some of the strategies the Project managers and interviewers implemented to create an affective community for the interviewees. Interviews were conducted in places that were familiar to interviewees, including their homes; interviewers and interviewees met before the formal interview took place; and counselling was available for the interviewees. See *Many Voices,* ch. 2, "Responses to the Interview Experience," by Karen George.
33. See Felman and Laub, LaCapra, and Hartman. Extending Laub's model to literature, Felman argues that a text which bears witness to trauma should "open up in that belated witness, which the reader now historically becomes, the imaginative capability of perceiving history—what is happening to others—*in one's own body*" (108). For a critique of this position, see Kennedy and Wilson.
34. Empathy for members of the Stolen Generations has been widely noted, perhaps most famously when the Opposition Leader, Kim Beazley, choked up in Parliament in May 1997, when describing the impact that reading the *Bringing Them Home* report had on him. Responses to his emotional display were mixed. Some people felt that it was good for empathy to be displayed in Parliament; others read it as a sign of Beazley's "weakness."
35. Many mothers felt ashamed that their children were taken, and many were in denial (see Link-Up (NSW) and Wilson). Many of the children who were removed had absent white fathers, although children were also removed from situations in which both parents, often themselves of mixed descent, were present.
36. In some cases, children did receive a good education, which led to improved employment options. Yet even those children point out that removal took something away that could not be repaired. "When I was taken away I think a big piece of me went missing," Amy Atkins writes, "and I think a big piece of history went missing from my family as well" (6).
37. See the analysis of Link-Up (NSW) testimonies in Kennedy and Wilson.
38. As Elsaesser suggests, such an analysis entails "[d]etailing the inversions, reversals and at times perversions of such speaking positions" (179). Likewise, an analysis of reception entails attending to the conflicts and shifts in response.
39. Rooney points out that the classroom is a site marked by the operation of power-knowledge: "there is always a ruling authority, so recognized, in the semiprivate room, but it is not lodged in a sovereign body, and the questioning of authority is also a regular, indeed, essential feature of its disciplinary practice, a critical mode of the subjectivity that operates there. 'Opinion' and the clash of opinions are critical elements here too. . . . Some quantum of fear or anxiety accompanies this clashing of opinion, along with desire and hope . . . and real dangers are by no means completely absent. . . . Ultimately, the occupants of this space may even threaten one another. The semiprivate is not a utopian space; its particularities have costs" (131–32).
40. Since 1998 I have taught the Trauma class three times. In 1998, the unit also included sexual abuse, a topic which resulted in its own tensions and disclosures in class. In subsequent years I dropped sexual abuse as a case study.

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41. Course materials included essays by Laura Brown, and by Linda Alcoff and Karen Gray.
42. I want to thank Tikka Wilson for organizing and facilitating Carla's visit. In later years, I have taught the course myself, bringing Indigenous and non-Indigenous speakers into the class. In the following discussion, I have changed the names of witnesses and students to preserve their anonymity.
43. Although I am critical of the concept of transference as an exclusive model of how listeners respond to testimony, I use it here alongside Rooney's model to illuminate aspects of the pedagogical encounter.
44. "[A]lthough the teaching relation is a therapeutic one marked by transferences," Frank notes, "the teacher is not a therapist. What students do with these issues will be done on their own, the personal relation to the teacher having to remain under cover" (33).
45. Elsaesser argues that the aesthetic strategies that enable fiction films to shatter unified subject positions grounded in empathic identification are "unique" to the cinema. I want to suggest that through its modes of address testimony may also shatter a unified subjectivity.
46. Students who were children or grandchildren of Holocaust survivors faced their own issues in relation to subject position. One young woman realized that her grandfather, who had come to Australia after the war, was a Holocaust survivor who absolutely never spoke about the past to his grandchildren. She wanted to speak to him, but was petrified to broach this taboo subject. Another woman, whose mother came to Australia as an eighteen-year-old Jewish refugee in 1938, and who lost fourteen relatives in the Holocaust, was a survivor, although she never identified as one, and never spoke about her past to her daughter. Another year, a student disclosed that although she was not removed because she was Aboriginal, she was raised in a children's home after her mother died, and thus she knew and identified with victims of removal.

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RACISM, MORAL COMMUNITY, AND AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINAL AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL TESTIMONY

TIKKA WILSON

We were born into environments that valued Aboriginality, Aboriginal culture, Aboriginal spirituality, Aboriginal history and Aboriginal people. We were removed and subjected to systematic and deliberate attacks on our identity as Aboriginal people and forcibly assimilated into the dominant European culture.

—Link-Up (NSW) and Wilson[1]

From almost the first moment they set foot, in 1788, on the land that would be called "New South Wales," British colonists separated Aboriginal children from their families.[2] More than two hundred years later, thousands of Aboriginal children have suffered intentional and irreparable damage to their relationships with parents, extended family, and communities, and at the turn of the twenty-first century Aboriginal children are still far more likely to spend time in "alternative care" or juvenile justice custody than any other Australian children.

Throughout this period, Aboriginal adults and children have resisted separation—by hiding children, by running away, by petitions to government officials and politicians, and by calling for inquiries and changes to legislation and policy. Since the mid-1970s, Aboriginal adults who were taken from their families as children have increasingly used mass media to tell other Australians about the experiences and the ongoing effects of separation on generations of Aboriginal families. At the same time, historians have uncovered archival evidence that separation was nationwide and systematic.

Margaret Tucker (1904–1996) was among the children taken in New South Wales in the early 1900s. In 1977 she was among the first Aboriginal authors to publish an autobiography. Since 1977 hundreds of Aboriginal people have used personal testimony to bear witness to the practices and

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effects of separation, and to demand a moral response from the wider Australian community that acknowledges that separation was wrong, and that makes restitution for the harm.

ENGINEERING "SOCIAL DEATH"

Historically, the aims of and reasons for separation have varied. In the early years of colonization, Europeans occasionally found Aboriginal children in the bush. The colonists presumed the parents had died in battle or from disease, and kept the children in order to find out whether it was possible to train an Aboriginal child to fit into white society. Throughout the nineteenth century, missionaries tried to entice Aboriginal parents to send their children to board at mission schools, in the hope that children would be more receptive to Christian civilizing than adults. Colonial government officials explored the possibility of separating Aboriginal children to train them to meet the demand for cheap labor.

In 1909, eight years after Australian Federation,[3] the state government of New South Wales created the Aborigines Protection Board, and from 1915, empowered it to remove Aboriginal children from their families. Government officials believed that without contact with their families, the children would assimilate into European society. As the older generations died, officials were hopeful that Aboriginal camps—places where Aboriginal people followed non-European lifestyles—would disappear. During the debate of the 1915 bill, the government argued that

> The whole object of the board was to put things into train on lines that would eventually lead to the camps being depleted of their population. . . . But this could never be achieved until the children were removed from the low surroundings of the camps, and placed in a position where they would be sought after for healthy occupations. In that way the children would be saved and the camps abolished. (Flowers 1353)

In 1915, the Aboriginal population of New South Wales numbered about 7,000, of whom one-third were children. From 1915 to 1969, the Board systematically separated children from their families at rates estimated to be as high as 20 to 40 per 100 (compared with 1 to 2 per 100 for non-Aboriginal children).[4] It is difficult to imagine being a parent in a context where the probability of having a child taken by the government is so high.

Many children were sent to training schools and then apprenticed to white people. Typically, boys were sent to work as farm hands and girls as domestic servants. Most apprenticeships were long, lasting seven or eight

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years (from age 13–14 to age 21). The children worked long hours for little or no wages, and could be arrested by the police if they ran away. Some children, especially the fair-skinned, were transferred to the white child welfare system, and sent to foster or adoptive families.

The Board aimed to disrupt permanently the children's relationships with their parents and families. Officials intercepted and withheld letters and gifts. Today the New South Wales archives has thousands of separation case files, some with original handwritten letters that were never delivered to the child.[5] A common experience that has emerged in the testimonies of adults who were separated as children is their devastation and despair when the Board's employees told them that their families didn't want them, didn't care about them, or had died. The archives tell a different story. Parents begged and pleaded with the Board to return their children, but to no avail.

In the 1960s, the special Aboriginal apparatus was abolished, but Aboriginal children continued to be removed from their families by child welfare and juvenile justice officials at much higher rates than other children. By the 1980s the New South Wales report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Deaths in Custody found that Aboriginal children represented 25 to 30 percent of children in "substitute care" despite representing just 1 percent of the population (Wootten 26).

Until separation became a widely debated public issue in the late 1990s, the harm of deliberately engineering what critic John Frow describes as an intentional "social death" for the children was hardly considered (358). Nor was the harm of inflicting fear and grief on their parents, siblings, and other family members. Moral philosopher Raimond Gaita argues that "Racism of the kind connected with skin colour is best characterised as an incapacity on the part of racists to see that anything could go deep in the lives of their victims. For such racists, it is literally unintelligible that parenthood or sexuality, for example, could mean to 'them'—what it does to 'us'" (28). The failure to imagine or acknowledge the suffering caused by separation has been enabled and sustained by prevailing—but by no means uncontested—representations of Aboriginals as an inferior race, at a lower level of humanity than the white race.

There is ample historical evidence of white constructions of Aboriginal people as "savages" lacking in "human" feelings. This extract from a letter to the editor of the *Sydney Morning Herald* of 19 September 1838 is an extreme example of racist colonial representation:

> the aboriginals of my native country are the most degenerate, despicable, and brutal race of beings in existence . . . they are insensible to every tie which binds man to his friend—husband to wife—parent to its child—creation to its God. They

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> stand unprecedented in the annals of the most ancient and barbarous histories . . . they put forth in opposition to every attempt to reclaim them from their present wandering, abject, and brutal mode of life. (Miller 58–59)

The letter continues in the same vein, comparing Aboriginals to various kinds of animals. It is notable that insensitivity to family ties is a key signifier of Aboriginal "brutality"—much as we assert that a major difference between us and dogs, cats, cattle, and sheep is that they have no depth of feeling for their relatives.

Sixty years later, Western Australian Aborigines Protector James Isdell defended separation policy to critics who were disturbed by the evident emotional pain of Aboriginal mothers, arguing that they did not grieve for or even remember their children: "I would not hesitate for one moment to separate any half-caste from its aboriginal mother, no matter how frantic her momentary grief might be at the time. They soon forget their offspring."[7] This passage eerily echoes the words of a dairy farmer to me when I reacted to the precisely "frantic" searching and bellowing of a mother cow when her calf was removed to stimulate her milk production. Isdell's terms—"half-caste," "its," and "offspring"—work to dehumanize Aboriginal people. His characterization is meaningful because of its implicit comparison of Aboriginal mothers to white mothers, whose (human) grief is profound and whose memories are long.

In *Racist Culture,* philosopher David Theo Goldberg argues that within modern European cultures "the concept of race has served, and silently continues to serve, as a boundary constraint upon the applicability of moral principle" (28). Race, he continues, "constitut[es] racial others outside the scope of morality" (35). I use the notion of "moral community" to signify an Andersonian imagined community in which moral principles apply in our interactions with other members of the community who, we imagine, are more or less like us.

Historically racist constructions of Aboriginal people as less "human" than whites have justified Aboriginal exclusion from moral community with white Australians. This has enabled white Australians to do things to Aboriginal people that would be defined as "harm" if done to white people. State governments, for example, have never been empowered to remove white children from their parents without a judicial and appeal process where the government makes a case for removal based on evidence that the child is neglected or abused. In contrast, from 1915 special legislation in New South Wales provided that any child of an "aborigine" was by definition neglected, and could be summarily taken from his or her parents—no hearing, no evidence, no appeal. I suspect that racist exclusion of Aboriginal people from

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the moral community has also encouraged white Australians to believe (or perhaps hope?) that Aboriginal people do not experience harm as "wrong"—that is, as something requiring acknowledgment, apology, restitution, or punishment.[8]

NEGOTIATING MORAL COMMUNITY IN AN INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT

Australia is one participant in a growing international trend of negotiating and making/accepting restitution for histories of gross injustice. In 1995 the Australian Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission (HREOC) began an Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal Children and Torres Strait Islanders from their Families. The Commission's 700-page report, *Bringing Them Home,* was published in 1997, just months after the Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples was released in Canada, and during the time when the Truth and Reconciliation Commission was hearing evidence in South Africa.[9] Like the commissions in Canada and South Africa, the Inquiry explicitly sought the eyewitness testimony of Aboriginals—both those taken away as children and the families left behind.

Cultural theorist Elazar Barkan argues that since World War II, the concept of restitution has changed from a payment imposed by the victors upon the losers (as in the aftermath of World War I), to a negotiated settlement on the basis of shared moral values, initiated by victims in structurally subordinate political locations (xxiii). He theorizes that as historical narratives become increasingly democratized, history "from below" has exposed the victors to a view of themselves that includes "immoral acts, suffering, and oppression." These, he argues, are perceptions that sit uncomfortably with identities constructed within modern liberal democratic frameworks (xxxiv). And, I would add, they also contradict celebratory narratives that figure invasion, conquest, and appropriation as settlement, development, and progress.

Throughout the twentieth century, white Australian families who apprenticed, fostered, or adopted Aboriginal children were praised for their altruism. A 27 January 1956 feature story in the *Sydney Sun,* for example, began:

> Anybody who saw the pictures of the six little aboriginal girls published by The Sun yesterday must have felt that, in their unpretentious way, the white foster parents who have taken them into their hearts and homes have done more for the brotherhood of man than a hundred sermons. (Link-Up (NSW) and Wilson 94)

But during the separation inquiry, Aboriginal witnesses described some of these ordinary white suburban Australians as perpetrators of an astonishing range of abuses on the Aboriginal children in their "care." These revelations

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shocked many white Australians, and challenged identities constructed under the mythology of "peaceful settlement." Some blustered angry denials. As Australian historian Tim Rowse remarked, "It requires some effort to see the 'normal' non-Aboriginal family as the consummate site of Aboriginal confinement" (47). Personal autobiographical testimonies bearing witness to the lived experience of separation policy and practice have played a significant role in extending the racialized boundaries of Australian moral community, through revealing the pain and suffering experienced by Aboriginal survivors, and exposing the brutal behavior of otherwise respectable white subjects. This is not to say that separation narratives represent all Aboriginal people as "good" and all whites as "bad." On the contrary, the narratives represent both Aboriginals and whites as subjects who experience a wide range of thoughts, feelings, and behaviors, and who should be in moral community with one another.

THE EMERGENCE OF ABORIGINAL AUTOBIOGRAPHY

The history of Aboriginal autobiography is quite short. Until the 1960s, Aboriginal Australians were positioned as objects of academic, official, and artistic scrutiny. Dominant culture experts descended on Aboriginal communities, inspected their homes, observed their behavior, shot photographs and films, interrogated informants, appropriated body parts and artifacts, and then produced accounts which purported to tell the truth of Aboriginal life and experience.

Although researchers, primarily anthropologists, collected numerous autobiographical accounts from Aboriginal informants, for the most part these accounts were refined into what anthropologist Clifford Geertz calls "thin description": highly theorized analyses of Aboriginal societies that were abstracted from the "thick descriptions" informants produced about their own lives. Non-Aboriginal accounts were authenticated as "knowledge" in the discursive contexts in which their authors operated, and in the Foucauldian sense, were part of the knowledge/power nexus in which Aboriginal people have negotiated their lives as subjects of colonialism (see Stoler). From the mid-1970s, oral historians began research in Aboriginal communities, and wrote histories that were more transparent in their use of Aboriginal informants' words, often including extensive extracts from the transcriptions of their interviews.[10] Nevertheless, the writing continued to be "thinned" by academic framing and analysis.

This is not to say, however, that Aboriginal people were passive and had no effects on the production of academic literatures. On the contrary, there

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is evidence that Aboriginal "informants" have used, and continue to use, white academics as a means of publishing their histories and worldviews. Australian critic Penny van Toorn asserts that capitalism is not only necessarily a corrupting influence on passive Indigenous people, it is also the case that "they may in fact be availing themselves of new opportunities to perpetuate their cultural traditions, strengthen their social institutions, preserve and disseminate their historical knowledge, and further their political agendas" (253). The case of Jimmie Barker is instructive. He grew up in the early 1900s in a remote part of New South Wales that was only beginning to be densely occupied by colonists. In the late 1960s, he was one of the few living speakers of his traditional language, and was recruited by linguist Janet Mathews to record its vocabulary. As he made the recordings, he discovered that he remembered more if he put the words into a narrative instead of trying to make lists. At first, Mathews was put out by his "digressions." But in the end, his project of telling his life story overtook her linguistic project, and Mathews spent ten years working the "digressions" into an autobiography. Typical of autobiographies of that era, Mathews is cited as the "author," despite Barker being the first-person narrator of the text.

As Aboriginal autobiography became more commodified, and moved from academic to popular circulation, Aboriginal authors sought whites to assist them. Not a few of the introductions to Aboriginal autobiographies contain stories of how the non-Aboriginal editor was recruited, usually on a volunteer basis, to assist with the autobiographical project. Terry Fox, for example, wrote that "I felt greatly honoured when Eileen Morgan asked me to help her with her book" (ix). In her foreword to Della Walker's autobiography, Tina Coutts described herself as "the pen in her hand" (vi).

The number of Aboriginal publications increased exponentially during the 1970s and 1980s, with autobiographies comprising a significant proportion of these works.[11] By the end of the 1990s, the number of Aboriginal books in print was in the hundreds, including a significant number of publications emerging from community-based projects.[12] Sally Morgan's autobiographical narrative *My Place* (1987) is probably the best known and most widely read book written by an Aboriginal author.

Adopting the autobiographical form offers advantages and disadvantages to Aboriginal authors. On the positive side, autobiography opens an intimate space of mediated dialogue between Aboriginal narrators and non-Aboriginal readers. On a practical level, since Aboriginal people are only 1 percent of the Australian population, the technologies of printing and publication enable Aboriginal authors to have access to many more non-Aboriginal people than they might meet over a lifetime. In addition, the physical

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segregation of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people is extreme in Australia. Partly this is a function of the concentration of more than 90 percent of the non-Aboriginal population in coastal urban areas, while the majority of Aboriginal people continue to live in the remote interior. But even in major cities, Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people live separately. It would not be an exaggeration to say that most non-Aboriginal Australians will never even meet an Aboriginal person.[13] But Aboriginal people can and do use print and other media to disseminate their histories, narratives, and analyses.

Also, as Christine Watson argues, the autobiographical form enables the author to take the position of a witness—that is, to make the "claim of personal involvement as the basis for the authority which justifies both the telling of the narrative and the legitimisation of the content" (144). Some Aboriginal autobiographers make an explicit declaration at the beginning of their narratives that positions them as a witness. Ruby Langford, for example, begins her autobiography, *Don't Take Your Love to Town,* with "I started this book on 23 May 1984. It is a true life story of an Aboriginal woman's struggle to raise a family of nine children in a society divided between black and white culture in Australia" (v). Similarly, Eileen Morgan begins *The Calling of the Spirits* as if putting herself under oath: "I am Eileen May Morgan and this is the story of my family and the culture of the Aboriginal people at Wallaga Lake where I grew up" (xvi). These declarations address readers directly, and instruct us to believe the truth of the narrative. Indirectly, they implicate readers in a judicial metaphor that calls for a fair hearing and adjudication of the testimony.

And, at least in the case of published books (as opposed to broadcast media), autobiographies become an enduring record. I have heard Aboriginal adults who were separated as children express the belief that it was not only important to speak about (bear witness to and challenge accounts of) the past, but to ensure that their accounts became evidence in the written record. They believed that white Australians place more value on writing than speaking, and that the written word will have greater truth effects.[14]

On the negative side, autobiographical testimonies continue to locate Aboriginal people as "informants"—persons who create naive and transparent "truth" that is interpreted and analyzed by experts. In a judicial setting, the witness is not supposed to offer interpretation or opinion ("just the facts"). It falls to the lawyers, the judge, and the jury—or the reader—to make sense of the testimony.

In addition, bearing witness to harm places the witness in a vulnerable position. Torres Strait Islander academic Martin Nakata prefaced his autobiographical reflections in a 1994 article with the following critique:

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> I am not comfortable talking about myself, precisely because marginalised people are often called upon to do a kind of public confession. The others say, 'If you speak to us about your personal experiences we can better understand your position'. I often wonder why people from dominant groups couldn't understand my position by reflecting more on their own actions. However, I have come to the view that there is some value in inserting the personal, as this can bring home very powerfully the implications and effects that flow on to people's lives from institutional and governmental practice. I have come to a point where I now elect to use a 'language register' which people understand and will listen to. (134–35)

Although Nakata decided that the practical value of better communication outweighed the drawbacks of a personal account, his point about the problem of confession is particularly relevant to personal accounts of separation. Stolen Generation autobiographical narratives nearly always cross over into the confessional, since bearing witness to the harmful effects of separation requires admitting to symptoms of harm such as alcoholism, drug addiction, mental health problems, or poor parenting. It is difficult to maintain dignity and credibility while cataloguing the horrific consequences of separation.[15] It is equally difficult to maintain the moral high ground when evidence of harm implicates the witness in criminal or pathological behavior.

MARGARET TUCKER'S *IF EVERYONE CARED*

Margaret Tucker's *If Everyone Cared,* published in 1977, exemplifies the testimonial autobiography as a vehicle for challenging the exclusion of Aboriginals from moral community with whites. Her autobiography explicitly targets the practice of separation as a key site of moral engagement for the non-Aboriginal reader.

Born in 1904, Margaret Tucker grew up in southwestern New South Wales. The east coast of New South Wales was the site of the first British penal colony, established in 1788.[16] During the first hundred years of occupation, many Aboriginals succumbed to the unusual diseases brought by Europeans, starved, were deliberately poisoned, or fought and were killed in "punitive" raids. Others survived by accommodating the invaders, becoming trackers, farmers, herders, and domestic workers, and living in quasi-independent communities. A visible minority lingered at the edges of European settlements, suffering from disease or alcoholism and living off handouts. From the mid-1880s missionaries built and presided over residential institutions where Aboriginal adults and children were instructed in Christianity and western work and domesticity. At the turn of the century, these institutions were taken over by an arm of the state government, the Aborigines Protection Board, but their purpose remained substantially the same.

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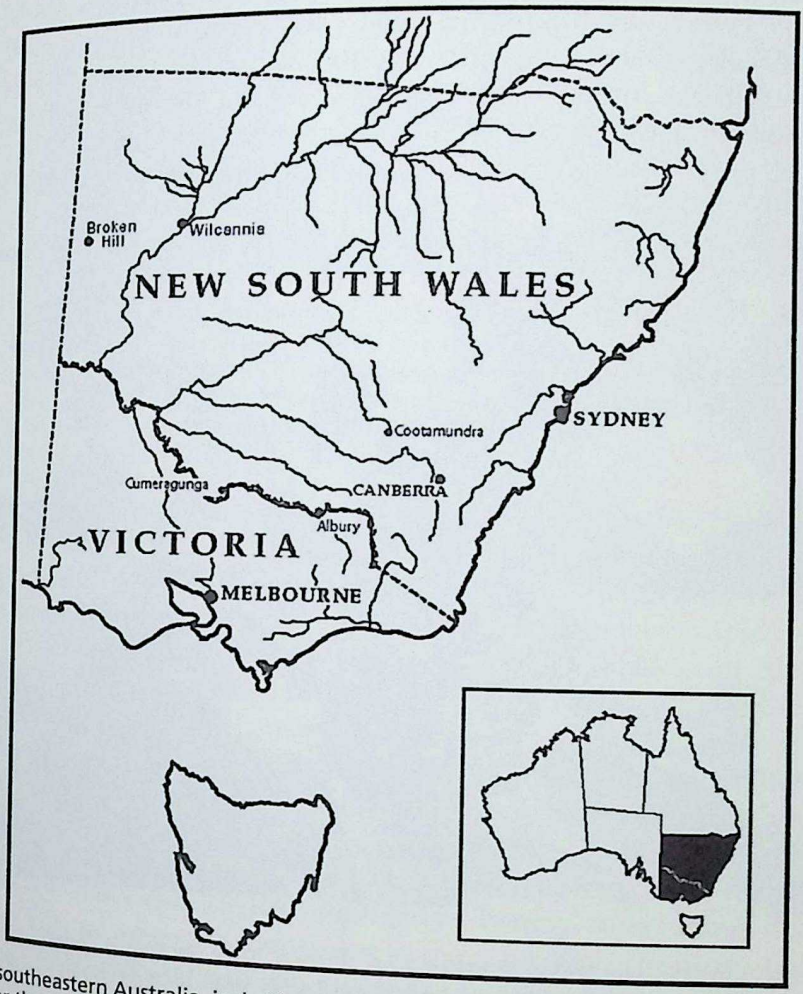
Margaret Tucker spent her childhood in and around quasi-independent or government-run Aboriginal settlements. In 1917, at the age of thirteen, she was seized by police acting on behalf of the Aborigines Protection Board and taken to the Board-run Cootamundra Training Home for Aboriginal Girls. After two years of "training" in white domestic practices, she was sent into domestic service in Sydney, more than 200 miles from her home.

Although her autobiography ranges across the period from the very early 1900s to the 1970s, nearly half of the 205-page book is devoted to describing her childhood. Insofar as *If Everyone Cared* is a political or moral project aimed at improving conditions for Aboriginals, Margaret Tucker's narrative selects her early years as the most significant and effective for advancing her project.



Map of southeastern Australia, including the states of New South Wales and Victoria (map prepared for the author and used by permission of Richard Barwick).

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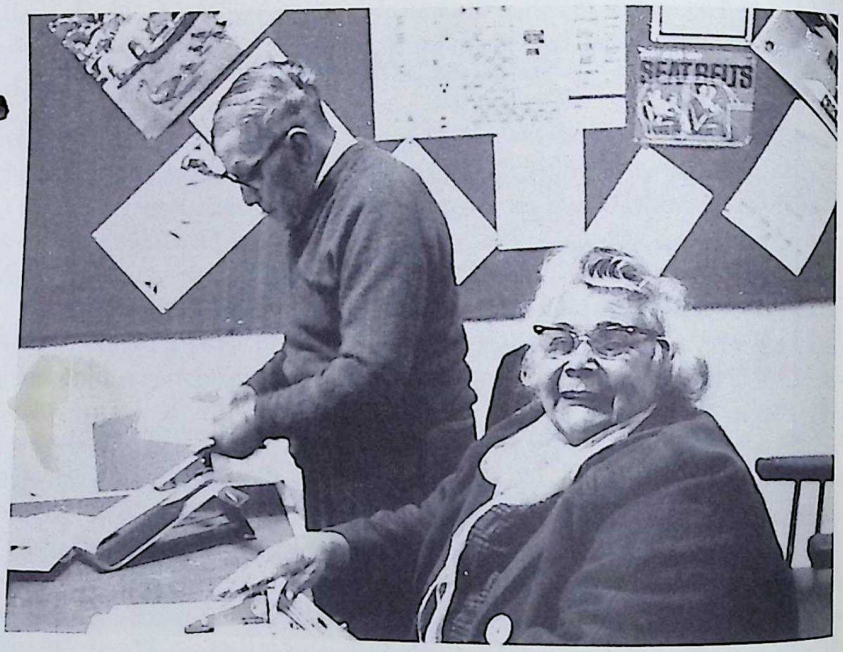
THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF WRITING

Margaret Tucker drafted her manuscript in 1975–76. This was a period of significant change in Australian government policies towards Aboriginals. In 1967 a national referendum was passed that indicated majority support for recognizing Aboriginal people as full citizens (Attwood et al.). In the early 1970s, the first Aboriginal community organizations were established, including the first Aboriginal Medical Service (1971), Aboriginal Legal Service (1973), the Aboriginal Education Consultative Groups, and the Commonwealth Department of Aboriginal Affairs.[17] All of these organizations began to publish Aboriginal community perspectives on a variety of issues.

The activist milieu of Melbourne, Victoria, where Tucker lived, drew from the Cumeragunja community, which had a long and distinguished history of Aboriginal activism. Cumeragunja was located near Deniliquin in New South Wales, on the border with Victoria. In 1887 the Cumeragunja people had petitioned the NSW Governor for adequate land. In the 1930s



Mick Russell and Margaret Tucker in Melbourne, Victoria, 1972 (Jackomos Collection, Audiovisual Archives, Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies; photo © and reproduced by permission of AIATSIS).

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Margaret Tucker and Blanch Charles (third and fourth from left) members of the Aboriginal Conference, Dubbo, New South Wales, 1930. During the 1930s, many Aboriginal Australians lived on government reserves, and required passes to leave the reserve (Jackomos Collection, Audiovisual Archives, Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies; photo © and reproduced by permission of AIATSIS).

Cumeragunja people living in Melbourne founded the Australian Aboriginal League. From 1937 to 1939 Cumeragunja residents organized a strike—which Margaret Tucker supported from Melbourne—against the New South Wales Aborigines Protection Board's poor management and violent control.[18] Margaret Tucker's extended family included many well-known Aboriginal activists,[19] and her daughter, Molly Dyer, was the first director of the Victorian Aboriginal Childcare Agency. Dyer was active in the Victorian campaign for the adoption by social workers of the Aboriginal child placement principle, which asserts that it is in the best interest of an Aboriginal child to be placed with Aboriginal foster or adopting parents (69–72).

Margaret Tucker also wrote from the discursive context of the Moral Rearmament movement (MRA), founded by Pennsylvanian Frank Buchman in the 1930s as western nations were arming for war. Buchman called for "moral and spiritual rearmament" instead of military rearmament ("Brief History"). Still active today, MRA follows a Christian ecumenical philosophy,

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and advocates social change through personal change. Its practice focuses on the reconciliation of individuals located on opposite sides of major historical conflicts through speaking about harms suffered and acknowledgment of responsibility and apology. The aim is to create a world that is "hate free," "greed free," and "fear free" ("Brief History"). As Tucker describes in the later chapters of her book, MRA organized massive and expensive conferences where victims of injustice or oppression could speak about their lives to perpetrators, and engage them in understanding the wrong and the harm of their actions. Tucker had spent eight months at MRA's conference site in Macinac Island, Canada, listening to the life histories of other oppressed peoples and telling her own story. Thus, *If Everyone Cared* was a well-rehearsed and polished narrative. It was the product of numerous conversations with numerous interlocutors, both white and Indigenous, from Australia and overseas. Tucker knew what aspects of her autobiography were effective moral negotiators with whites. She also knew their prejudices, their assumptions, and their beliefs.

CHALLENGING STEREOTYPES OF ABORIGINAL PEOPLE

Margaret Tucker's autobiography challenges dominant discourse in three ways. First, it subverts racist stereotypes of Aboriginal communities by portraying the many ways that Aboriginal adults cared for, nurtured, and educated their children. Second, her representation of a well-to-do suburban Sydney woman as the perpetrator of an endless stream of shaming and shameful "hate crimes" against her young domestic servant challenges the assumption that white families (and particularly respectable white women) were more "civilized" and therefore better carers for Aboriginal children than Aboriginal parents.[20] Third, her nuanced examination of the emotional and moral impact of separation on her young protagonist challenges white beliefs that Aboriginal people did not feel and would not remember the injustices perpetrated against them.

Contrary to white stereotypes, Margaret Tucker's grandfather was not wandering, abject, or brutal. George Middleton was a farmer who bought and worked his own land about a mile from Cumeragunja, and accumulated enough money to leave his daughters "several thousands" when he died (14–15, 16). Also contrary to stereotypes (expressed as late as the 1940s by anthropologist A. P. Elkin[21]), Tucker's grandfather, aunt, and mother were deeply Christian (14, 16, 122). However, she takes great pains to emphasize the continuities and similarities between the traditional beliefs of her people and Christianity. Recalling a time when she was among a group of children

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who were listening to the old stories of *Nkuppa* (Great Auntie) Taylor, and were scolded by the missionary for forgetting to go to Church, Tucker relates with obvious approval her Auntie Taylor's defense of the children:

> We all jumped up guiltily, but dear old Nkuppa said half in the language and half in English, 'Do you know we had the Good Spirit a long time before you white people came here?' (58)

Through this vignette, Tucker wants readers to be very clear that morality and ethics were not brought to Australia by white missionaries.

In Tucker's recollection of the physical conditions of her childhood, times were hard. Food was scarce and the shelters were rough: "a mud brick hut partitioned off to make sleeping quarters. A bark roof, lined inside with hessian, the walls papered with old newspapers" (13). The part of New South Wales where her family lived has temperatures ranging from 20° F in the winter to over 100° F in the summer. A bark hut lined with bags and newspaper would have been cold, damp, and draughty. To counteract racist representations of Aboriginal people as "dirty," she makes a point of telling readers that "Although our huts were small, with earthen floors, they were kept clean" (13). And with a dig at white Australian culture, she says that although families were large and extended, food and other goods were shared among extended kin groups, and even with passing (white) swagmen, or hobos (a swag is a blanket roll) (14). (It is an ongoing Aboriginal criticism of European culture that despite its wealth, white people are greedy and would rather allow others to starve than to share with them.)

Some aspects of the childhood Margaret Tucker describes will be instantly recognizable to any Australian reader. She recalls swimming and playing in the bush under the supervision of adults who worried about sunstroke, river currents, snakes, and strangers. She also describes games of cricket with dad when he's home from shearing, getting in trouble, going to school, bathing, hair washing, and the feeling of delight when her mother made wonderful food emerge magically from the oven (13–14, 21–23, 28, 57, 78–79). These descriptions work, I think, to create a sense of imagined community with white Australian readers. "Our childhoods were a lot like yours," they say.

At the same time, Margaret Tucker describes a specifically Aboriginal childhood that will be unfamiliar to white readers. She describes the struggle of Aboriginal adults to provide food for their children because their traditional lands have been occupied, and sheep and cattle have replaced traditional food resources. She also describes fearful adults hiding their children in the bush to prevent the police from taking them away. And she describes

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sad adults telling traditional stories in traditional languages of the times before white people, or taking the children travelling around the country to learn about its special places and histories (20, 33ff, 40ff, 44ff):

> I can remember going on walkabout as a child. White people would call it a holiday. However, a walkabout was a useful holiday. My people did not go walkabout at random. They went to pastures that were not new to them. They knew when these pastures would be flourishing with fresh growth since they had last been there. . . . They belonged to us—no other tribe would trespass on them. (40)

The other difference she highlights between Aboriginal and white childhoods is that Aboriginal children received care within an extended family and community, where relationships were defined not only by family/marriage connection, but also by connections to tribe and country.

Mainstream representations of Aboriginal mothers, both historical and in the present, tend to focus on their failure to provide care. News coverage of Aboriginal "problems," for example, is replete with stock footage of impoverished Aboriginal women sitting listlessly on the ground outside a hut, holding children covered in flies. In contrast, Margaret Tucker describes her mother as a highly skilled and educated woman who worked as a domestic servant, but was also a midwife and assistant teacher (25, 63ff, 89, 91). As if anticipating a white reader's questions about "immorality" in Aboriginal camps, Margaret Tucker describes her mother's attempt to protect her from circles of adults who gambled at Brungle, a government reserve:

> My mother would tell us not to go near these groups, but one day curiosity got the better of me. I found they were not doing anything exciting, only playing cards, with some money and tobacco in front of them. They were experts at playing two-up. The whole time I was there, I did not remember seeing anyone drunk. (76)

Having addressed prevailing representations of Aboriginal camps as sites of gambling and drunkenness, Tucker also tackles the issue of single mothers, recalling the wedding celebrations that would follow an unwed pregnancy (85).

Thus, the first six chapters of Margaret Tucker's autobiography build a case against white stereotypes of Aboriginal families and communities as unfit places for rearing children. It is not a nostalgic recollection of an untroubled past. Rather, this section of the book draws the non-Aboriginal reader into a world that is simultaneously familiar and strange. It answers the curiosity of white readers, and confronts vague and unquestioned beliefs that Aboriginal people lived in disorganized squalor. Instead, Tucker describes

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her community as a place of respect, dignity, and love, where some adults were Christian and others (boringly) were experts at cards. Hers was a recognizable childhood where mothers and fathers were similar to the parents of many readers. These chapters induce a sense of affinity and commonality between the reader and narrator. In addition, the richness and detail (thickness) of the narrative style begins the work of making Tucker a credible and reliable witness. Then, in the following five chapters, she builds a case against separation, representing the horrific effects of this policy on both the mothers who lost their children and the children who were sent to live among white people.

A CIVILIZING INFLUENCE?

Margaret Tucker begins her account of life in Aborigines Protection Board custody with a vivid re-presentation of being taken by the police from her home at Moonacullah. Her text centers on her mother's anguish, and on the children's fear that the policeman would shoot their mother:

> As we hung onto our mother she said fiercely, "These are my children and they are not going away with you."
>
> The policeman, who no doubt was doing his duty, patted his handcuffs, which were in a leather case on his belt, and which May and I thought was a revolver.
>
> "Margaret Clements," he said, "I'll have to use this if you do not let us take these children now."
>
> Thinking that the policeman would shoot Mother, because she was trying to stop him, we screamed, "We'll go with him Mum, we'll go." . . .
>
> However, the policeman must have had a heart, because he allowed my mother to come in the car with us as far as Deniliquin. . . . Then the policeman sprang another shock. He said he had to go to the hospital to pick up Geraldine, who was to be taken as well. The horror on my mother's face and her heart broken cry! . . .
>
> All my mother could say was, "Oh, no, not my Baby, please let me have her. I will look after her."

As it happened, Tucker's younger sister had left the hospital that morning, and could not be taken that day. When told of this, her mother "[t]ook that policeman's hand and kissed it and said, 'Thank you, thank you.'" Tucker then tells the reader what happened to her mother after she and her sister drove away:

> I heard years later how after watching us go out of her life, she wandered away from the police station, [and] off the road to rest in the long grass under a tree.

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> That is where old Uncle and Aunt found her the next day. . . . They found our mother still moaning and crying. They heard the sounds and thought it was an animal in pain. . . . Mother was half demented and ill. . . . She was not interested in anything for weeks and wouldn't let Geraldine out of her sight. She slowly got better, but I believe for months after, at the sight of a policeman's white helmet coming round the bend of the river, she would grab her little girl and escape into the bush, as did all the Aboriginal people who had children. (94)

Tucker's description of her capture takes the reader into the children's fear and desire to protect their mother, and into their mother's agony and pathetic gratitude that she would only lose two children that day. To me, Tucker's refusal to condemn the policeman works to create a moral vacuum that is difficult to resist filling with our own judgments.

Tucker was sent to the Cootamundra Domestic Training Home. Her account of her time at Cootamundra reveals both the violence that accompanied the "training," and the strangeness of a white woman's kitchen and a white woman's face in the eyes of an Aboriginal girl.

> Beatrice Buggs and I got belted up that first time [in the kitchen] for not remembering things such as essence of vanilla, and essence of this and that. It was the first time we had been introduced to the bewildering array of canisters and tins in cupboards in that kitchen. I remember my mate Beatrice's bleeding lips and bruised cheeks. She was slightly bigger than I was. I cowed in the corner terrified as I watched Miss Wood wield a good-sized piece of firewood, her face red and awful looking. (100)

These harsh images of an enraged white woman beating an Aboriginal girl with a piece of firewood begin the work of challenging the assumption that white people would have a civilizing influence on Aboriginal children. This domestic space may have had modern apparatuses and ingredients, but unlike the simple bush kitchen Margaret had experienced at home with her mother, it was grossly lacking in love, care, or even human decency.

Several years later Tucker was sent to an "apprenticeship" with Mrs. "Smith"—given the criminal behavior Tucker describes in her narrative, she chose to use a pseudonym. As Heather Goodall points out, the term "apprenticeship" was a misnomer. In fact, Aboriginal children were sent out as cheap labor ("Assimilation"). "Apprenticeship" for Aboriginal girls was domestic service in white homes under white women (Huggins and Blake).

Tucker's representation of her first employer focuses on her experiences of exclusion, deprivation, violence, and hatred in the Smiths' middle-class suburban Sydney household. Like other girls sent into white "service," Tucker's only good memories of her time at the Smiths were of the children

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she looked after. She was poorly clothed, badly fed, and physically and emotionally abused.

> Winters and summers came and went. I was always scantily dressed in a thin blouse and skirt and underneath a hessian sugar-bag singlet that Mrs Smith made; I had no other underclothing and my legs and feet were bare. In winter the cold was unbearable. I would wait for the first streak of sun. . . . On frosty mornings I would sit in the shed, and cover myself with a bag. (114)

Tucker experienced exclusion through the racialized division of domestic space in the Smith household. Her recollections feature the yard, the swings, the chicken pen, and the shed—the areas she inhabited along with the other domestic animals.

She also describes overwhelming and ongoing starvation, both physical and emotional. Her account is filled with memories of desperate attempts to get more food despite her employer's constant surveillance and cruelty whenever she caught Margaret "sneaking" extra food: "I was constantly empty and always thinking about how I could get food from the pantry" (112). She confesses that she "pinched" jam from the pantry and hid it under the house (114), took duck eggs and cooked them in the yard (117), and even asked the Smith children to get seconds of their morning tea to share with her (112). One time, she was given money by Mrs. Smith's brother-in-law and spent it on cake, which she hid in a hedge. However, Mrs. Smith saw this from the window and took the cake away and fed it to the chickens. Tucker comments wryly:

> Those fowls just picked casually at a piece of cake here and there and then walked away. The truth dawned on me some time later. They were better fed than I. Then without a word, she marched out of the fowl yard, leaving me standing there. When she was out of sight I hunted the chooks away and picked up some of the bigger pieces. . . . At Moonacullah, no matter how hungry we were, we did not pick things off the ground and eat them. (117)

The realization that she had sunk so low as to eat food rejected by animals is a significant moment in the narrative. Through this juxtaposition of her sense of shameful desperation, her parents' dignity, Mrs. Smith's cruelty, and the ducks' indifference, Tucker delivers a devastating critique of racist discourse. The only "savage" in this scenario is Mrs. Smith.

Mrs. Smith's isolation of Margaret was also expressed through her total control of Margaret's communication with the world outside the household. She withheld letters Margaret received from her mother, controlled access to pens and paper, and read and censored Margaret's letters before posting them:

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> Oh God, how I prayed for that letter and hungered for news of home, which seemed as far away as another planet. It was like a disease. . . . I couldn't even write home because I depended on her for a stamped envelope and writing paper. . . . She would read every word of the letter I wrote before it was posted. (112–13)

As with food, Margaret resisted Mrs. Smith's control by breaking into the house to "steal" a letter she had seen but not been allowed to read (113). Margaret managed to communicate her misery to her mother by sending drawings with her letters.

Although the narrative of her time at the Smiths is generally vivid, Tucker's descriptions of some types of abuse are understated. For example, we know that Mrs. Smith regularly attacked Margaret with racist name-calling because Tucker describes herself as a "wretched black" with "blackfellow cunning" (113, 117). We imagine that the young protagonist internalized her oppressor's language, but Tucker avoids re-enacting the name-calling events. We also know that Mrs. Smith regularly engaged in sexually humiliating Margaret, but this is recalled rather than re-enacted in the narrative:

> She would take great delight in making me strip, and then she would turn the hose on me in front of the men working next door. Fortunately I never had any insults from them. I just wanted to die, nothing mattered any more. (124)

Tucker's decision to leave the details of these episodes to the reader's imagination is probably strategic. In the mid-1970s creating detailed descriptions of sexual abuse could be offensive or even pornographic to some readers. Instead, Tucker managed to speak about Mrs. Smith's perversity while maintaining what critic Gillian Whitlock calls "vocal propriety."[22] It may also be the case that the shame that drove young Margaret to suicidal despair continued to silence the mature author.

Tucker clearly did not wish her book to be read as an indictment of white people in general. There are many representations of good, decent, honest whites who are kind, helpful, and respectful of Aboriginal people. The book is an indictment of a system that, as Tucker says many times in the narrative, looked at "colour not character." Margaret was removed from her family only because she was Aboriginal, not because any official found that she was neglected by her family. Conversely, blinded by the apparent class and race-based respectability of Mrs. Smith, the Board administrators ignored her mother's complaints, and refused to believe that Margaret was being mistreated (121).

Tucker's aim is to get non-Aboriginal readers to look beyond color to character—to realize that both white and Aboriginal people can be decent

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and civilized or vicious and barbaric. These human traits are not the exclusive province of either race. In the overall scheme of the book, Mrs. Smith emerges as a woman with a mental health problem who transformed a middle-class feminine domestic space into a site of cruelty and depravity. Coming on the heels of feminist activism on domestic violence and incest in the 1970s and 1980s, Tucker's account of a white woman as a perpetrator of child abuse highlighted the problematic intersections of race, gender, and power.

INVITING MORAL (RE)ENGAGEMENT

In addition to challenging dominant representations of Aboriginal and white adults, Tucker's narrative undermines racism by drawing readers into the complex inner landscape of an Aboriginal girl who was ashamed of not being able to maintain the high moral standards of her parents during her ordeal under Mrs. Smith. Tucker's description of life at the Smith household has numerous instances of self-criticism. Self-reproach, however, doubles as scathing criticism of the white adults who were delegated by the Board to "civilize" her, but whose level of civilization was far beneath that of Margaret Tucker's Aboriginal community: "I feel awful when I think of those days and the thieving I was practising. God seemed far away, as did my mother, father, aunt and uncle and sisters—in fact all my people" (114). Tucker's representation of herself as a complex human subject who agonizes, even fifty years later, over her corruption by Mrs. Smith challenges stereotypes that Aboriginal people are less human than whites. Readers may be tempted, like critic Helen Dakin, to view Tucker's commitment to Christian notions of forgiveness, reconciliation, and refusal to hate as signs of ongoing internalized oppression. However, Tucker explicitly frames these values as an ongoing commitment to Aboriginal spirituality, and to the notions of "what is right and what is wrong" that were handed down to her by her mother and the elders of her community:

> This book is dedicated to my mother, Theresa Clements, who gave me a grounding in what is right as distinct from what is wrong. Many of the old people had this.
>
> I can fight that old snake of hate and bitterness when he rears his head. That fight does bring peace of mind. I will not forget the dignity and kindliness of our old people, how they shared what they had with any human being, white or dark. (5)

Thus her identity as a member of her Aboriginal community is embedded in a sense of herself as a moral person. Tucker's autobiography represents a

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young woman who had grown up in a "civilized" moral universe that did not prepare her for the savagery of Mrs. Smith, or for the degradation she would feel in betraying her sense of "what is right and what is wrong" in order to survive. Many readers will feel outrage that the victim seems to feel guilty about infractions that are relatively minor, and as Tucker intends, condemn the system. Thus the narrative enacts a double reversal that maneuvers white readers into moral community with the Aboriginal narrator.

Also, some readers will remember friends and relatives who had Aboriginal servants. They will recognize people they know, people like themselves, in Mrs. Smith. They may remember hearing people praised for taking an Aboriginal girl or boy into their home, and may begin to wonder what really went on in these private domestic spaces. They will recognize dominant discourse that has portrayed Aboriginal people as dirty, uncivilized, immoral, and neglectful, and they may recognize their own complicity in or acceptance of this discourse.

Margaret Tucker's testimonial autobiography is effective and credible because her narrator is not a witness who recalls events in black and white, whose bitterness prevents her from remembering the kindness of some whites. She does not assault the white reader with uncompromising judgment of their racism. Her approach is more subtle. She acknowledges that she continues to struggle with bitterness, blame, and hatred, but affirms her choice to seek reconciliation. She holds up two mirrors to the white reader—one reflecting an image of the right way to join in moral community with Aboriginal people, the other reflecting the wrong way. She invites the reader to choose her own way.

NOTES

AUTHOR'S NOTE: Many thanks to the Link-Up (NSW) community for sharing their experiences of separation with me during very troubled times. Thanks also to Peter Read and Rosanne Kennedy for their support and criticism of earlier drafts, and to Richard Barwick for drawing the map of southeast Australia.

1. Link-Up (NSW) is an Aboriginal community organization that works to reunite separated people with their families, culture, and Aboriginal identities (see Link-Up (NSW) and Wilson 39). This quotation was transcribed during a brainstorming session with adults who were taken from their families as children. The session was part of the creation of Link-Up's submission to the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission (HREOC) Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children from their Families.

2. A note on terminology. In the Australian context, "Indigenous" refers to all pre-colonial peoples, including those on the mainland and in the Torres Strait Islands. The term

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"Aboriginal" refers more specifically to those on the mainland and Tasmania. This article focuses on the separation of Aboriginal people in New South Wales. I use the term "white" to refer to people of European descent, and the term "non-Aboriginal" to refer to whites and others who have migrated to Australia. I am of African-American descent, and as a migrant to Australia, sit in the contradictory location of "black whitefella," meaning that although I might identify as "black" in the US, in Australia I enjoy the privileges of "honorary" whiteness.

3. In 1901, the six British colonies (Queensland, New South Wales, Victoria, Tasmania, South Australia, and Western Australia) became states and formed a federation under the name Commonwealth of Australia.

4. These estimates were developed by Andrew Armitage, who compared separation in Australia, Canada, and New Zealand (205). (The Bureau of Indian Affairs undertook similar programs in the United States.) Peter Read estimates that 5600 Aboriginal children were removed in New South Wales between 1915 and 1969 (*Stolen Generations*). Although the dates, numbers, and institutional arrangements varied, a similar pattern emerged in other states (see HREOC, and Haebich).

5. I have seen letters, cards, and gifts—all expressing how much the children were loved and missed. It is deeply disturbing to know that officials and researchers may be the only people ever to read or touch this personal correspondence.

6. For an account of a ten-year struggle by one mother to get her son back, see Link-Up (NSW) and Wilson 105ff.

7. HREOC 104, quoting submission 385, by Dr. Christine Choo.

8. This is not to say that race is the only factor in differential constructions of moral accountability. Class, gender, age, religion, ethnic group, incarceration as a result of psychiatric or criminal adjudications, disability, and sexuality are all factors, on their own or in combination with race and with each other, that determine differential social constructions of moral community and accountability.

9. For an account of the dynamics of white participation in these processes, see Whitlock, "In the Second Person."

10. Here I am particularly referring to the dissertations of Peter Read and Heather Goodall in New South Wales. Both conducted extensive interviews in New South Wales Aboriginal communities in the late 1970s, both were politically committed to relaying Aboriginal knowledges to non-Aboriginal readers, and both made extensive use of quotation. I think it is arguable that Aboriginal informants used Read and Goodall as a means of publicizing Aboriginal historical narratives.

11. The increased activity of the Commonwealth government in Aboriginal affairs from 1972, and particularly the creation of the Aboriginal Arts Board in 1973 to provide Commonwealth funding to Aboriginal artists, had a significant positive effect on Aboriginal writing. Many published Aboriginal autobiographies acknowledge the support of the Aboriginal Arts Board, including those by Doris Pilkington/Nugi Garimara, Ruby Langford, Faith Bandler, Glenyse Ward, Della Walker, Monica Clare, and Margaret Tucker. The First Aboriginal Writers conference was held in Perth in 1983 (Davis and Hodge), and the first National Aboriginal Women Writers conference took place in Brisbane in 1993, from which emerged the "Fridas Manifesto" (Sisters Manifesto).

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12. Such projects include those by the Gunjil Jindibah Centre, by the Aboriginal Legal Service of Western Australia, and by Link-Up (NSW) and Wilson, as well as *La Perouse*.
13. The almost total invisibility of Aboriginal people in Australian daily life is one of the most striking differences between the US, UK, and European countries, and Australia.
14. During the time I worked with Link-Up (NSW) on the preparation of their submission to the National Inquiry, community members alternated between heartfelt hope that speaking about their lives and the impact of separation would change the way non-Aboriginal people viewed Aboriginal people, and profound despair that the Inquiry would lead to still yet another report that gathered dust on a shelf. But even if the latter were the case, at least there would be a written record of this sorry history.
15. For an analogous treatment of slave narratives, see Whitlock, *The Intimate Empire*.
16. Many US readers may not be aware of the direct historical linkage between the American Revolution and the colonization of Australia. The independence of the thirteen American colonies meant that Britain had to seek a new dumping ground for its convicts. It turned to the antipodes.
17. Aboriginal Hostels Ltd (1973), the Aboriginal Land Fund Commission (1975), and the Aboriginal Loans Commission (1974) were established as well (see Horton).
18. For an account of the strike, see Goodall, *Invasion* 78, 185, 247ff; and Clark.
19. Her uncle, William Cooper, was one of the petitioners to the Governor in 1887; her cousin, Robert Patton, was one of the organizers of the 1938 Day of Mourning. The first mass protest of Aboriginal people, it contested white celebrations of the sesquicentenary of the landing of Captain Cook.
20. For a discussion of the concepts of "shaming" and "shameful," see Dalziell.
21. A. P. Elkin was an anthropologist with a chair at Sydney University. He was also a member of the Aborigines Welfare Board from 1940 to 1969. In 1944 he wrote: "The mixed blood people, however, have been in the unfortunate position of possessing no social life worth the name. Dotted about in small groups on Reserves and Settlements, on the outskirts, or in towns, they have not shared in the general community, nor have they any traditional or spontaneous life of their own. . . . In some cases they seek to return to the former life and in others to work out a version of Christianity for themselves or to follow some simple form of it and so gain solace. It is pathetic. . . . In the meantime, the almost a-moral type of life that many of the mixed bloods live can be attributed to the absence of moral or spiritual purpose and sanction" (qtd. in Read, *Stolen Generations* 198).
22. *The Intimate Empire* (21). Whitlock's analysis concerns the difficulty facing authors of slave narratives. The narratives needed to convey the full horror of slavery, but not offend the sensibilities of the "ladies" who would read the accounts. A similar problem arose in the US during the Meese Commission's investigation of pornography in the 1980s.

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DOCUMENTING VIOLATIONS: RHETORICAL WITNESSING AND THE SPECTACLE OF DISTANT SUFFERING[1]

WENDY S. HESFORD

Claps of thunder and dark ominous clouds trudge across the opening frames of *The Sky: A Silent Witness,* a 1995 documentary video by Midge Mackenzie, produced in association with Amnesty International. The expansive and yet oppressive sky functions as a haunting reminder of human rights violations across the globe. A liturgical piano solo weaves its way down the sloping hills of Guatemala commemorating 180 massacre victims, indigenous Quiché Indians, killed in 1982. Dozens of women and men kneel as they empty ash and bones into small coffins. Women place fresh flowers onto coarsely cut wooden boxes. Children look on with a curious sadness. A woman speaks: "My name is Juan de Paz González. I belong to the Quiché Indian tribe." González recounts how her father, a preacher, was killed by army soldiers in Guatemala, and how her family hid in ravines and mountains before coming to the city, where her husband was later kidnapped and she was left alone with her daughter, hungry and displaced. "It was such a difficult situation for me as a woman left with a daughter," González continues, "The situation is very difficult for all one and a half million indigenous displaced here in this city, in this country of Guatemala."

González's testimony, set against the backdrop of excavations, funeral rituals, and protest marches, establishes the narrative pattern for those of the other women featured in the film: name, cultural affiliation, and date of the action that led to individual and mass trauma, followed by a rhetorical gesture that highlights the importance of community and collective grieving. The film features five women of color from Bangladesh, China, Guatemala, Tibet, and the United States, and one woman from Bosnia, all of whom describe experiences of victimization and state-sanctioned violence.[2] The

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camera focuses on one woman at a time, with the exception of the Bosnian woman, whose face we do not see. Each face is side-lit: one half embraced by dark shadows. The slow panning between frames of the sky and the women's faces creates the illusion of a seamless visual narrative. Similarly, each woman's testimony retains the rhetorical appeal of the particular, yet situates the particular within the communal—the plural—"I." At work here, as is common to the protean genre of the *testimonio,* is a "lateral move of identification—through relationship, which acknowledges the possible differences among 'us' as components of a centerless whole" (Sommer 61).

Like many human rights documentaries, *The Sky: A Silent Witness* negotiates the tensions between universality and particularity through the genre of the *testimonio. Testimonio* and autobiography share the "affirmation of the speaking subject," but *testimonio* destabilizes traditional conventions of autobiography through its "affirmation of the individual self in a collective mode" (Beverley 96–97). "The situation of the narrator in *testimonio,*" John Beverley explains, "is one that must be representative of a social class or group" (95), for "*testimonio* implies a challenge to the loss of authority of orality in the context of processes of cultural modernization that privilege literacy and literature as norms of expression" (97).[3] As a form, *testimonio* may include autobiography, autobiographical novel, oral history, memoir, confession, eyewitness report, non-fiction novel, and life history. While specifying a generic location may be provisional, important differences exist among these textual categories. I use the term "testimonials" in this essay to refer to narratives told in the first person by a narrator who recounts the trauma of human rights violations. In particular instances, I prefer the term "testimony" to indicate the oral presentation and legal prominence of testimonial narratives within the international human rights movement.

Within the context of human rights documentaries, victims' testimonies bear witness to incommensurable events, and also function rhetorically as empathetic markers in an effort to create the viewer as witness. Human rights testimonies play a key role in rebuilding civil institutions, in formulating movements for reparation and restitution, and in advancing the international human rights agenda. But, we must ask, what kinds of witnesses do human rights testimonials construe? To what degree are testimonial subjects romanticized as transnational artifacts (Kaplan), and/or turned into opportunistic spectacles for self-positioning or for certain political agendas?[4] If one of the prominent rhetorical features in human rights documentaries is to create a rhetorical space of intersubjectivity—of bearing witness—how to account for ruptures in identification?

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In this essay, I am primarily concerned with exploring how documentary conventions make possible the dissemination of women's testimonies about the trauma of rape warfare. More generally, I am interested in how documentary frameworks and technologies create a consubstantial space for the rhetorical and political engagement of human rights testimonies through rhetorical strategies of identification and disidentification. I focus on two documentary videos (Midge Mackenzie's *The Sky: A Silent Witness* and Mandy Jacobson and Karmen Jelincic's *Calling the Ghosts: A Story about Rape, War, and Women*), a photo-testimonial project by Melanie Friend (*Homes and Gardens/Documenting the Invisible: Images from Kosovo*), a photograph by Ron Haviv (*Blood and Honey: A Balkan War Journal*), and an essay "Turning Rape into Pornography" by Catharine A. MacKinnon. Finally, I ask to what extent a rhetorical analysis of the forms of witnessing called forth by the documentation of human rights violations carried out during the Balkan conflicts in the early 1990s enables scholars and teachers in the "First World" academy to advocate productive critical and pedagogical scenes of witnessing that account for cultural differences, and that foreground the *ungovernability* of trauma and the methodological and ethical crises posed by its representation.

Ulrich Baer uses the term *ungovernability* to refer to a text's, namely a photograph's, openness and interpretive instability. I extend Baer's definition of the *ungovernability* of texts in my application of the concept to the rhetorical study of the documentation, circulation, and reception of representations of rape warfare as a human rights violation. I am interested in how human suffering is represented by international observers (including journalists, artists, and filmmakers), and the rhetorical options that documentary representations make available to us as witnesses, and as scholars, teachers and members of the international community. I argue that there are four modes of rhetorical witnessing at work in human rights documentaries, particularly those that rely upon testimonial speech, as does *The Sky*. These include:

1) the human rights activist/victim as a witness to her/himself (a retrospective testimonial act);
2) the viewer/listener who witnesses/hears the testimony of another (a rhetorical space of intersubjectivity, or rhetorical listening);
3) the cultural, national, and transnational circulation, reception, and appropriation of testimonials by individuals, groups, and institutions, including governments, human rights organizations, courts, tribunals, scholars, teachers, activists; and
4) the methodological and ethical challenges posed by testimonials for all the groups mentioned above, namely the *crisis of reference* and the *crisis of witnessing*.

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I use the term *crisis of reference* to describe how trauma and violence often throw truth-telling genres into crisis (Egan), a process that Rothberg refers to as "traumatic realism."[5] I share Baer's view of the *crisis of reference* as one that highlights the inability of representation to capture, as in fix or make static, the truth. However, I am equally interested in understanding the *crisis of reference* as a symptom of the value attributed to truth-telling discourses, such as history and documentary photography and film. The concept of the *crisis of reference* therefore highlights the paradox of representing trauma. As Leigh Gilmore puts it, "Because trauma is typically defined as the unprecedented, its centrality in self-representation intensifies the paradox of representativeness" (*Limits* 8).

The process of documenting human rights violations is paradoxical in that violence is often represented in order to resist it. But are violent representations necessary for the construction of identification and empathy? And what forms of empathetic engagement are constituted as solutions to violence, and what are the limits of such identifications? Within the context of human rights documentary, testimonials function in ways similar to the art form tragedy. As Jody Enders notes, "for Aristotle, pain, mimesis and catharsis came together in the theory that 'we enjoy looking at accurate likenesses of things which are themselves painful to see'" (7). Like legal processes dependent upon the dramatic spectacle of violence to advise juries to participate in retribution, the use of testimonials within human rights campaigns is believed to translate empathy into beneficent action.[6] Human rights testimonials as documentary forms of evidence might be said to conjoin legal and dramatic forms of persuasion.[7] I therefore use the term *crisis of witnessing* to refer to the risks of representing trauma and violence, ruptures in identification, and the impossibility of empathetic merging between witness and testifier, listener and speaker.[8] A critical approach to the *crisis of witnessing* as it pertains to the representation of human rights violations therefore prompts us to question the presuppositions of both legal and dramatic realism that urge rhetors (advocates) to *stand in for* the "other" on the grounds that such identifications risk incorporation of the "other" within the self.

Critical works in life writing studies have engaged these *crises* primarily in terms of the mediated nature of the genre of the testimonial—the editorial processes of collaboration and mediation, for example, and the circulation of testimonials.[9] Critical debates about representations of the experiences of the oppressed have engaged two contrary but equally problematic patterns. These include the problem of the privileged speaking *for* rather than *with* the oppressed, thereby situating oneself as an authenticating presence, and the assumption that the subject can speak only for herself, a stance

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that ignores how rhetorical conventions and discursive systems shape the construction of subjectivity and agency. Critics within feminist, postcolonial, and transnational feminist studies in particular have questioned such conceptions, and proposed that we consider not only the social location of the speaker or writer but the material-rhetorical context into which the utterance or text is projected.[10] The emergent focus within life writing studies—a broader category under which the testimonial genre is often located—and feminist rhetorical studies toward "how one gets heard" is essentially a turn to the rhetorical analysis of listening.[11] For example, Krista Ratcliffe advocates a rhetorical listening that "locate[s] identification in discursive spaces of both commonalties and differences; and accentuate[s] commonalties and differences not only in claims but in cultural logics within which those claims function" (204). Rhetorical listening as a means of negotiation "turns hearing (a reception process) into invention (a production process), thus complicating the reception/production opposition" (220). This negotiation speaks to the rhetorical dynamics of witnessing and the intersubjectivity of testimonial acts. For trauma, as Felman notes, "cannot be simply remembered, it cannot simply be 'confessed': it must be testified to, in a struggle [and rhetorical negotiation] shared between a speaker and listener to recover something the speaking subject is not—and cannot be—in possession of" (16). I emphasize "rhetorical negotiation" to highlight the material rhetoric of trauma; that is, to see the process of working through trauma as an act that involves the negotiation of available cultural and national scripts and truth-telling conventions (Hesford, "Reading").

Rhetorical listening as theorized by Ratcliffe significantly "abandon[s] a fixed (ad)vantage for a mobile . . . politics of listening" and thereby recognizes multiple positionalities (51). But how are we to understand this mobility? And for whom are these movements forced, coerced, elected? To what extent do representations of human rights violations position viewers rhetorically as "voyeurs of the suffering of others, tourists amid their landscapes of anguish" (Ignatieff 10)? To what extent does a flexible, mobile rhetoric of listening reflect a generalizing of otherness, which depends, in Edward Said's words, on a "flexible positional superiority" (qtd. in Shome 594)? How can we or should we go about creating a differentiated universalism? To look at both feminist rhetorical criticism and life writing criticism through the lens of trauma theory and transnational feminist theory, with an emphasis on human rights documentary, suggests a need for a reorientation in these critical fields to the geopolitical, and a reconception of the politics of location and conjuncture.[12]

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ABSENT PRESENCE AND THE RISKS OF IDENTIFICATION

Acts of violence, like acts of speech and writing, invest the material with meaning by giving it structure. . . . In its inscription of will on the world, violence is a signifying act, giving expression and authority to identity and will.

—Anne Norton (86)

Midway through *The Sky*, an unnamed woman speaks explicitly, though briefly, about the trauma of rape warfare. We hear her voice but do not see her face. She speaks through a screen of dark thunderous clouds:

> In Bosnia on September 3, 1992, the soldiers came to take the young women. They said they would beat us and rape us and kill us. I was raped by two of them. They brought more soldiers to rape me. I cried and screamed. I wanted to kill myself. They said it was war. There is no law and order. In my dreams, it's happening to me again. I have these bad dreams all the time.

This woman recounts the horror, haunting memories, and lingering trauma of rape warfare, dreams that expose the wounds and that function as evidence —archives of memory that establish her authority and ethos. The visual absence of her body reminds viewers of the vulnerability of victims in speaking out. Her testimony *stands alongside* the thousands of women who could not speak out: those who were killed or who kept silent out of fear for their lives and the social stigma that a rape victim carries in patriarchal cultures. Absence and presence are configured not only in terms of the belatedness of trauma, but also in terms of the witness, whose rhetorical function is to give trauma a presence.

But like the rhetorical moves of postcolonial intellectuals, which as Susan Jarratt argues often create a sense of de-identification with the audience,[13] this scene from *The Sky* also unsettles the relationship between viewer and speaker, and functions in ways that parallel formulations of *empathetic unsettlement* in trauma and memory studies (LaCapra, *Writing History*). This scene marks a point of tension in testimonials, which, as Gilmore notes in another context, often "invite[s] and rebuff[s] identification" (*Limits* 23). Thus we might ask: Does the visual absence of the rape victim in *The Sky* provide an opportunity for our rhetorical presence? As the unidentified woman speaks, the film captures a reflection of the sky on the surface of water. This reflection reverses, distorts, and contains the sky; it establishes boundaries where there are none, and therefore draws attention to both the *crisis of reference* and the *crisis of witnessing*. The sky functions as an image-metaphor for trauma's unattainability; that is, trauma is conceptualized in trauma and memory

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studies as always out of reach, unknowable, shifting, yet always present. The primary motive for the testifier's anonymity may have been protection, but her refusal to become a visual text also places the viewer in a curious rhetorical relation to this refusal. The film does not permit viewers to appropriate trauma or the suffering of others through the spectacle of visual identification; however, her verbal testimony bears the cultural stigma of identification as a rape victim.

The visual absence yet auditory presence of the material body also figures the psychological dislocation associated with traumatic experiences—the experience of "going elsewhere"—and a dislocation of another sort, namely the historic absence of rape as a human rights violation within international law. It was not until 1996, after intense lobbying by human rights and feminist activists, that The Hague International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia recognized rape as a war crime (Freeman).[14] International recognition and coverage of rape warfare in Bosnia, however, stands in marked contrast to the relative invisibility of wartime rape in other contexts, such as Latin America, where wartime rape by soldiers was a common practice throughout the 1980s.[15] Thus this scene from *The Sky* not only attests to the risks of testifying, but also serves as a reminder of how voices speak through or are silenced by the image (Shohat and Stam 214).[16] Aida Hozic likewise observes the power of mass-mediated imagery of "distant violence" in the production of global crises. Hozic argues that the "attention and media space given to war-torn areas is proportional to the propensity of the international community to intervene in their troubles" (229); hence, the international focus on ethnic violence in Sarajevo over other regions in Bosnia, or Somalia, Rwanda, or Chechnya. Initially, victims of persecution by Serbian nationalists welcomed media attention, expecting publicity to persuade the international community to intervene. Soon, however, many began to realize that the voyeuristic nature of news media exposed Bosnians to "an unwanted parody of genuine witnessing" (Weine 183) without adequate responses from international agencies and governments.[17] The wars that have stricken the region since 1991 have "turned more than a million people into refugees, killed tens of thousands, and resulted in rape, torture, separation of families and widespread physical and psychological trauma" (Benderly 59). Some of the strongest support for survivors has come from antiwar feminists. Feminists have been divided, however, over the objectives of their nation-states.

Significantly, in *The Sky* the woman who testifies to being raped by soldiers in Bosnia does not identify the perpetrators or her own ethic and/or religious affiliation(s). This lack of identification of the soldiers and rape victim requires viewers to contextualize this absence within the complex identity

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politics, cultural mythology, and history of the region. As Lynda E. Boose notes, "In the Balkans—and especially Serbia—a type of racial ethnicity is largely assumed to be synonymous with religious difference, and ethnic identity synonymous with national boundaries" (75). In other words, the absence of identification begs its own question. How are viewers to understand the range of possible identifications and differences? Bosnian Muslims. Croats. Serbs. Muslims. Bosnian Serbs. Bosnian Croats. Croatian Serbs. Croatian Muslims. Serbian Croats. Serbian Muslims. The absence of identification might be said to foreground the tragic irony of the Balkans, in which, as Boose puts it, "all three of these peoples [Serbs, Muslims, and Croats] actually belong to the same racial and linguistic group, Southern Slavs"—a connection that Serbian epic culture denies in its struggle to retain heroic uniqueness constructed around fantasies of racial purity (76).[19] According to the testimonies of many Bosniak[20] survivors, "the usually drunken, enraged soldiers raped and beat them, the rapists screamed either 'Turkish whore' or 'Ustashe whore' at their victims" (75). Boose links the figure of the enemy "Turk," the image of the Turkish practice of impalement, and its transference onto Bosnia's Muslims, to Serbian epic culture and national mythology. Given the 500-year Ottoman domination of Serbia, Boose argues, it should come as no surprise that the figure of the Turk is entrenched in Serbian cultural memory.[21] The "Turk" "remains an ever-internalized figure of occupation"—a figure who "threatens to conquer, victimize, feminize, and humiliate Serb national selfhood (always a masculine construct)" (78). The displacement of identification was also geographical. As Boose notes, it was Bosnia, not Croatia, that suffered the force of Serbian aggression and violence. (Though the Serb military did invade Croatia in 1991, and leveled the city of Vukovar, the Serb army crossed back over the river.) "Crossing the Drina to create rape camps and subject Bosnia's Muslim women en masse to the authority of the Serb phallus," Boose claims, "not only enacts a repetition and a return to subjugate the omnipresent Turk but tries to reciprocate the humiliating violation of male impalement/rape" (93).[22] The rape of Bosniak women works as a form of resentment because "in constructing women's bodies as property signifying the honor of the male community, patriarchal culture has produced the equation that makes this substitution possible" (93). This substitution likewise is predicated upon an erasure of the interethnic marriages and cultural hybridity that define the region.

The dynamics of substitution and displacement must also be seen, however, in relationship to the internationalization of identity politics and its link to the globalization of capital. Neil Davidson argues, for instance, that two conditions were necessary in order for the "upsurge of 'ethnic' identifications

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to take place": the need to distinguish one group from another, and rapid social change. "Where that change is destructive of established ways of life—and in some cases whole societies," Davidson continues, "then distinguishing oneself as part of a specific group in order to struggle over the resources, or . . . rubble left by the onward march of international capital, may appear to be the only available option even when group membership may previously have meant little or nothing to the people concerned" (5–6).[23]

Ron Haviv's photograph of a defaced portrait of a Bosnian Muslim family visualizes the material-rhetorical violence of identification and epic cultural memory in the hands of an ultra-nationalist regime. The depicted Muslim family fled Sarajevo before the siege took hold, and returned to their home in 1996 after the Dayton agreement to find all their material possessions

"Defaced Bosnian Family," Photograph by Ron Haviv / VII. A defaced photograph. This was found by a Bosnian family when they returned to their home in a Sarajevo suburb. The Serbs who had occupied the house left as the city was reunified under the Muslim-led Bosnian government. The Serbs took the family's furniture and the rest of the belongings from the house. The photograph was the sole item left behind. Sarajevo, Bosnia, March 1996. Photograph © and reproduced by courtesy of Ron Haviv / VII Photos. The author would like to note that the caption was provided by the copyright holder as a condition of the use of the photograph.

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looted and only one item left behind—this defaced photograph, each body impaled with carefully placed slash marks (Boose 89–90).

Marija Gajicki's documentary *Vivisect,* which premiered at the New York Human Rights Watch Film Festival in 2003, captured the public reaction among Serbian visitors to the exhibition of Haviv photographs in Novi Sad, Serbia in 2002. Due to its controversial reception and perception as anti-Serbian propaganda, the exhibit was open for only ten days and seen by 5,000 people before being closed by the Serbian government. Long white sheets of paper tacked alongside the displayed photographs were inscribed by visitors' reactions: "This is terrible because it's a lie." "The exhibit is a disaster." "We are not Gypsies." One visitor captured on film implies that the sequence of photographs tells a particular story about whom to blame, namely the Serbs. Another visitor says, "The exhibition should have included Serbian victims." In sum, *Vivisect* illustrates the violent materialist and representational force and imprint of identifications in the act of witnessing.

The rhetorical act of witnessing and its link to the spectacle of violence opens up a much needed critical space in both rhetorical studies and life writing studies to examine the strategies and methodologies employed in making visible and audible the traumatized experiences of "foreign" subjects. For instance, how might our understanding of audience need to be reconfigured to account for the spectacle of distant suffering? What happens when traditional understandings of rhetorical identification and presence reach their limit?

UNGOVERNABLE LOCATIONS: THE CRISIS OF WITNESSING

In *Testimony,* Shoshana Felman and Dori Laub observe that the twentieth century has been marked by events that produced a "crisis within history which precisely cannot be articulated, witnessed in the given categories of history itself" (xviii). Felman and Laub allude to the limitations of disciplinary conventions and categories in understanding atrocity and how trauma may throw into crisis existing paradigms and patterns of communication.[24] In terms of the reception of representations of mass trauma and torture, scholars in memory and trauma studies have called for a critical stance of bearing witness, wherein the witness (listener or viewer) "does not take the place of the other" (Chun 158). For instance, Dominick LaCapra characterizes the desired response of the "secondary witness" as "empathetic unsettlement." The "secondary witness," as LaCapra puts it, "should reactivate and transmit not trauma but an unsettlement . . . that manifests empathy (but not full identification) with the victim" ("Trauma" 722).[25] Similarly, Baer argues that "empathic identification can easily lead us to miss the inscription of trauma

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because the original subjects themselves did not register the experience in the fullness of its meaning. . . . Such experiences, and such images, cannot simply be seen and understood; they require a different response: they must be *witnessed*" (13).

But as *Vivisect* illustrates well, witnesses may not identify; rather, they may deny or negate such identifications and their contextualization. In *Spectral Evidence,* Baer also uses the term *ungovernability* to describe the "breakdown of context that, in a structured analogy to trauma, is staged by every photograph" (11) and by the "structuring *absence* [that] defines . . . [traumatic] experiences" (12). His position contrasts with modernist photography criticism, which he argues is characterized by a melancholic strain caught in a rhetoric of doom, a criticism that ruminates the loss of the referent and of the "real." Baer argues that the "real" cannot be limited to the notion of photography as impending loss, but that there is a trace of the ungovernable in every photograph. He proposes that we see trauma (not narrative or history) in a photograph: "The past . . . is an unfinished rather than a stable referent in the service of the present" (107). Baer continues, and I concur, "identificatory responses indulge the illusion that we might somehow be able to assimilate [atrocities such as] the Holocaust fully into our understanding" (177). Instead, like Walter Benjamin, he claims that "Unless viewers suspend their faith in the future, in the narrative of time-as-flux that turns the photographed scene into part of a longer story (whether melancholic or hopeful), they will misconstrue the violence of trauma as a mere error, a lapse from or aberration in the otherwise infallible program of history-as-progress" (181). Aware that viewers project narratives onto photographs, and that images elicit narrative impulses, Baer is less interested in the connotative dimensions than in how "photographs can capture the shrapnel of traumatic time" (7). Rather than pointing to a loss, Baer argues, "every photograph is radically exposed to a future unknown to its subjects" (7). Thus trauma signifies the *ungovernable,* which, like the past, is an unstable referent (107). If trauma is the penultimate absent present (and death the ultimate absent present), pain is the antecedent. Like the photographers he studies, such as Mikael Levin, whose 1995 book *War Story* denies the viewer entry through visual identification, and through this denial references the untold stories of Holocaust victims, Baer's postmodern theory of photography resists restorative, triumphant, and/or redemptive narrative criticism. Baer's intent is to wrestle photographic criticism "away from a narrative model of experienced time" (2), "to account for catastrophic events without turning them into a continuous story" (105). Yet, paradoxically, the *ungovernable* makes an appearance in *Spectral Evidence* through survivors' testimonies of memories

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triggered by certain photographs. Baer notes that photography can "provide special access to experiences that have remained unremembered yet cannot be forgotten" (7). These memory-narratives create a sense of identification with and belonging to the image. We might look at these testimonials' narratives as inscriptions of *empathetic unsettlement* (LaCapra), as cultural imprints with trace evidence of collective experience. In other words, traces of identification linger, and it is these traces—these wounds—to which, I argue, the *ungovernable* is attached.

A similar haunting presence characterizes *Homes and Gardens/Documenting the Invisible: Images from Kosovo,* a photo-testimonial project by photojournalist Melanie Friend. *Homes and Gardens* depicts the homes of Albanian Kosovars raided by the police in the 1990s.[26]

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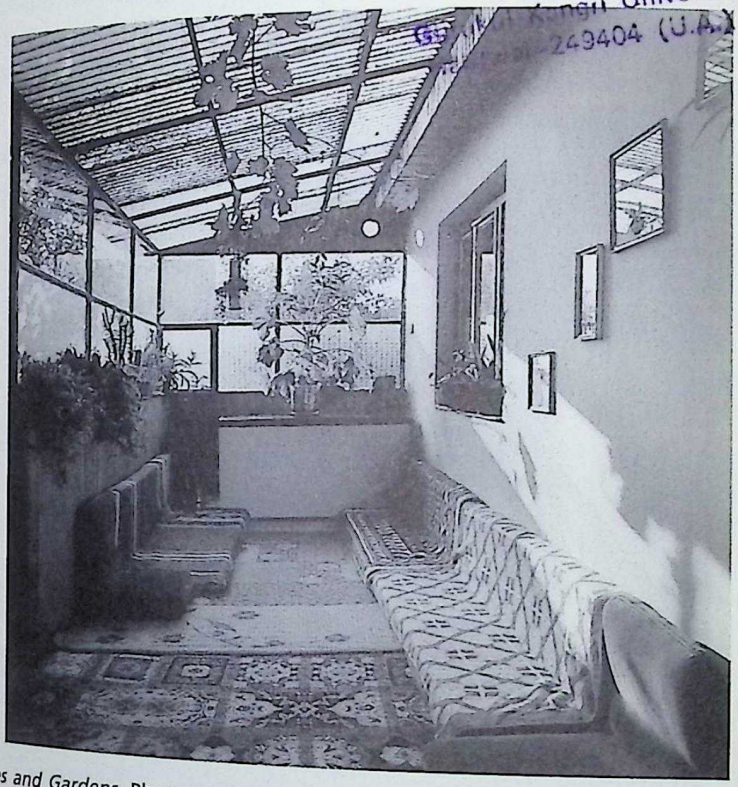

From *Homes and Gardens.* Photograph by Melanie Friend. "It was 4:30 in the afternoon. A police patrol of nine cars arrived. The policemen jumped over the wall and knocked at my door . . . they came in, tied up my hand and called all my family to come over . . . they started to torture me and search for arms and documents. All this lasted for about one hour and thirty minutes. Afterwards I was taken to the police station . . . there they beat me up so badly that I lost consciousness and didn't know where I was. They hit me on the head, kidneys, arms and legs with a rubber truncheon and metal piping." Photo: Melanie Friend and Cleis Press.

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The reference to their persecutors as "the police" rather than identifying them as "Serbs" is significant. For over a decade, the ethnic Albanian population in Kosovo/Kosova maintained a nonviolent noncompliance with the police-state regime that took away their autonomy in 1989.[27] Thus *Homes and Gardens,* like the scene from *The Sky* discussed above, works against essentialist ethnic identity categories, and in so doing illustrates how the lack of essentializing identifications may function as part of nonviolence. Likewise Friend, who worked in the Balkans from 1989–1995 and then returned in 1999–2000, offers an alternative visual rhetoric that contrasts with the popular media's use of graphic images to represent mass trauma and violence. Friend's photographs are accompanied by oral testimonies; an audiotape of the testimonies is played during the exhibition. Excerpts from the sound transcripts appear on pages opposite to the photographs in the 1996 catalogue. The juxtaposition of testimonials and photographic images of domestic spaces encourages viewers to consider the relationship between testimony

From *Homes and Gardens.* Photograph by Melanie Friend. "Every day we hear of terrible news happenings . . . every minute we are afraid that they may come back, and every time the bell rings, the kids get frightened and ask me to open the door. Any time this happens they jump and say 'Mum it's the police, come to take Daddy away.' " Photograph © and reproduced by courtesy of Melanie Friend and Cleis Press.

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and visual evidence, and the distance between what one sees and what one hears or reads.

With the exception of one image that provides evidence of a burned house, Friend's images reference, but do not visually depict, the eruption, contradiction, and violation of private domestic space. The oral testimonies that anchor *Homes and Gardens* carry the burden of historical context, of memory, and like the rape victim's testimony in *The Sky,* of imagining what occurs beyond the boundaries of visual representation. *Homes and Gardens* does not make the visual the custodian of violence but grants delivery—oral testimony—this role. In a number of cases, for instance, the testimonial narratives create a violent mental picture. In this sense, *Homes and Gardens* engages the paradox of representing trauma in its challenge and support of theories about the pedagogical links between representations of violence and the construction of empathy.

In contrast to dominant news media representations of the trauma of ethnic violence in Kosovo/Kosova, *Homes and Gardens,* through its imaging of absence, prompts viewers to contemplate how they are positioned by media to see themselves, and to consider the problem of implication—that is, how as observers they may be implicated in the object of observation (LaCapra, *Writing* 5). The domestic spaces captured by *Homes and Gardens* project a rhetorical gaze of gender and class identification, particularly with middle-class Western viewers. But, as Wendy Kozol notes, in not providing graphic images of embodied trauma, the exhibit refuses "conventional icons of victimization," and counters dominant Western images that mobilize ideals of domesticity to construe American viewers as rescuers (17). Witnessing may not require identification *with* the audience in the traditional rhetorical sense of shared experiences; however, rhetorical modes of identification are readily employed by these works. *The Sky,* for example, projects rhetorical identification through the discursive register of the law, namely human rights law. This identification, however, is ruptured by scenes like that of the rape testimony, which in its absence of markers of identification, draws attention to their *ungovernability,* despite their cultural importance and material consequences. And while the images of middle-class homes in *Homes and Gardens,* with which many American viewers may identify, counter the mass media depiction of the Balkan "other" as undesirable, the testimonials dislodge easy identifications. In both *Homes and Gardens* and the scene under consideration from *The Sky,* absence creates the consubstantial space for rhetorical witnessing. But significantly, this space is not predicated on identification alone, but on "empathetic unsettlement" coded here as both a *crisis of reference* and *crisis of witnessing.*

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The Sky and *Homes and Gardens* engage the paradoxes of representation by highlighting the dynamics of identification and disidentification, and of absence and presence, in becoming a rhetorical witness. In the next section, I contemplate how our understanding of the relationships between absence and presence, and between identification and disidentification, might need to be reconfigured to account for the spectacle of distant suffering through consideration of the risks of representing the "foreign" female body as "other." More particularly, I take up the issue of epistemological violence through an examination of a rhetorical space that does not build on the recognition of the problem of implication, as *Homes and Gardens* does so well, but rather that exemplifies identification through incorporation and projection—an instantiation of rhetorical witnessing that belies empathy as an ethical and critical practice.

SPECTACULAR RHETORICS: INCORPORATION AND CONSUMPTION OF THE "OTHER"

> *For seeing to become an act of testimony, it must break the frames of mere description. The documentary idiom must yield to a performative mode of expression; instead of merely recording the traces of events, it must acknowledge their impact on the mode of recording. The act of bearing witness must further break through the blinding fascination with horror and trauma that often results in an aesthetic of shock.*[28]
>
> —Ulrich Baer (113)

I turn to Catharine A. MacKinnon's 1993 article "Turning Rape into Pornography: Postmodern Genocide" in order to foreground the critical problems of documentation and the spectacle of violence in North American coverage of rape warfare in the Balkans in the early 1990s. MacKinnon argues that Serbian soldiers in a Serbian-run concentration camp for Muslims and Croatians in Bosnia-Herzegovina turned rapes into pornography as tools of genocide. The article reports that Serbian militia employed pornographic materials in their torture of women, and filmed rape tortures that were then distributed as pornographic videos. MacKinnon describes the Serbian-run detention centers for Muslims and Croatians in Bosnia as "rape theatres," where rape and torture were staged for private viewing (29). As MacKinnon put it in another context, rape in Bosnia is "rape to be seen and heard and watched and told to others: rape as spectacle . . . rape as genocide" ("Rape" 49–50). MacKinnon reports that films of rape warfare, in which *Serbian* women are represented as being raped by *Muslim* and *Croatian* men, have been aired on local news programs as war propaganda ("Turning" 28).

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The "postmodern" quality ascribed to Serbian propaganda, and the transference of identity markers (another example of the *ungovernability* of identity), "mak[es] ethnicity unreal and all too real at the same time" (28). "Turning Rape into Pornography: Postmodern Genocide" includes the testimonies of Croatian and Muslim women survivors, who attest to the horrendous conditions in the camps, the presence of pornographic materials, and torture and rape. The testimonials depict in vivid detail practices of torture and traumatized bodies; the spectacular nature of the stories in particular raises questions about the role of trauma narratives, and more broadly, testimonials in feminist criticism. In contrast to *Homes and Gardens,* however, MacKinnon produces a *crisis of witnessing,* but never engages it as such. For instance, MacKinnon constructs a fairly simplistic cause-and-effect relationship between the consumption of pornography and the sexualization of torture. A "pornography saturated Yugoslavia," she argues, fueled the sexual atrocities in this genocide. Pornography was a "motivator and instruction manual" (28).[30]

The only photographic image in the article is that of a soldier holding an assault weapon aimed out a window. On the wall next to the window is what looks to be a page from a pornographic magazine of a topless woman in a provocative pose. The caption reads: "Serbian soldier practicing his aim." One might argue that the visual absence of victims combats the victimization of women (and the article is explicit in pointing out that survivors are not named for their protection), but that the pornographic image reproduces and thereby privileges the perpetrator's gaze. The women's testimonials become carriers of multiple exploitations; they become rhetorical proofs, points of authenticity, and documentary evidence in service of MacKinnon's anti-pornography argument. The inclusion of the pornographic image as a backdrop to the soldier's cocked firearm codes looking as an agency of violence. Similarly, survivors' testimonies, which might be read (heard) as sites of possible change and agency, become spectacles within the rhetorical apparatus of the essay. One testimonial from the essay, for instance, describes a woman having to "remain kneeling" as she is raped and beaten. There is no sense of the woman as anything but an individual "kneeling." The essay begins with a description of what appears to be a film set, but is a description of a room in a Serbian-run concentration camp for Muslims and Croatians in Bosnia-Herzegovina where women were raped. MacKinnon expresses "shock, a clarifying jolt" at this description (25). Rhetorically, MacKinnon positions herself as if branded by the violence in ways that resonate with the classical art of forensic rhetoric, where advocates (lawyers) would attempt to approximate the position of victims in order to persuade audiences to action. "Turning Rape into Pornography" likewise projects onto its readers the position of victim in this rape theater.

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By failing to position the women's testimonies in a communal context of healing or resistance, MacKinnon reproduces a model of spectacular uniqueness and individuality that leads only to repeated trauma. Rhonda Copelon argues against models of uniqueness, for they ignore the devastating impact of various kinds of rape. Moreover, diverse contexts in which rapes occur share characteristics important to recognize. She argues that the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, for instance, "demands recognition of situation differences without losing sight of the commonalties. To fail to make distinctions flattens reality; and to rank the egregious demeans it" (76). In *Rape Warfare,* Beverly Allen employs rhetorical specificity when she describes the process through which she came to "believe the unthinkable" about conditions in Bosnia-Herzegovina (xii). In contrast to MacKinnon, Allen does not reproduce actual testimonies of rape warfare. Instead, she tells her readers why she decided not to represent genocidal rape by storytelling in an effort not to reorder the disorder of war into a linear narrative of traditional historiography, and to avoid recreating the "interpersonal dynamics of the crime" that position readers as voyeurs (32, 33). As she puts it, "A repetitive serial form may easily hook even a reader disgusted by the events the text relates into wondering at least what comes next. This scene was so horrible, can the next one possibly be worse? And so the reader may keep turning the pages, caught in spite of her or his revulsion in the formal pleasure of repetitive linear narrative" (32). Although she does not reproduce women's testimonies, Allen nevertheless argues that the particularities of genocidal rape need to be understood to avoid the universalizing tendencies that dismiss rape as an inevitable outcome of war. She asks, what are the political and ethical implications of turning genocidal rape into something incredulous, beyond what we know or think? Allen therefore foergoes storytelling, except when the stories are her own, and instead opts for a historical chronology of the conflicts, and an expository excursion and later analysis of reports and memorandums to document the atrocities (38).[31]

MacKinnon's rhetorical stance contrasts with both Allen and Copelon, in that MacKinnon employs the particularities of rape warfare in Bosnia, as conveyed through the anonymous women's testimonies, to support a "universal" claim about pornography. MacKinnon's essay reveals nationalism as a kind of spectacular narcissism, in that it uses, and problematically so, rape victims' testimonies to privilege the rhetorical gaze of North American feminism as beyond nation or nationalism. As the photograph of the soldier's cocked gun alongside the pornographic pin-up makes clear, MacKinnon is more interested in linking human rights violations (in this case, rape warfare) to her anti-pornography stance than she is in exploring these women's testimonials for

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what they say about the complexities of women's victimization and agency and the politics of nationalism and transnational feminism. MacKinnon's conflation of rape, pornography, and prostitution across cultural and national locations (for instance, comparing rape warfare in Bosnia-Herzegovina with Linda Lovelace's coerced role in *Deep Throat* (25); comparing "ethnic rape" with brothels all over the world (26); comparing "snuff" films with filmed torture scenes in Bosnia; and comparing Bosnia with the Holocaust, and both with pornography and violence against women) ignores the complexities of cultural location and agency, and creates a universalized misogyny (as pornography) at work worldwide, with no distinction among sites. However, it is not only the reproduction of the rape scene as pornography that erases women's agency, but also the lack of control over how their testimonies will be reproduced in criticism. In *Intimate Violence,* Laura E. Tanner suggests that our critical engagement with texts such as those under study here positions us as "negotiators between conventions of representation and the material dynamics of violence" (ix). As North American feminists engage representations of human rights violations against women across the globe, many of these based on third-hand accounts,[32] we need to be mindful of how rhetorical acts of witnessing may function as new forms of international tourism and appropriation (Lugones). We need to be mindful of the rhetorical dynamics of circulation and the incorporative power of reception. Women's testimonials about the trauma of rape warfare, and our own struggles to become critical witnesses of them (rather than merely consumers), call for a transnational rhetorical witnessing, which contrasts with both legal cosmopolitanism, with its origins in Enlightenment universalism, and cultural cosmopolitanism, with its idealization of mobility and cultural hybridity. In the next section, I propose the concept and practice of transnational rhetorical witnessing as a response to "critical cosmopolitanism," defined as an "*ethos* of macrointerdependencies" and identifications (Rabinow).[33] More specifically, I focus on *Calling The Ghosts: A Story about Rape, War, and Women,* a documentary that powerfully depicts the tensions between the cultural, political, and social dependency on the identities imposed on material bodies during the Balkan wars, and the desire for independence from those identities.

THE TRAUMA OF IDENTITY: WOUNDED ATTACHMENTS[34]

The 1996 award-winning documentary *Calling The Ghosts: A Story about Rape, War, and Women,* directed by Mandy Jacobson and Karmen Jelincic, directly engages the problem of representing trauma, and the critical and political limits, possibilities, and consequences of identification.[35] The film

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employs the testimonies of Croatian and Muslim women interned at the Serbian concentration camp of Omarska to explore the trauma of rape warfare in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the spectacle of violence and the trauma of representation, and the possibility of restructuring trauma in healing ways.[36] The filmmakers did not turn on their cameras for seven months, but instead focused their energy on building trust with the women whom they met. Jacobson and Jelincic state that they were interested not in *what* happened to the women, but in *how* they were making sense of their experiences and channeling their pain into issues of justice. As filmmakers, they sought to counter dominant representations of war that focus solely on its ethnic dimensions, to use media to influence public policy, and to do so in a way that did not recreate a victim narrative but that depicted how the women responded to victimization (Jacobson, *Film Nation* 5).

Calling the Ghosts focuses on two middle-class women, an attorney, Jadranka Cigelj, and a civil judge, Nusreta Sivac, childhood friends who were captured, tormented, and tortured by former neighbors, and who as Jacobson puts it, "defy all those stereotypes about peasants and mad savages" (4). By focusing on the experiences of middle-class legal professionals, the film therefore works against Western expectations about what a sexually abused Muslim woman might look like. In the first scene, Cigelj washes her face before swimming in the ocean. Water, as a sign of purification, functions ironically against the horrific story of "ethnic cleansing" that follows.[37] As Cigelj speaks, it is clear that washing cannot wipe away the memories: "There was a period of self-questioning before me. To stay silent or to speak . . . If I stay silent, how moral would that be? When I remember the night when I was taken out my own broken bones start to hurt. If I speak how good is that for me? I would actually have to expose myself." This statement articulates the intersection between embodied memory and speech acts: the individual's trauma is also implicated in the social, regardless of whether she "chooses" to speak. Yet as Cigelj notes, "Without the live witness, one can only speculate about the crime. The crime has not been filmed with a camera. It is only recorded in the memory of the witness." And yet, Cigelj and the filmmakers know all too well what price survivors pay for their testimonies. As the film slowly pans the close-up face of an old woman in a headscarf, visualizing how violations and abuses cross generation lines, Cigelj states, "In order to expose the crime, you violate the witness. You don't force her, of course—you beg her to speak. But you do make her live through it again." In reliving the trauma, in the name of giving evidence, the witness and the viewer, perhaps unavoidably, are implicated in recreating the spectacle of trauma.

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Recognizing the problem of voyeurism embedded in many representations of rape warfare, *Calling the Ghosts* addresses the question of spectacle, and foregrounds the *crisis of witnessing* in its highly ambivalent critique of the media. On the one hand, the film condemns the news media's insatiable voyeurism. A long slow shot pans a still photograph of a group of women of different ages as Cigelj speaks: "Journalists and TV crews would come, always with the same question: 'Are there any women here who were raped?' I mean, as if one could possibly divide women between those who were raped and those who weren't. As if they were in some sort of display." This critique of voyeurism intersects with the camera's pan across the picture, implicating the viewer in the desire to know if these unidentified women were raped. At the same time, the film credits news reporters for bringing to international attention ethnic genocide in Bosnia, and indeed for saving the lives of many women at Omarska. A scene in a refugee camp explicitly confronts the ethical choices of filmmakers and reporters. A group of women and children crowd around the camera as a woman yells, "I am telling you: If you are going to help, then shoot! If not—then don't film us." As the film cuts to a train pulling away from a station, the viewer is left with only the ambivalent and unresolved issues surrounding the need to publicize this violence, and the costs of such publicity. For instance, there is a powerful scene in which Nusreta Sivac directly challenges cultural fantasies and the voyeuristic gaze that links violence to the "other": "It bothers me when someone says raped women. . . . Abused women, women victims of war, find some other appropriate term. But raped women—that hurts a person, to be marked as a raped woman, as if you had no other characteristic, as if that were your sole identity." Here Sivac alludes not only to the reductive label that casts women who have been raped as spectacles, but also points to how the category of raped women has been used as a form of social stigma, itself attached to that spectacularization. This scene thus shows how rape scripts the perception of women, and the further trauma that women endure in its representation.[38]

Despite an explicit critique of voyeurism, the film clearly recognizes the crucial role that news reporters played in saving the lives of women in Omarska, and more broadly, of bringing this violence to international attention. As a result of the publicity surrounding a visit by a group of reporters to the camp, the majority of women still held there, including Jadranka and Nusreta, were released. The film also shows Jadranka working with the reporter Roy Gutman, who first publicized the death camps and later the rape and torture of women. In another scene, Jadranka watches a television news report that features both her testimony and a confession by the commander

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of Omarska, Zeljko Mejakic, who tortured her. The irony is chilling, for on television, they appear similarly calm and authoritative, Mejakic as credible as Jadranka. It is only within the wider context of the film that his credibility—his delivery—is undermined. But *Calling the Ghosts* does more than position these women as victims or injured subjects, for it grapples with the notion of testifying as a collective act. Against a visual backdrop of their home city of Prijedor and the Omarska camp, Cigelj and her friend Sivac identify their torturers by name, and provide specific details about their incarceration, release from Omarska, and subsequent resettlement in Zagreb, Croatia. There, they join with other women to create support communities for providing legal aid and the gathering of testimonials of others. Turning from victims to activists dramatizes the "epistemological travel" in testimonial work, a mobility signaled initially by Cigelj's dilemma, "To stay silent or to speak?" Through these images, testimonials reconfigure the atomistic self as a plural "I" (where the "I" becomes exchangeable with the "we"), and construe a "collective 'I' witness" (Sánchez-Casal 87). In this sense, one might argue that the testimonials in *Calling the Ghosts* contest the formulation of the sovereign subject of liberalism and its established universalism through the articulation of collective experiences. As Patricia Zimmermann notes, *Calling the Ghosts* "rejects victimization, isolation, individualism, and silence. . . . [The film] refuses to only speak its pain" (73). These women's collective material-rhetorical acts of reclaiming their lives through testimony and witnessing are indeed political acts of empowerment.

Calling the Ghosts focuses on women's agency, activism, and healing in a communal context. This depiction contrasts with MacKinnon's statement that constructs rape victims as injured individuals, radically alone: "the sense of isolation is total" (30). While the film shows victimized bodies, we also see bodies surviving the wounds. For example, *Calling the Ghosts* features individual and group interviews, montages of many women's faces, and close-ups of stacks of 3 x 5 photographs of tortured body parts. Cigelj's dilemma of whether to speak or stay silent articulates the relationship between the spectacle of trauma and oral testimonials as both empowering *and* voyeuristic, collective *and* individual. The material presence of women's bodies and their excruciating experiences of torture produce important tensions between witnessing and spectacle. To find testimonial narratives and images of suffering simultaneously empowering *and* voyeuristic is not, however, to remain undecided about their role, but rather to recognize their complex rhetorical dynamics.

Calling the Ghosts highlights how the trauma of rape warfare intrudes into the domestic and the seemingly private space of the unconscious. Sitting at

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a kitchen table, Cigelj's mother explains that among the effects of the camp on her daughter is her profound anxiety when people walk behind her while she is eating. During this conversation, Cigelj's son gets up from the dinner table and walks behind her, to no apparent effect. The ordinariness of the visual scene speaks to the belatedness and often invisibility of trauma in the spaces of daily life. Rape and other acts of violence in the Balkans were deliberate attempts by Serbian paramilitary forces and the army to destabilize communities by violating bodies and the domestic spaces that contain them. If the domestic signals a private space, rape warfare violently destroys that illusion. *Calling the Ghosts* invokes domestic imagery but complicates expectations about the maternal. Throughout the film, Cigelj's concerns revolve around her son. Yet, domestic ideals are here destabilized because he is a young man who continually speaks about the need to care for and protect his mother. Even when small children appear in this film, their vulnerability and suffering is contextualized through images of community. A series of scenes shows Cigelj, now working with a UN agency collecting testimonials, talking with young women surrounded by or holding one or more children. Instead of the vulnerability frequently emphasized in photojournalism, these scenes promote an ideal of empowerment and agency through the presence of Cigelj, the witness, and through the multiple scenes of testimonials that work against individualizing trauma. This culminates in a scene in which over a dozen children gather with Cigelj to get their picture taken. After numerous scenes of survivors speaking and crying, often with children, it is evident that these children themselves are survivors. And yet, they move about, joke, and pose as people often do when they gather to have their picture taken.

Similarly one of the earliest scenes in *Calling the Ghosts* uses Cigelj and Sivac's home movies and childhood memories of Prijedor to depict past moments of multiethnic middle-class community. Black and white grainy film shows children on swing sets, people swimming in a river on a sunny day, and a backyard family picnic. These images, which envision a peaceful childhood in which different ethnic groups shared the swimming hole and raised their children together, have a sentimental value in their association of women with the domestic. Yet these are not merely utopian or traditional images. At work here is not a melancholic rhetoric of loss or a narcissistic response that subsumes the lost "other" into oneself. Rather, these scenes point to the formation of communities not premised on identity alone. Rape warfare was one of many strategies whose goal was to "undermine the ethnic mixing that had been openly encouraged in Tito's Yugoslavia, where intermarriage had become increasingly common and people had really begun to

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see themselves as 'Yugoslavs' rather than Serbs, Croatians, Macedonians, and so forth" (Boose 74–76). The rhetorical sentimentality also functions as an acknowledgement of the shifting identities of the two major characters, and how their look back is a return with a difference. How former ties and multiple loyalties have become fractured by a resurgent nationalism is itself an expression of the crisis of identity of the nation-state. As *Calling the Ghosts* makes clear, ethnic genocide inscribes nationalist identities on individual bodies, upon which such acts of violence are literally dependent for their validity. At the same time, nationalist and internationalist forms of identity politics have been relied upon, and to a certain degree have been "complicit in the constitution of realities they merely claim to describe" (Campbell 56). Additionally, the alignment between territory and identity has limited political discussions and responses, and as David Campbell puts it, has "helped legitimate and sustain geopolitical positions of extreme nationalists" (80).

In *When History is a Nightmare,* Steven Weine identifies two common explanatory frames invoked to describe the conflicts in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The first frames these conflicts as the "perpetuation of ancient ethnic hatred," and describes the region as held "captive to historical memories of ethnic atrocities" (1). The second frames Bosnia as "a utopian multi-ethnic society that suffered from sequential betrayals. . . . The problem lies not in Bosnia . . . but . . . in the Serbian and Croatian nationalists who raped an innocent Bosnia; and in the international community . . . which stood by and did less than nothing to stop the killing" (1–2). According to Weine, neither explanation is satisfactory, because neither accounts for the complex social functions of memories of collective trauma (2).[39] This very point is one to which Cigelj alludes at the end of *Calling the Ghosts,* when she says, "The world watches coldly while everything passes through women's bodies. . . . When they were killing and raping older women, they were killing and raping living history; when they were raping younger women they were destroying future generations." The claim that they are "killing and raping living history" suggests that it is not only material bodies that are violated, but that these violations "leave the trace of an incision right on the skin; more than one skin, at more than one age" (Derrida, *Archive* 20). This claim also points to the use of rape as a form of ethnic genocide. One of the specific characteristics attributed to the ultranationalist Serbian policy of genocidal rape was the use of rape as a means of enforcing pregnancy and eventual childbirth. But as Allen notes, "in the case of enforced pregnancy, its illogical reasoning is founded on the negation of all cultural identities of its victims, reducing those victims to mere sexual containers" (100). Within the context of such theories, we must ask what would be gained for victims of rape warfare if

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they were to give up the identity of trauma. As Katherine Stiles aptly notes, "one of the etiologies of trauma is that the subject cannot help being attached to her experience, since that trauma is simultaneously part of and often lost to memory. In other words, attachment to the trauma is part of the trauma."

The social functions of memories of collective trauma are indeed complex, but they also must not be seen in isolation from the economic conditions and the internationalization of identity politics that figure prominently in the conflicts.[40] For instance, the ultranationalist Milošević went to great lengths to polarize people by manipulating the economy. Hence when considering the mobilization of identity categories we need to take into account the economic motivations of the leaders of regions involved in the conflicts. Moreover, as Susan Woodward notes, nationalist politics emerged in areas more integrated with Western markets, and pushed by politicians who had support from Western sources for their reforms. This Western drive overflowed into areas that were less able to cope with liberalization strategies, and thus adverse political and economic consequences emerged (76–77). In short, the Balkan Wars challenge us to recognize how injury claims and identifications based on historical processes of domination are mobilized as structural elements of national policy, and as tools of war as well as tools of peace.

THE POSTCARD: TRANSCULTURAL AND TRANSNATIONAL IDENTIFICATIONS

One of the final scenes of *Calling the Ghosts* features Cigelj and Sivac's trip to The Hague for the opening of the UN International Criminal Tribunal's prosecution of crimes of ethnic violence.[41] The convening of the Tribunal features Judge Elizabeth Odio Bento addressing the panel of jurists. She states that this is the first time in humanitarian law when rape has been listed as a human rights violation. Bento emphatically states that "There can be no justice if there is no justice for women." At this moment, then, as rape becomes recognized as a human rights violation, women become distinct subjects of international human rights law. They become post-national citizen-subjects in the sense that their identities are now defined in the juridical context of international law rather than exclusively by the nation-state. Their citizenship and identities are also not defined solely in terms of suffering and injury. In fact, *Calling the Ghosts* works against a dichotomous conception of women's agency between those who act and those who are acted upon. *Calling the Ghosts* exemplifies how women's agency, as Inderpal Grewal puts it in another context, is "differentially constructed within formations that come not only

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from state and nation, but also from geopolitics, economics, religion, sexuality," and so on (516). Testimonials certainly can, and often do, serve to claim a legal identity, especially when the context for the testimony is a judicial location. But testimonials also function in extrajuridical ways and contexts, as acts of memorialization and as sites of healing and cultural resistance. If one of the rhetorical appeals of a documentary like *Calling the Ghosts* is the hope of social justice and promise of human rights, the film also foregrounds how the juridical does not relieve the wounds of atrocity or attachments to identity, and in so doing highlights the *ungovernability* of trauma. *Calling the Ghosts* reveals how social desires for retributive justice are dependent upon configurations of identity as "wounded attachments," even as the documentary seeks to counter that dependency.

Walking through an amusement park in The Hague, Cigelj and Sivac select a postcard from several large racks. They send the postcard to former friends of Sivac with whom she had worked at the court, with a message that reads "we hope that you will join us shortly in this lovely city." Cigelj and Sivac use The Hague as a symbol of human rights to remind the postcard recipients, and the viewer, of the (promised) ability of international law to hold accountable those responsible for ethnic genocide. This message thus both re-marks and re-claims identity categories between Cigelj and Sivac and their "former" friends, the Bosnian Serbs. The postcard signifies women victimized by rape warfare as juridical subjects, a rhetorical move that reclaims a collective identity in opposition to the degrading and dehumanizing denial of subjectivity produced by acts of violence and torture (see Scarry). This collective (or restoration of) identity is asserted, in part, through the articulation of injury and justice within the literal and figurative space of international law. Interestingly, the articulation of the juridical subject here is packaged within the rhetoric of tourist and consumer culture. The postcard as an "image metaphor" signifies mobility, a chosen mobility—yet in this scene in *Calling the Ghosts,* the postcard also signifies experiences of displacement and enforced movements.[42] The postcard signifies tensions between a return to home and displacement. The postcard is sent from a place other than one's home, indicating movement away from the domestic sphere, a self-consciously ironic move for refugees forced to flee their homes. In this way, the postcard signifies both movement and the preservation of borders. As Jacques Derrida notes, "the postcard is firmer [than paper], it preserves, it resists manipulations; and then limits and justifies, from the outside, by means of the borders, the indigence of the discourse" (*Post Card* 22). The depravation of writing space and yet mobility of the postal system resonates with the imposition of geopolitical borders as well as their transgression.

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The postcard scene in *Calling the Ghosts* also reproduces the process of making the private text public. The postcard is a rhetorical situation—an open letter—that has a destiny, an addressee, and an audience. But the rhetorical situation is *ungovernable*; the postcard can be intercepted, interrupted, read by unintended audiences. For Derrida, the "tragedy" is that "everything becomes a postcard" that never reaches its destination (23), which speaks to the inadequacy of representation, the limits of narratability, and the risks of speaking out. The public reproduction and exposure of the private represented by the postcard points to yet another risk of testimonial travel; the anxiety and material consequences that surround its interception/reception. Will the postcard reach its destination? Who might intercept the postcard and its message along the way? Hence, we need to consider, in both the literal and theoretical sense, the "irreducible twists in any sending system" (Bass qtd. in Derrida, *Post Card* xii). What role do we play as interceptors of the postcard, as international witnesses of the testimonial narratives of victims of rape warfare?

If we take our cue from scholars who address the methodological and ethical challenges posed by testimonials, we might begin by witnessing the limitations of our disciplinary orientations and methodologies. For example, Renata Jambrešić Kirin, a Croatian scholar, frames her study of the testimonies of displaced persons of Croatian and Serbian nationality not as a search for something "'sensationally tragic', silenced and kept hidden from the public eye, and finally scholarly revealed" (67). Instead, she views the ethnographic study of exile narratives as

> an attempt to restore the self-confidence of people pointing out the value of their experience for the whole community. The anticipated help to exiles is not just to turn silence into speech that compels listeners, but to change the nature and direction of exile discourse . . . to turn the 'passive' voice . . . into an active powerful one, which can, with force of argument, participate in political discourses from the local to the parliamentary level. ("Narrating" 67–68)

The call for greater self-reflexivity about the dynamics of rhetorical witnessing need not lead to the creation of spectacular, narcissistic, or melancholic rhetoric or politic of location, but rather, as I've tried to demonstrate throughout this essay, requires attention to the risks and traces of trauma and identification, and to the *ungovernablity* of their representation. As Vida Penezic proposes, the transcultural, and by extension the transnational, are "heterogeneous space[s] in which all other cultural categories are immersed, and out of which they are sometimes molded" (73). Transnational and transcultural spaces and practices therefore can be seen as modes of material-rhetorical

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identification and dis-identification characterized by *crises of reference* and *crises of witnessing*. If we look through the framework of trauma studies at identification and disidentification as fundamentally social, political, and rhetorical processes that presume both discontinuity and continuity with the past, we come to realize the need for a methodology that resides in a relationality that is rooted in the recognition of the partiality and mediated nature of remembrance (Simon 19). *Calling the Ghosts* suggests that the international community better negotiate the enormous risks of identification and consumption of the spectacle of violence. As Kirin suggests, our role as scholars and teachers is not simply to turn passive or silent voices into speech that compels listeners, but to reconfigure rhetorical listening and witnessing in ethical terms, which entails recognition of the ongoing state of and need for the call to action—a continual *empathetic unsettlement* predicated upon the inherent incompleteness of the present and the *ungovernability* of the past. Finally, transnational and transcultural rhetorical acts of witnessing may open new critical spaces to offset the indifference to violence, national denial, and the averted gaze of governments and countries in the face of violent conflicts and war.

NOTES:

AUTHOR'S NOTE: I wish to thank Kay Halasek, Leigh Gilmore, and Theresa Kulbaga for reading an earlier draft, Amy Shuman for conversations about the limits of history, and Wendy Kozol for numerous readings, conversations, and collaborations that greatly informed this work.

1. My title invokes Boltanski's *Distant Suffering: Morality, Media, and Politics.*
2. For speaking out against violence against women, Taslima Nasrin from Bangladesh describes being beaten and tortured by fundamentalists with whom, she argues, the government was complicit. Death threats forced her to flee her country. The other three women of color are Judy Richardson, an African American civil rights worker who was jailed in the 1960s for her participation in marches against racism; Tsultrim Dolma, a Tibetan Buddhist nun who was beaten by the Chinese government for her work on behalf of human rights and the fight for Tibetan independence; and Lu Jing Hua from Beijing, who was arrested, taken to a detention center, and tortured by the Chinese government for her participation in demonstrations at Tiananmen Square.
3. As Beverley notes, "The word *testimonio* translates literally as 'testimony,' as in the act of testifying or bearing witness in a legal or religious sense" (94). In "The Margin at the Center," Beverley uses the term *testimonio* to refer to a "novel or novella-length narrative in book or pamphlet (that is, printed as opposed to acoustic) form, told in the first person by a narrator who is also the real protagonist or witness of the events he or she recounts, and whose unit of narration is usually a 'life' or a significant life experience" (92–93). Like Beverley, I am not particularly interested in formulating a rigid generic

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definition of *testimonio*. But like Beverley, I recognize important distinctions among the textual categories that the genre *testimonio* may include. In my essay, distinctions between testimonial narratives and autobiography are highlighted. Beverley addresses distinctions among *testimonio*, life history, autobiography, and documentary fiction in his essay referenced here.

4. In "Global Identities: Theorizing Transnational Studies of Sexuality," Inderpal Grewal and Caren Kaplan note several ways in which the term "transnational" is used in the US academy:

   1) as a description for migration as a transnational process;
   2) "to signal the demise or irrelevance of the nation-state in the current phase of globalization" (a usage which they find ahistorical in its formation of borderless worlds);
   3) as a "synonym for diasporic," to describe cross-border migration (a formation they describe as "often accompanied by the mystification and romanticization of displacement" [665]);
   4) to "designate a form of neocolonialism," which can mystify what existed before the advent of late capitalism and earlier forms of globalization—a call for a long historical viewpoint;
   5) to refer to the NGOization of social movements; for example, as a supplement for global feminism as a policy and activist arena.

   Grewal and Kaplan do not suggest that we abandon the term, but caution that is has been overused to mean nothing in particular. I use the term "transnational" to highlight the material-rhetorical relationship between local and global spheres.

5. "Traumatic realism," Rothberg explains, "is marked by the survival of extremity into the everyday world and is dedicated to mapping the complex temporal and spatial patterns by which the absence of the real, a real absence, makes itself felt in the familiar plenitude of reality. In the wake of modern and postmodern skepticism, traumatic realism revives the project of realism—but only because it knows it cannot revive the dead" (140). Rothberg is likewise interested in the perplexities of representing mass violence and trauma, and the demands of such representation, which include "a demand for documentation, a demand for reflection of the formal limits of representation, and a demand for the risky public circulation of discourses on the events" (7).

6. As Enders notes, Aristotle defined tragedy as "an art form that, through the manipulation of pity and fear, grants 'relief to these and similar emotions'" (2).

7. My thinking about the staging of trauma through the conjoining of legal and dramatic rhetoric has been shaped by the arguments of Enders, who draws parallels between "the spectacularity of violence . . . embedded in the very language of the law, and the violence of law . . . expressed in the theater" (4). She continues, "Quintilian . . . was emphatic on the subject when he urged a costumed, gesticulating lawyer to assume the voice of a murdered victim and to display the instruments of his demise so that 'our emotions will be no less actively stirred than if we were present at the actual occurrence'" (186).

8. Similarly, in her discussion of the challenges of representing the Holocaust, Felman notes that "the need to testify to history as Holocaust repeatedly comes up against the

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impossibility of witnessing the original event; and yet, in the acknowledgement—in the historical translation—of this impossibility, *there is a witness*" (160).

9. See, for example, critical works by Behar, Beverley, Carr, Kaplan, Sánchez-Casal, Sommer, and Yudice, among others.
10. See, for example, Bose and Varghese, Bow, Carr, Chow, Fernandes, Grewal and Kaplan, Hesford and Kozol, Jarratt, Kaplan, Roof and Wiegman, and Spivak, among others.
11. For further discussion of the politics of listening see Glenn, Ratcliffe, and Royster.
12. I call for an emphasis on trauma theory as it intersects with transnational feminist theory precisely because of the risks of exporting/importing trauma theory and psychoanalytical criticism, with its Euro-American origins, to situations where survivors are non-European. Hence my interest in expanding the parameters of trauma studies through its engagement with modes of inquiry offered by transnational feminist studies. I take on these methodological issues more explicitly in my book-in-progress *Spectacular Rhetorics*. See also Bennett and Kennedy.
13. The de-identificatory rhetoric of diasporic postcolonial intellectuals tends to disperse subjectivity and representativeness, thereby challenging assumptions of social similarity and presumed identification—the coming together of rhetor and audience—of traditional rhetorical theory. Through their rhetorical moves, postcolonial intellectuals, Jarratt argues, do not aim to become members of the audience, or to mold themselves to the audience and thereby close the relationship, but instead to open it (339).
14. A UN Commission of Experts appointed in October 1992 by Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali to examine the violations of international humanitarian law in the former Yugoslavia published a report that described ethnic cleansing carried out by Serbian military forces. The report also highlighted the systematic nature of rape and sexual assaults committed by Serbs against mostly Muslim women. The report noted that "It is clear that some level of organization and group activity was required to carry out many of the alleged rapes" (qtd. in Allen 47). On June 27, 1996, based on the historical evidence and eyewitness accounts that Jadranka Cigelj and others had gathered, as represented in the film *Calling The Ghosts,* the Tribunal indicted eight male Bosnian Serbs for the rapes of Bosnian Muslim women (Enloe 135). Efforts to indict and prosecute war crimes suspects have remained limited, primarily because of the difficulties in taking suspects into custody. The Tribunal cannot compel suspects to appear but instead can only hope for arrests if they leave the protection of officials in their country (Copelon 72).

According to Amnesty International's 2003 *Annual Report* covering events between January-December 2002, ten trials were conducted before the Tribunal, involving a total of thirteen accused under international prosecutions for war crimes. Twenty-four publicly indicted suspects remain at large; most reportedly are in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (RS). Some 10,000 potential suspects were listed in local investigation files of domestic prosecutions for war crimes, of which 2,500 had been reviewed by the Tribunal Prosecutor. Thousands of cases of disappearances remain unresolved. (See Amnesty International, "Key Figures of ICTY Cases," for an overview of those indicted since the inception of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia.

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In a November 12, 2003, news release, Amnesty International expressed serious concern over the closing down of the Tribunal, and over the planned War Crimes Chamber at the newly established State Court. The concern is that the War Crimes Chamber "will address only a handful of the thousands of crimes under international law committed in the past decade. . . . Amnesty International opposes the closing down of the Tribunal until effective alternatives are established by the international community to bring all those responsible for crimes under international law to justice in fair and effective proceedings."

15. Copelon, for instance, notes that "50% of women of the indigenous Yuracruz people in Ecuador [were raped] by mercenaries of an agribusiness company seeking to 'cleanse' the land" (63–64). See Enloe (108–152) for a discussion of other contexts in which government officials have used rape and the threat of rape to terrorize domestic populations. Copelon argues further that the visibility of rape in Bosnia is a result of its association with "ethnic cleansing" and genocide (64). She is critical, however, of the emphasis on genocidal rape as unparalleled, and of the "notion that genocidal rape is uniquely a weapon of war." Copelon argues that to "exaggerate the distinctiveness of genocidal rape obscures the atrocity of common rape" (69).

16. Notably it is only the bodies of women of color that are visualized in *The Sky*. At the level of individual motive, invisibility may be read as a protective visual rhetoric; however, at the larger cultural level absence might be read as a "power-concealing rhetoric" (Joyce Middleton qtd. in Glenn 285). In other words, the visualization of bodies of women of color plays into the politics of racial representation that renders whiteness invisible and situates the "First World" as the rescuer of the "Third World" subject, including "Third World Subjects" within the United States (Grewal 502). One might also argue that the United States is imaged in *The Sky* as the "normative interlocutor" (Shohat) through the figure of Eleanor Roosevelt, who as the delegate from the US and chair of the UN commission helped to write the 1948 Declaration of Human Rights.

17. For example, Hozic argues that the "portrayal of Sarajevo's multicultural *ethos* stood in sharp contrast with the images (or, better, with the absolute lack thereof) of the ethnic hatred that was flaring throughout Bosnia" (230). For instance, journalists were often surprised by the absence of physical difference between Serbs and Croats, and Muslims. Sarajevo, Hozic argues, became a museum: "The showcased destruction constituted the city as an exhibit of ironic survival and of transformation" (231). Hozic continues, "consumed as an image but rejected as a territory, [the] ethnic war zone emerges as a new kind of colony—*unwanted, un-desired, un-called for*, and thus, as a playground for a new type of capitalism" (230). Consider also Hozic's argument about the Sarajevo Olympics and the construction of the region by American media networks (232–33).

18. While I do not have space in this essay to detail how nationalism has divided feminists in the region, is it important to note that there are opposing views among feminists in the successor states about who was doing the raping and why. For instance, while evidence points to the "preponderance of genocidal rape by the Serbian paramilitary and army . . . atrocities were abundant on all sides of the conflict. Even UN peacekeeping forces appeared to be involved in the traffic in women" (Benderly 66). Moreover, there were severe attacks on feminists who opposed nationalism. For example, five Croatian women writers who opposed Croatian nationalism became targets of an intense hate

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campaign orchestrated by Zagreb's yellow press. Among the "five witches" was the well-known feminist writer Slavenka Drakulić, feminist philosopher Rada Iveković, and feminist editor and journalist Vesna Kesić, whose photographs appeared on the front pages under headlines indicating that they were feminist Communists who "rape Croatia" (Benderly 68). In addition, as Benderly notes, nationalism took its toll on feminists in Serbia, as articulated by Women in Black activists Lepa Mladjenović and Vera Litricin: "When the war started, nationalist hatred increased dramatically and the Serbian government began to produce propaganda and the notion of the Enemy. All of a sudden Slovenians became an enemy, then Croats, then Muslims, then Americans, Albanians, and so on. . . . Can a feminist be a nationalist chauvinist? Can a pacifist be a nationalist? Should the groups take clear attitudes toward nationalist questions (and therefore the war) and in that way lose some women? Should the groups avoid the issue of nationalism altogether? . . . So nationalism made some women split within themselves" (qtd. in Benderly 68).

19. While on the topic of identifications, I want to note the common assumptions among North Americans of the space of the "former Yugoslavia" as an Eastern bloc country, which contrasts with the perception of Yugoslavia as Western by the Eastern bloc. Since Yugoslavia severed its ties with the Soviet Union in 1948, in the words of Vida Penezic, it has been "precariously balanced between the blocs and a founding member of the nonaligned movement" (59). Penezic further notes that these perceptions reflect and emerge from a dominant American cold-war paradigm, which configured the Western bloc as a "free world," progressive and enlightened, and the Eastern bloc as communist and bad. Cold-war discourse thus has helped to secure perceptions of Yugoslavia as an Eastern bloc country.
20. Bosniak is the Balkan term for Bosnians who are Muslim (Boose 72).
21. Serbian national mythology, Boose notes, constructs the Slavic conversion to Christianity after their sixth century arrival in the Balkans as valid, but depicts the Slavs' conversion to Islam after the late fourteenth century Ottoman invasion as a "race betrayal" (76).
22. Boose notes the infamous testimony about an incident at the Omarska Camp, where it was reported that Serb guards forced two Muslim prisoners to hold down a third male prisoner in the position of crucified Christ while the fourth prisoner was forced to bite off his testicles (90). On a related note, there is some testimonial evidence that suggests that the rape of Muslim men may have been much more frequent than recorded. As Boose observes (91–92), Montenegrin journalist Seada Vranic interviewed six men who admitted they were raped. According to a footnote in Campbell, "accounts can be found in 'Thousands of Men Raped in Bosnia: A Taboo on War Reporting' in *BosNews* (Giest 211), 13 March 1995; and in Reuters report in *Tribunal Watch*, 3 July 1996."
23. Davidson gives the following example: "Unlike their parents, or even their grandparents, many of the people who came to be described as 'ethnic Muslims' in Bosnia-Hercegovina had never been inside a mosque in their lives—at least not until they began to be identified in this way for the purposes of persecution, when religion took on a new significance for them. As this example suggests, the distinction between 'imposed' and 'chosen' ethnic identities is not one which can be sustained, since there are many cases where groups which have been identified as possessing a particular

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attribute and discriminated against on that basis have subsequently chosen to militantly assert that identity in response to their oppressors" (6). On the issue of ethnic-national identity with an emphasis on women's experience in the region, see Korać.

24. See the *Yale Journal of Criticism* special issue on the Holocaust (April 2001), in which scholars engage the debate over the unrepresentability of trauma and the return to realist forms of documentation for their evidentiary status (MacKay and Wexler 3). Additionally, scholars in trauma and memory studies often allude to Immanuel Kant's theory of the sublime as a model for understanding the imagination's inability to comprehend events unimaginable in their horror, such as the Holocaust. Jean-François Lyotard's idea of the *differend* is likewise invoked by scholars in trauma and memory studies to foreground these links between the "incommensurability of the events and their representation" (Liss 9). As Andrea Liss notes, Lyotard "takes up precisely Kant's insistence on negative presentation—in which presentation exists to point to the reality of its unpresentability" (8).

25. Hirsch's use of the term "postmemory" to describe mediated acts of identification across familial ties, namely the children of Holocaust survivors, is similar to the extent that she too concedes that the identification process is "modulated by an admission of an unbridgeable distance separating the participant from the one born after" (qtd. in Miller and Tougaw 8).

26. *Homes and Gardens* has been exhibited internationally. A solo exhibition appeared at Camerawork, London 1996; Houston Center for Photography, Texas, USA 1998; and Hasselblad Centre, Sweden 2001. The project toured the UK in 1997 and UK/Europe from 1998–2000.

"Prisoners in our own homes," a news release focusing on the rights of minorities in Kosovo/Kosova, issued by the International Secretariat of Amnesty International on April 29, 2003, reported that "international authorities in Kosovo were unprepared for the massive abuses of human rights against minorities that accompanied the rapid return of the Albanian community. Although violent attacks on minorities have measurably declined since the months immediately following the end of the conflict in July 1999, these attacks still continue." For a report on incidents of multiple rape in Kosovo, see Amnesty International's news release of May 27, 1999, "Kosovo."

27. For example, the term "Kosovo" is the name most used and recognized by the international media. Albanians use "Kosova."

28. For an overview of obstacles to empathetic engagement and action, see Cohen.

29. I italicize the ethnic categories in this sentence because reportedly these were actually images of Muslim and Croatian women raped by Serbian soldiers that were re-identified.

30. As mentioned earlier, the war heightened conflicts among Zagreb feminist groups. Four women's groups retained MacKinnon as their attorney. These groups were Kareta (radical feminist group), Bedem Ljubavi (Wall of Love, a Croatian women's group), Žene BiH (a Bosnian refugee women's group), and Biser (International Initiative of Women of Bosnia-Herzegovina). Their stand, as Benderly characterizes it, "is that rape is a distinctly Serbian weapon for which all Serbians—even feminists who oppose the war—are culpable" (66–67).

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31. I am not willing to condemn all forms of univeralism, particularly efforts to support universal human rights, but I agree with Susan Stanford Friedman, who writes, "The 'universal' principles adopted by the 1995 Beijing Women's Conference spell out certain rights in principle but do not spell out the actual forms that such freedoms might take in culturally specific locations. Nor does this global platform mandate how such rights are to be achieved" (34).
32. The accounts in "Turning Rape into Pornography," for instance, are based on original research conducted and translated by Natalie Nenadic and Asia Armanda.
33. As its deployment in postcolonial theory, feminist theory, and cultural anthropology suggests, the term cosmopolitan reveals contradictory uses and meanings (Wilson 352). On the one hand, the term has been used negatively to signify liberal self-invention, tourism, and global travel, and to refer to carnivalesque cosmopolitanism (Buell). Cosmopolitans are associated with movement of capital, of "knowing no boundaries" (Robbins, "Comparative" 249). On the other hand, the term has been used affirmatively to categorize a new class of transnational cosmopolitans (Hannerz), and to refer to migration, diasporic movements, and refugees, as in James Clifford's notion of the "discrepant cosmopolitan." The renewed critical interest in cosmopolitanism is of particular interest to me because of its methodological and political implications for thinking about questions of agency and transnationality. While I do not have space in this essay to discuss the concept and its various instantiations, by building on the insights of transnational feminists such as Grewal, I suggest a reconfiguration of the concept of "critical cosmopolitanism" as transnational rhetorical witnessing. For an extended discussion of my re-configuration of the concept of "critical cosmopolitanism," see my forthcoming essay "The Geopolitical Rhetoric of Global Sex Work and Anti-Trafficking Campaigns."
34. The phrase "wounded attachments" is taken from Wendy Brown's *States of Injury*, in which she critiques the limitations of identity politics, and argues that identity has become overly attached to woundedness. In my book-in-progress *Spectacular Rhetorics* I address Brown's argument in more detail. For my purposes here, I would simply point out that Brown's critique does not address the internationalization of identity politics, how trauma marks and reshapes identity in ways that affect communities, and how the reclamation or reconfiguration of identity (collective/metonymic) may foster social change, justice, and healing. In other words, injury and identity may not be as productively separated as Brown seems to suggest. I share Brown's skepticism about the potential of identity and rights claims to address historical inequities at the structural level. However, what Brown doesn't account for, which is crucial to my argument, is how rights claims and identities are combined in new ways in the context of new nationalisms.
35. *Calling the Ghosts* was Mandy Jacobson's debut documentary. A South African-born New York filmmaker, Jacobson hooked up with Macedonian director Milcho Manchevski, whose feature film *Before the Rain* (1995) won numerous awards. Apparently Manshevski put Jacobson in touch with Karmen Jelincic from Croatia, with whom she collaborated on the film. Jacobson notes in an interview that the film's title refers to an interview she and Jelincic had with four women who had been in Omarska with Jadranka Cigelj, who told them, "Guys, you're calling the ghosts." As one woman noted

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"Dika and I were sitting around and we were calling the ghosts. We only wanted to cheer ourselves up a little but it wasn't working. So we were calling the ghosts to come. All was silent. And the next thing, a Chetnik soldier came in. And I quickly gathered all the candles and pieces of paper and hid them in my skirt. The Chetnik said 'Are you calling the ghosts?' To which we said, 'No, sir, we do nothing of the sort.' Then he said 'What's burning?' And the only skirt I had was in flames" (*Film Nation*).

36. While the numbers are still in dispute because of the difficulties of gathering evidence, there is little question about the magnitude of these crimes. Enloe writes, "the European Union's investigators calculated that in 1992 alone, 20,000 Muslim Bosnian women and girls had been raped by Bosnian Serb combatants. By the time of the cease-fire in 1995, the number of women from all communities who endured wartime rape was estimated to be between 30,000–50,000. The numerical uncertainty reflected the ongoing gendered politics of silence and denial" (140). For further discussion in English of rape and the Bosnian war, see Allen, Bernard, Drakulić, Ramet, Regali, Stiglmayer, and Vranic. Also see Nkolic-Ristanovic's collection, which as Boose argues, urges us to "read the violence of the Bosnian war as equally suffered and enacted by all three ethnic groups," a reading that "minimizes the enormity of Serb responsibility by redistributing responsibility to those who were disproportionately the war's real victims—the Bosnian Muslims" (72). This argument resonates, as Boose aptly points out, with the position of the US, who used a similar strategy to avoid military intervention. Also see Samantha Power for a brief historical account of the positions adopted by the United States during the Bosnian war.

37. I use the term "ethnic cleansing" in this sentence to highlight the metaphor of purification. However, throughout the essay I have chosen to use the term "ethnic genocide" over the term "ethnic cleansing." Controversy lingers over the use of the term "genocide" to describe atrocities of the wars in the Balkans. The conclusion that Bosnia has suffered genocide has been reached by many non-governmental organizations such as Amnesty International, Helsinki Watch, and UN commissions. These agencies and commissions concluded that 90 percent of the ethnic cleansing has been committed by "Serbs," and they have provided concrete evidence of a systematic Serbian policy to get rid of Muslims. But as Power notes in her discussion of the controversy surrounding the term, the Bush administration avoided the word because a "genocide finding would create a moral imperative" (288). Power continues, "The day after the ITN footage of Keraterm [concentration camp] aired, Bush told a news conference: 'We know there is horror in these detention camps. But in all honesty, I can't confirm to you some of the claims that there is indeed a genocidal process going on there.' Policymakers preferred the phrase 'ethnic cleansing'" (288).

As Neil Davidson notes, the term "ethnic cleansing" is an English translation of the Serbo-Croat phrase *etničko čišćenje*. The term was first used in Yugoslavia by the Croatian Ustashe during World War II to "describe its policy of killing or expelling Serbs, Jews, Gypsies and Muslims from the fascist state the Ustashe briefly set up with Nazi support" (1). Davidson continues, "The first use during the current events was by the Croatian Supreme Council in 1991, after the Croatian declaration of independence from Yugoslavia, to describe the actions of Serb guerillas who were attempting to drive Croats out of areas where Serbs were in the majority. . . . The phrase only began to

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appear in the British press—and thereafter in the popular usage—during the war which began in Bosnia-Hercegovina the following year, when Bosnian Serb forces, initially backed by the Milošević regime in Belgrade, started expelling Muslims and Croats from those parts of the state territory that the Bosnian Serbs considered to be Serbian" (1). Samantha Power attributes the coinage of the term "genocide" to Raphael Lemkin, as a "hybrid that combined the Greek derivative *geno,* meaning 'race' or 'tribe,' together with the Latin derivative *cide,* from *caedere,* meaning 'killing'." She provides an extended discussion of the forces that shaped Lemkin's coinage, and the lingering controversies over the meaning of the term.

The UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crimes of Genocide, signed in December 1948, contains the following definition:

> Article II: In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:
> a) Killing members of the group
> b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group
> c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part
> d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group
> e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group

38. Marsha Freeman discusses the dilemma of double victimization whereby legal efforts to prosecute war criminals confront the difficulties of finding victims willing to testify and of needing to protect those witnesses from the possibilities of community retaliation. Critics of the Tribunal charge that not enough attention has been paid to the physical and emotional needs of witnesses, making it difficult and often dangerous for women to testify. For instance, the statute creating the Tribunal does not provide for either compensation or rehabilitation for survivors. For more on this point, see Copelon (72). For further analysis of the politics of representing rape, see Hesford, "Reading"; Sharpe, and Tanner.
39. Stevan Weine argues that the Tito regime's suppression of histories of violent conflict during World War II led to conditions in which the rise of ethnic nationalism saw no counterdiscourse able to resist its powerful force (29–31).
40. For further exploration of the economic conditions that facilitated the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia, see M. Brown, Chomsky, Davidson, German, Haynes, Magas, and Power, among others.
41. The official title of this judicial body established in 1991 is the International Tribunal for the Prosecution of Persons Responsible for Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law Committed in the Territory of the Former Yugoslavia.
42. According to Amnesty International's 1999 annual report, efforts to facilitate the return of Balkan refugees who had fled the armed conflicts of 1992–1995 were expedited by intergovernmental organizations in 1998. This effort, however, met with limited success because of persistent human rights abuses and bureaucratic opposition by local and national administrators. At the same time, pressure from host countries had forced approximately 88,000 refugees who were unable to go back to their homes

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Even with these policies, as of 1999, approximately 1.2 million people were still either refugees in other countries or remained displaced within their country of origin.

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NARRATIVE AND HEALING IN THE HEARINGS OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION

SANDRA YOUNG

I can deal with it only in the form of questions. Do you know, you the truth commissioners, how a temperature feels of between six and eight thousand degrees? Do you know how it feels to experience a blow so intense that it forces the fillings from one's teeth? Do you know how it feels to look for survivors and only find dead and maimed? . . . Do you know how it feels to look for your three-year-old child and never, Mr Chairman, never find him again and to keep wondering for the rest of your life where he was?
—Van Eck, Truth and Reconciliation Commission Witness (Krog)

If the wounds of the past are to be healed, disclosure of the truth and its acknowledgment are essential.
—Dullah Omar, Minister of Justice ("South Africa")

During the long months of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) hearings, witnesses spoke of traumatic experiences under apartheid and were honored as heroes.[1] Hidden brutalities and degradations were exposed to the light of day and given new meanings. Testimony was invested with transformative powers—the promise of a new, unblemished future and the hope of healing for both individuals and nation.

The transcripts confirm that the process of giving testimony was profoundly significant, even healing, for many activists whose anti-apartheid activities had been criminalized, and whose experiences of torture were deeply scarring. But, in addition to this, the testimonies—the refusals to testify as well as those more conciliatory in tone—invite us to question whether the narrated memories of individuals can be cathected into an archive of collective memory on behalf of a divided and transforming society. At what cost does

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this societal cathexis take place, and what is lost in the directive to move forward to a new future? Within the palpable emotion of the TRC's extraordinary enterprise of acknowledging and redressing gross human rights violations in painstaking, disturbing detail, it is important to examine more carefully the normative directives lurking behind the language of religion, psychology, and nation-building.

The literature around the TRC (and it has generated an extraordinary amount of copy, not least of all the 3,500 page *Final Report*) is replete with metaphors that establish its orientation towards life narrative—the life of the nation. Official documents, marked with the state's validation, are particularly explicit about this, but it has been true of much of the discussion around the TRC. New birth, catharsis, forgiveness, reconciliation, new chapters—it seems impossible to think of the work of the TRC without resorting to metaphors of this nature, a phenomenon which speaks both to the need for euphemizing tools when dealing with narratives of trauma, and to the way in which the discourse of nation-building is saturated with normative assumptions which obscure the political interests at play.

My interest includes but also goes beyond the TRC's own official self-representation. The TRC's values and objectives were highly visible in South Africa in the months and years of the active hearings, and not surprisingly as a national event the TRC generated important and varied responses. The hearings were aired live on national television during the day, and extracts were retelevised in the evening. They dominated the media, and the political and artistic scenes. Throughout, the TRC was animated by an implicit faith that a new national self-understanding and a new future would emerge from the personal narratives of horrifying abuses executed with impunity under apartheid's draconian security legislation, if they were told at the hearings and acknowledged publicly in this way. It is this remarkable expectation which inspires the analysis of this essay. The temporal structure of narrative seems to cultivate a relationship of past to future that accords with the hope invested in the TRC that the stories of "ordinary" individuals, often disconcertingly intimate stories, stories of untold suffering, violence, and abuse at the hands of apartheid's agents, if publicly staged and authorized in a powerful meeting of public and private, will generate a national catharsis and pave the way to a new future.

THE PUBLIC HEARINGS: SETTING THE STAGE FOR ABSOLUTION AND RECONCILIATION

While this essay is concerned with the association of "healing" with narrative, it is important also to note the political context which gave rise to the

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TRC. It was born in compromise, during the negotiations for a new constitution, in the hope of addressing the atrocities of the past without recourse to the criminal justice system which, it was anticipated, would prove unwieldy and divisive to South Africa's fragile social fabric. The offer of amnesty to self-confessed perpetrators was suggested as a means to arrive at the truth of apartheid atrocities, while enabling the victims of apartheid's human rights abuses to benefit from public acknowledgment of the truth after years of harassment and denials. As Minister of Justice Dullah Omar explained, it was hoped that the TRC would answer the "need for understanding but not for vengeance, a need for reparation but not retaliation" ("South Africa"). As it turned out, many of those applying for amnesty acknowledged very little responsibility, and apartheid's political leaders have been sheltered by the testimony of those who did accept responsibility. Without the political will and the logistical means to wield the "stick" of prosecution, it is unlikely that many perpetrators will face trial.

A crucial component of the TRC's ambitious undertaking was the very public nature of it. Not only were the hearings themselves open to the public, but a great effort was made for the testimonies to be widely available through the media. Symbolically if not in reality, it seemed crucial that the nation itself be able to hear and bear witness. The hearings carried the authority of the state, having been commissioned under the new Constitution by the Interim Government of National Unity. They were expressly "ceremonial" in style.[2] And yet many of the testimonies are acutely personal in nature, often bringing the body sharply into focus. For example, when activist Zahrah Narkedien describes the brutal torture she endured while in detention, the focus of her account is her body, both as the immediate target of Security Police actions and as a menstruating woman's body, functioning within the distorted domestic space of the prison:

> One person held both my hands down, and the other one put [a plastic bag] on my head and then they sealed it so that I wouldn't be able to breathe and kept it on for at least two minutes, by which time the plastic was clinging to my eyelids, my nostrils, my mouth and my whole body was going into spasms because I really couldn't breathe. . . . All these days I was wearing the same clothing, just a dress, and I was also menstruating at that time, which I told them so I couldn't stand so long and I was bleeding a lot. (*FR* 4.7.10: 210)

There is something deeply disconcerting about this degree of intimacy, spoken publicly, and yet it is precisely this discomfort, this crossing of boundaries, that generates the authenticity that in turn validates and authorizes the Commission itself. It is this seemingly contradictory meeting of the intimate

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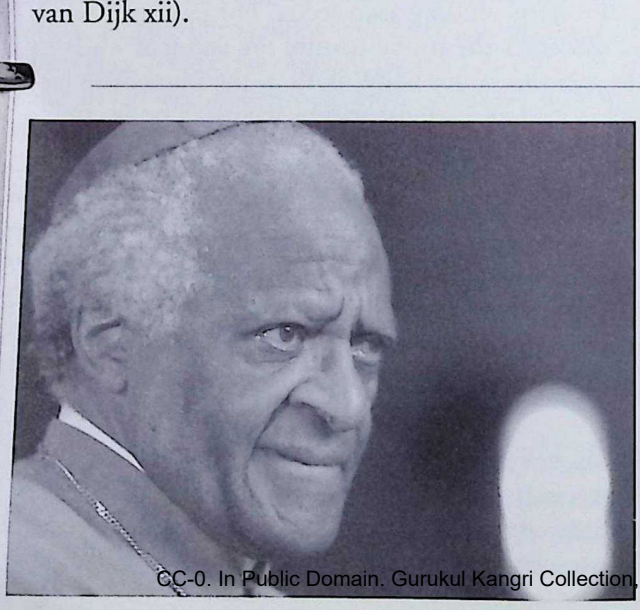
and the public which generates the psychic power of the enterprise. Intimacy lends authenticity, while the public nature of the institution creates a validating authority.

The discourse around the work of the Commission is frequently steeped in religious and psychotherapeutic rhetoric. The choice of Archbishop Tutu as Chairperson (and therefore the addressee of every testimony) is in itself suggestive of a confessional, and the practice of beginning the hearings with prayer, and in particular, the first hearing with a eucharist, takes this further. In his opening address the Archbishop establishes the religious element explicitly, and its nationwide embrace: "We will be engaging in what should be a corporate nationwide process of healing . . . through contrition, confession and forgiveness" (Chicester 134). Right from the outset the TRC was presented as a Christian confessional, to counter its image as an "inquisition," as the Archbishop put it, though he broadened the Christian analogy to include other faith traditions in South Africa by calling on "our churches, mosques, synagogues and temples . . . to provide liturgies for corporate confession and absolution" (Chicester 134–35). The Archbishop's "Foreword" to a collection of transcripts from the TRC, *Between Anger and Hope: South Africa's Youth and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission,* demonstrates how central Christian values are to his conception of reconciliation through the TRC: "God bless you all as you share in the journey forward to hope, renewal and reconciliation. May God give us the grace to forgive one another, to love one another and to be sisters and brothers together" (Chubb and van Dijk xii).



Archbishop Desmond Tutu listens, his eyes filled with tears, as a witness testifies (photo © and used by permission of the photographer, Benny Gool, Oryx media).

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One may argue that this focus on forgiveness, absolution, healing, and reconciliation in the hope that South Africans could become "brothers and sisters together" accounts for the undeniable power of the TRC. In the particular approach of the TRC, reconciliation is facilitated through Christian notions of forgiveness and redemption, and is focused on the relationships between individual victims. However, it is necessary to recognize that too hasty a move to reconciliation foregoes the opportunity to deal more thoroughly with the more intractable conflicts and social inequalities generated by apartheid as a whole.

Mahmood Mamdani is critical of the TRC as an institution for its narrow focus on the experience of individuals. He argues that the TRC's emphasis on particular crimes has made it possible for the unwitting beneficiaries of apartheid to live on in ignorance of the ways in which apartheid devastated the lives of ordinary black South Africans:

> the TRC has displayed a systematic lack of interest in the crime which was institutionalised as the law. It has been interested only in violations outside the law, in benefits which are corruptions, but not in the systematic benefit which was conferred on beneficiaries at the expense of the vast majority of people in this country. (3)

To address the injustices of apartheid adequately "would require a different commission. It would require a commission committed to re-framing the social debate so as to bring to the surface, to bring to light the truth the TRC has obscured; a commission which would put centre-stage the experience of apartheid as a banal reality." For Mamdani a truth commission is obliged to expose the power dynamics at work in society—"to link power to privilege, racialised power to racialised privilege, perpetrator to beneficiary" (4, 5).

An exacting political critique such as the one Mamdani calls for is difficult to achieve when the objective of "reconciliation" is foregrounded so strongly in the TRC process. (The title of Act 34 of 1995, the "Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act," which formed the basis for the TRC, names this objective explicitly.) And when reconciliation in an entire nation rests on the experiences of individuals, recast through the language of the church and psychotherapy in terms of "healing" and "absolution," the rest of society may feel entitled not to consider itself implicated in apartheid's atrocities and injustices, and to celebrate "healing" and reconciliation without any real engagement with the pain of apartheid. It is therefore necessary to consider more carefully the claim that the hearings brought about healing in any meaningful way.

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"HEALING" FOR INDIVIDUALS AND THE NATION

The "Introduction" to the *Final Report*'s chapter on "Reconciliation" acknowledges that not all witnesses would find the experience therapeutic. This acknowledgment is not necessarily a comment on the limitations of this discourse and of the Commission itself. Rather, it identifies the limitation with the individual witnesses who are associated with the potential for healing, and therefore with the pathology that needs healing—for example in the suggestion below of a "troubled past":

> Clearly, everyone who came before the Commission did not experience healing and reconciliation. However, extracts from testimonies before the Commission illustrate the varying ways and degrees in which people have been helped by the Commission to restore their human dignity and to *make peace with their troubled past.* They include cases where an astonishing willingness to forgive was displayed, where those responsible for violations apologised and committed themselves to a process of restitution, and where the building or rebuilding of relationship was initiated. (*FR* 5.9.3: 350; emphasis added)

As represented here, the Commission becomes a confessor, leading individuals to peace and offering them the opportunity to extend forgiveness. The subtext of "make peace with their troubled past" is decidedly religious, and recasts widespread political conflict as the turmoil of individuals. The emphasis on narrative as an instrument of psycho-spiritual redemption, and on the importance of each individual relationship of perpetrator to victim, gives one pause. The ease with which this language is invoked on a national scale suggests that these individualized relationships (with some victims publicly embracing their torturers in a highly theatrical, often very emotional display of reconciliation) function as stand-ins for the larger society. The strong need for a display of reconciliation, repeated over and over on each new stage, speaks to the anxiety about a deeply fractured society.

The lengths to which the Commission went to have Winnie Madikizela-Mandela's testimony framed as an apology testifies to the urgency of this need for a public exchange of responsibility and forgiveness. Madikizela-Mandela, who was notoriously recalcitrant in the face of alarming evidence of her involvement in the assault and disappearance of a number of Soweto boys, was finally able to express "how deeply sorry I am" that "things went horribly wrong" after a lengthy, and obviously desperate appeal by the Archbishop ("Words"). On the other hand, more powerful figures like former president F. W. de Klerk and some high-ranking ANC politicians went to great lengths to protect themselves from any blame emerging from the TRC

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process. De Klerk was successful in prohibiting the TRC from publishing its findings that he "lacked candour" in his testimony, and that, by failing to act on what he knew of the planned bombing of Khotso House in 1988, he became "an accessory to the commission of gross human rights violations" (Barrell). The ANC's attempt to gag the *Final Report* because of its findings that human rights abuses were committed in ANC detention camps and that during the armed struggle unarmed civilians were killed, findings that had long since been brought to light in the media and accepted as regrettable fact, "put the ANC on the same moral level as former president F. W. de Klerk" according to some commentators ("Not the last word").

It is doubtful whether these heavy-handed attempts by the powerful to influence the findings threatened the authority and independence of the TRC. If anything they reflect poorly on those involved. But the attempts to silence the TRC findings do point to an abiding reluctance to accept moral responsibility for the evils committed during apartheid, thereby compromising the "healing" said to have been facilitated through the TRC process. For the post-apartheid Minister of Justice, the rhetoric of healing makes itself available precisely through "disclosure" and "acknowledgment," in the logic of post-Freudian therapeutics. In the words chosen as an epigraph for this article, Dullah Omar proclaims, "If the wounds of the past are to be healed, disclosure of the truth and its acknowledgment are essential."

Elsewhere the Minister uses the same individualistic language of "healing" in relation to the political fractures of South African society: "I do not distinguish between ANC wounds, PAC wounds and other wounds—many people are in need of healing and we need to heal our country if we are to build a nation which will guarantee peace and stability" ("Introduction"). In this account, "healing wounds" is the same as producing political stability in an historically fractured society. As is perhaps appropriate for a representative of the state, Omar's ultimate concern is with the well-being of the nation, but his rhetoric of psycho-spiritual health sidesteps discussion of past atrocities and current political interests.

The notion of social healing as manifest in some of the discourse around the TRC is troublingly facile, and more than one commentator has argued that there "has been far too little genuine debate about the nature of social healing and what surely promotes it."[3] It would be politically naive, or expedient, to adopt the displays of reconciliation between individual victims and their torturers, and the expressions of relief that those encounters have produced, as manifestations of an idealized resolution of the country's racial and political conflicts.

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This is not to say the personal encounters facilitated at the hearings and the testimonies themselves were not profoundly significant. For example, at a follow-up post-hearing workshop, Anglican Bishop David Beetge, himself a witness, described the experience of testifying in this way:

> [The TRC] has given the opportunity for people to tell their story, stories which [could] never be told before. . . . There were so many unhealed wounds before the [TRC] began its work. The evidence of those who have given witness [is] that, by telling their story, they have shared a burden and found a new sense of peace. This is very obvious from the sheer look of some of them as they walk out of the meetings of the Commission. There are ways and ways of telling our stories and we are not encouraging people to relive and retell their stories endlessly and promiscuously—never moving forward, never leaving the past behind.
>
> We retell our painful stories so that we shall remember the years that lie behind with all their struggles and terror as the way that led to new life. (*FR* 5.9.5: 351)

It is worth cautioning, therefore, against too glib a celebration of national healing on the back of imagined personal healing. Some witnesses found the experience of testifying doubly traumatic. For ANC activist Jessie Duarte, testimony involves the sacrifice of self-exposure: "the Commission is actually asking people to open the empty cupboard and expose that there are no groceries in the cupboard and then they have to live with that" (*FR* 4.10.45: 294). Thenjiwe Mtintso, once a high ranking ANC soldier, who had spoken openly in a private interview with a researcher from the Centre for Applied Legal Studies, was not willing to speak in the TRC's public forum. She applauded those who were prepared to "open those wounds": "The personal cost may be high. They may have to go back home and deal with the pain that has opened today" (*FR* 4.10.41: 294). While various post-traumatic stress disorder clinics were set up to support witnesses during the hearings and afterwards, the TRC was cautioned about the "wounds that have been left gaping" as a result of the hearings. Mtintso, a former Chairperson of the Commission on Gender Equality, and at the time Deputy Secretary General of the ANC, spoke of this concern at the hearings on women in Johannesburg: "It may not be the duty of the [Commission] alone; it may be the duty of the public, of all of us; but those wounds, they need to be addressed, Chairperson. You cannot open them in this hall and leave them gaping. Somebody has got to take responsibility" (*FR* 5.9.18: 356).

On the other hand, many witnesses were explicit about the relief involved in giving testimony: In the words of a former conscript, Tim Ledgerwood, "It is almost as if the silence is ending, as if we are waking up from a long bad nightmare" (*FR* 5.9.12: 353). This comes with Dori Laub's theoretical

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work on testimonial literature, based on the literature of holocaust survivors. Laub posits that the articulation of one's experience is a vital form of psychic survival, despite the futility of any attempt to recreate experience in language:

> Some have hardly spoken of it, but even those who have talked incessantly feel that they managed to say very little that was heard. None find peace in silence, even when it is their choice to remain silent. . . . The "not telling" of the story serves as a perpetuation of its tyranny. . . . The longer the story remains untold, the more distorted it becomes in the survivor's conception of it. (79)

The horror is somehow contained in the naming of it, despite the inadequacy of representation. Central to the act of bearing witness is the place of the interlocutor who, in Laub's understanding, makes possible the therapeutic dynamic. Testimony depends upon "an other to which one could say 'Thou' in the hope of being heard, of being recognized as a subject, of being answered. . . . But when one cannot turn to a 'you' one cannot say 'thou' even to oneself" (82). The presence of a listener facilitates the speaker's return to language and to self-identification after trauma's obliterating effects. In this account of the dynamic of telling, the audience is ascribed an enabling role as the sympathetic addressees without which healing cannot take place.

The TRC experience—both the hearings themselves and the political context into which they have been received—would seem to confirm Laub's analysis. However, Laub's account of the cathartic potential of testimony is so focused on the individual testifier that it cannot speak to the obscured interests of the audience, who in Laub's analysis are simply facilitators of the survivors' healing. The South African context, in which an entire nation claims healing on the back of individual testimonies, demands that further questions be asked. Who benefits from the displays of pain and survival at the TRC, and how widespread can the catharsis be understood to have extended when the far-ranging powers of the media make it possible, hypothetically at least, for the entire nation to stand in as the "audience"? In the South African context, where inequalities have been able to continue relatively unchecked well into the new democracy, and where privilege and to a certain extent power are still "racialised," as Mamdani puts it, how appropriate are the metaphors of bodily healing?

WITNESS TO CATHARSIS

In some cases witnesses themselves invoke vivid metaphors of bodily healing as they address the hearing. Lukas Baba Sikwepere, who lost his sight when shot in the face by security police during a demonstration in 1985, ended his

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account of his detention and torture by saying that "I feel that what has been making me sick all the time is the fact that I couldn't tell my story. But now it feels like I got my sight back by coming here and telling you the story" (*FR* 5.9.9: 352). By contrast, Fuzile Juqu's father, who spoke of being taunted by policemen as he discovered his son's body in a morgue, invokes the language of bodily pain and illness to different effect: "Ma'am, I am not here to get any compensation, I am just— . . . I just feel very sore inside. My heart is broken. There is nothing else I am going to say now" (*FR* 5.9.17: 355). Juqu does not leave his listeners reassured of his psychic healing, and his announcement of his choice to end his narrative disavows even the listeners' unspoken empathy that might have lingered after his expression of brokenness.

Juqu's testimony provokes further thought about the nature of the "catharsis" unquestioningly associated with the hearings and with testimonial literature generally. The language of healing all too readily obscures its own normative directives and the interests invested in it. The attribution of catharsis to the process of telling, with its unquestioning focus on individual speakers and their journey to well-being through giving testimony, obscures the complex set of interests at play, and in particular, the benefit of the experience of bearing witness that accrues to the other players in the hearings, the audience.

It is useful to turn to theorists of drama to consider the position of the audience. But first a caveat: I allude to the parallels between hearings of human rights abuses and theater cautiously, and do not mean to question the veracity of the testimonies by drawing a comparison between the respective scenes of narration. The comparison is helpful only insofar as it sheds new light on what is explicitly and self-consciously a public, and yet profoundly intimate, representation of experiences of trauma before a witnessing audience. For, as with theatre, the audience of the hearings plays a key dramatic role, albeit seemingly passive, in the scene of testimony. The presence of witnesses sets up the possibility of testifying, but the witnesses too are beneficiaries in the complex dynamic at work. Writing about dramatic representation of trauma, T. W. Adorno argues that the "ability to be horrified"—the "shudder"—is an affirmation, ultimately, of the humanity of the *audience*: "The subject is lifeless except when it is able to shudder in response to the total spell. . . . Without shudder, consciousness is trapped in reification. Shudder is a kind of premonition of subjectivity, a sense of being touched by the other" (455; see also Diamond 161–62).

The opportunity to recognize psychic trauma remains available to the audience as long as the witness continues to offer his or her testimony. To tremble in the face of another's pain—and it was impossible not to tremble

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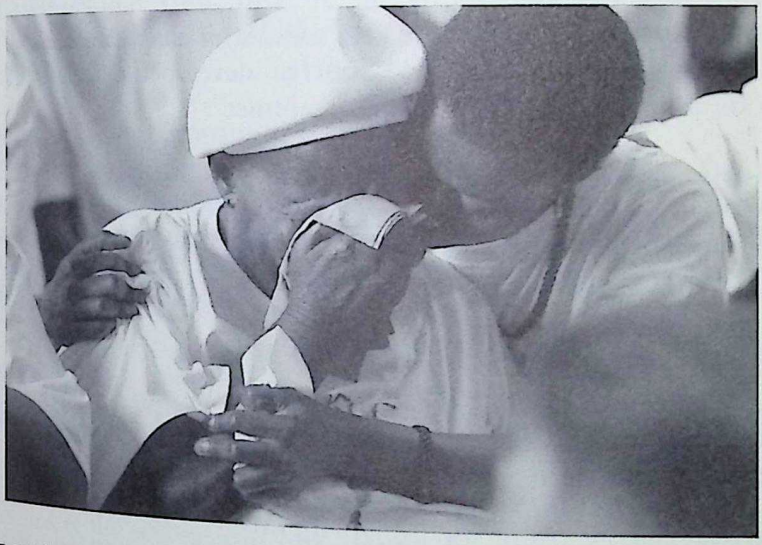
before the deluge of pain, horror, and irrevocable loss presented day after day at the hearings—was to have one's own humanity affirmed, if shamefully. Catharsis is generated in the moment of acknowledging pain. To bear witness to apartheid's traumas is to be offered the opportunity to participate in the experience of pain, and in narration's triumphant testament to survival. It is to affirm one's own humanity by bearing witness to the scene of pain that was a part of the oblivion of the past, and to overcome the temporal and spatial chasm that excludes one from the victim's past suffering. It is an affirmation of solidarity in pain, a solidarity bridged across time by means of the structure of the narrative, which in the analysis of this essay is of as much value to the audience as it is for the testifying survivor. For example, the *Final Report* alludes directly to the effect on the audience of the first public hearings, held in East London in the Eastern Cape, a site of notorious suppression of anti-apartheid activities:

> The four days were extremely emotional and dramatic. . . . Deponents were sometimes stoical, almost matter of fact, but others succumbed to tears or expressed their anger as they relived their experiences. The panel of commissioners and committee members was visibly overcome. The public sat silent and spellbound during the testimony, but was occasionally moved to angry murmuring. (*FR* 5.1.12: 3)



A woman comforts the mother of a victim during the final prayer service commemorating the TRC process in Pretoria, July 2003 (photo © and used by permission of the photographer, Benny Gool, Oryxmedia).

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The audience's investment in the experience of bearing witness is a factor even in testimonies where narrative itself is all but defied—that is to say, stretched to allow for a refusal of narrative. A representation of the impossibility of telling does not necessarily undermine the value of narrative. Activist Zahrah Narkedien, for example, cannot speak of the darkness of solitary confinement, although she can imagine a different scene of narration deferred to a hypothetical day in the future. It is enough to acknowledge this impossibility of telling:

> I had to go down and live in the basement in isolation for seven months. That was very, very painful. I don't even want to describe psychologically what I had to do to survive down there. I will write it one day, but I could never tell you. (*FR* 4.7.43: 211)

Her representation of the inability or refusal to narrate is nevertheless a commitment to narration. It is to tell and to refuse to tell. It is an expression of resistance in the face of pain, and to the extent that it is addressed to a listening audience, a gesture of dialogue in defiance of isolation.

It is in the nature of trauma to defy representation, to confound language altogether. Elaine Scarry has described the relationship between language and trauma as mutually incompatible: "The survival of each depends upon its separation from the other. To bring pain into the world by objectifying it in language, is to destroy one of them," for "Pain has the ability to destroy language" in all its forms (50, 54). After eleven months of solitary confinement, ANC activist Harold Strachan developed a neurotic symptom in relation to *written* text—a reading "stammer":

> For eleven months, I didn't speak to anybody . . . one handles that sort of thing all right, you just contract your universe a bit, but I had a very serious reading disability, very similar to a stammer in speech, and I have it to this day. I get stuck when reading and can't break past certain words. It is like a stammer in speech, and it is still with me. I don't know how that developed in solitary confinement, but it did. (*FR* 4.7.46: 212–13)

Strachan's account of having to "contract your universe a bit" in the face of psychological trauma is akin to the diminishment of self and world that Scarry associates with a disintegration of language. As "the content of one's world disintegrates, so the content of one's language disintegrates; as the self disintegrates, so that which would express and project the self is robbed of its source and its subject" (35). Language is deeply implicated in the constriction of the prisoner's world in response to pain. While Strachan is unable to represent the psychic trauma of his months in solitary confinement, his account

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of his reading "stammer" bespeaks that trauma, and marks a moment of recuperation in which his evident survival triumphs over the obliterating silence of solitary confinement.

Too neat an opposition of pain and trauma does not account for most witnesses' ongoing struggle with the effects of trauma. There is a danger in too glibly attributing the destruction of pain to the telling of it. Barbara Eckstein calls Scarry's *The Body in Pain* "controversial" for this reason (70). In reality, language is a blunt instrument in the face of trauma's shattering effects. Many representations of pain at the TRC hearings resorted to metaphors ("as if I had pins and needles in my body"), refusals ("I can never tell you"), or matter-of-fact sequencing of events. Witness Van Eck quoted at the beginning of this article was able to represent his experience only in the form of rhetorical questions, a futile appeal that emanates from the chilling isolation and absurdity of trauma: "Do you know how it feels to look for your three-year-old child and never, Mr Chairman, never find him again and to keep wondering for the rest of your life where he was?" These attempts testify as much to trauma's ability to elude representation as to the triumph involved in narrative. The restoration attributed to testimony is less a recuperation (of self, of lost time) as a celebrated hope that narrative will make good on its promise of a new relation to language and self and history. Even where the utterance takes the form of a refusal, or a stammer, or a series of unanswerable questions, the presence of an audience seems to affirm that hope, and to establish the possibility of a new relationship of self and world for the speaker.

NARRATIVE'S TRANSCENDENCE

The profound psychic investment in the healing power of narrative is based in narrative's temporal and syntactical structures, which produce the security of self-identified subjects and events measured across finite, linear time. Dori Laub's account of testimonial literature's production of an "I" and a "Thou" points ultimately to the establishment of a "we"—the community of witnesses into which testimonial narrative is received. It is this reassurance which exudes from David Beetge's statement, given at a post-hearings workshop: "We retell our painful stories so that we shall remember the years that lie behind with all their struggles and terror as the way that led to new life" (*FR* 5.9.5: 351). The plural pronoun vividly demonstrates that the traumatic isolation of solitary confinement is broken. It reassures those previously disenfranchised and alienated of their participation in the new nation-as-community, and announces the unity of the polity by disavowing all division.

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In the context of the hearings, the use of "we" obscures the distinction between testifiers and their audience. All are witnesses to the horrors of the past. All have access to the promise of a new future.

An orientation towards the future pervades the language of the TRC. Chairperson Desmond Tutu justifies the enterprise itself to the TRC's politically hostile detractors with reference to the future: "It is only by accounting for the past that we can become accountable for the future" (*FR* 1.1.28: 7). The official discourse in particular is driven by a unilinear conceptualization of time. Metaphors claiming a gradual or dramatic break with the past abound: when the enabling Bill was introduced in Parliament, Minister of Justice Dullah Omar said it would "provide a pathway, a stepping stone, towards the historic bridge . . . whereby our society can leave behind the past of a deeply divided society . . . and commence the journey towards a future founded on the recognition of human rights."[4] Formulated this way the TRC becomes a means of containing the disturbing reality of South Africa's history of human rights abuses. It all but vindicates the impulse towards amnesia by promising the opportunity to "leave behind the past" in the interest of present-day politics. A less rhetorically flamboyant and more reasonable allusion to the relationship of past to future is to be found in the TRC's *Final Report,* which imagines a future that has access to an ameliorated version of the past. This is not amnesia, nor is it relentless in its memorializing. The report conceives of this happy resolution of past with future with reference to a "shared present" and "our children's future":

> Reconciliation does not wipe away the memories of the past. Indeed, it is motivated by a form of memory that stresses the need to remember without debilitating pain, bitterness, revenge, fear or guilt. It understands the vital importance of learning from and redressing past violations for the sake of our shared present and our children's future. (*FR* 5.9.149: 435)

The anticipation of a "new" future is pervasive in South Africa. "There is a strong impulse in the country, supported and sustained by the media, for a grand concluding narrative," writes Ingrid de Kok (61). Ironically, a commitment to narrative may ultimately offer relief akin to amnesia. It is in the nature of narrative to promise a movement away from the past and towards the future. As Paul Ricoeur observes, narrative temporality generates an "illusion of sequence" (165). The chronological structure of narrative is reassuring, for it promises a move away from trauma towards coherence and a future that is not implicated in the events of the past. The separation promised by historical narrative is not only temporal: on a national level, the production of a national historical narrative or archive that might

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contain the history of apartheid may ultimately prove to be an effective way to remove from public consciousness the disturbing reality of the past. For Jacques Derrida the archive is an ambiguous historical tool: "The concept of the archive shelters in itself, of course, this memory. . . . But it also *shelters* itself from this memory which it shelters: which comes down to saying also that it forgets it" (2). The production of memory as an historical artifact, a repository for all that is uncomfortable about the past, preserves only the illusion of an unsullied future.

The testimonies themselves, however, seem more courageous in recognizing the horrifying events of the past than the officialese or public debates; witnesses are less apt to indulge in the illusion of thoroughgoing redemption that the religious language of the Commission suggests. The transcripts bespeak an ability to inhabit the narrative structures of the TRC—to indulge in the theatricality of this public forum; to speak frankly and express rage, sanctioned by its confessional mode; to visit new meanings on the past with the authority of its legal title. The structure of the confession entitled witnesses to express outrage and to acknowledge hostility. For example, Margaret Madlana, whose son was killed by security policemen who also threatened and harassed her repeatedly, expressed rage as though it were a confession: "I would like to apologise before God . . . if ever I was to be employed, I was going to poison the white man's children. The way they killed my son hitting him against a rock. . . . They killed him in a tragic manner, and I don't think I will ever forgive in this case. . . . I will never forgive them if they don't come before the Commission [as perpetrators]" (*FR* 5.9.48: 380–81).

The triumph of the TRC does not inhere in its formal structures, however, but in its creation of an open public space of dialogue where an astonishing number of participants could make their contributions to the richly textured mosaic of the TRC. Premesh Lalu and Brent Harris have argued that the Commission was constrained by a "legalistic approach to evidence" and that the stories themselves are "subsumed into an overdetermined context" in which procedures and officialese drown the voices of the witnesses (34). And yet, at least in part, the rituals and procedures of the TRC have enabled the telling of stories. It is precisely the Commission's *inability* to decide on points of fact that has facilitated the immense psychic power, as witness after witness came forward to tell of severe ill-treatment and loss without the harassment of legal cross-examination. On the other hand, intermittent legalese granted authority to the Commissioners to exonerate those named as "criminals" by the apartheid criminal justice system, while at the same time the Commission's access to the moral legitimacy of the anti-apartheid struggle has seen those falsely branded informers celebrated in

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some instances as heroes. For example, in response to the testimony of Puleng Moloko, whose sister, Maki Skosana, was brutally killed after being suspected of being an informer, Desmond Tutu declared that "Maki and the family have emerged, after all these disclosures, as heroes. I would say this hearing and this hall . . . are witnesses of how noble Maki was, and I will, without shame, request this house to stand and observe a moment of silence. Can we all rise? Thank you" (*FR* 5.9.29: 365).

The TRC was undoubtedly constrained by its own rituals. Its own fixation with the language of the church, psychotherapy, and nation-building has enabled it to be taken as sanction to "leave [the past] behind us" (as Dullah Omar put it) too hastily to address adequately the pervasive, widely felt ravages of apartheid in South African society. But nevertheless it seems that witnesses have been able to find a space within which to assert the devastation of their loss and the triumph of their survival. The problem arises when this particular memorializing institution is understood to have offered the final word, when "the nation" is encouraged by anxious politicians to find closure and to lull itself into an orientation towards the future which demands that reconciliation and progress be the normative principles in a society that is still reeling in the wake of apartheid.

Personal items belonging to apartheid victims are brought to the front of the church by their surviving relatives during the final TRC prayer service, July 2003 (photo © and used by permission of the photographer, Benny Gool, Oryx media).

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NOTES

1. The South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was proposed during the political negotiations which brought an end to apartheid, in the hope of establishing a history of human rights abuses committed under apartheid. Perpetrators were offered amnesty in exchange for full disclosure. Victims were asked to tell of their experiences and were promised reparations, though these have yet to be awarded. Following the launch on 16 December 1995, hearings were held in a number of key centers around the country over a period of three years. Teams of investigators were set up to do further investigations, and the findings were collated into a *Final Report* which was handed to President Thabo Mbeki on 8 September 2002. The findings have been challenged legally by parties from various points in the political spectrum. Nevertheless, the final edition of the *Final Report* was made public in August 2003, marking the end of the Commission's work.
2. The *Final Report of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission* is published on the internet at www.truth.org.za, in book form in five volumes, and as a CD-rom. For this reason I will identify quotations from the *Final Report,* which I shall abbreviate *FR,* by providing volume, chapter, paragraph, and page numbers. For example, the discussion of "ceremonial" style is found in volume 5, chapter 1, paragraph 10, and on page 3 of the printed edition, and hence will be referenced as *FR* 5.1.10: 3.
3. Professor M. Simpson, a psychiatrist specializing in post-traumatic stress disorder, made this remark in a submission to the health sector hearing in Cape Town (*FR* 5.9.19: 356). It is of course significant that this critique, amongst others, is published in the official documentation of the TRC itself.
4. Qtd. in Verwoerd; see also *Hansard* 1339–40. The language of closure is most prominent in forums that are hostile to the TRC, which has been labeled a "witch hunt" by some anxious conservatives.

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MEMORY THEATERS, VIRTUAL WITNESSING, AND THE TRAUMA-AESTHETIC

ALLEN FELDMAN

Gernet describes customary law in ancient Greece as a "system of conventions in which the signifier tends to absorb the signified" (Gernet 1981, 226). By this he means that the construction of proof does not lie in the recovery of a referential situation in an inquiry; rather, truth lies in the dramatization and ritualization of gestures and discourse that establish the authority of the witness as a guarantor (ibid., 229). In this customary legal system, the act and role of witnessing is structured as ritual passage, as an ordeal. According to Gernet, the demarcated space of witnessing is characterized by oath taking which involves proximity to a polluting yet sacrilized substance.

—C. Nadia Seremetakis (102)[1]

The production of biographical narrative, life history, oral history, and testimony in the aftermath of ethnocidal, genocidal, colonial, and postcolonial violence occurs within specific structural conditions, cognitive constraints, and institutional norms. As Hayden White has taught us, biography emerges as a narrative media within state structures,[2] and within the cultural requirement for jural and political subjects.[3] Historical inquiry must attend to the conditions under which such narratives arise—the political agency that such narrations refract, replicate, and authorize—and yet also account for the wide-ranging circuits that filter and consume the biographical artifact. As I shall briefly discuss below in reference to the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), this tension between the scene of testimony production and the sites of narrative screening and consumption can encompass not only a single testimony, but also an entire archive.

The dissemination of biographies and testimonies of political terror, whether in the context of human rights violation inquiry or commodified

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readership markets, is itself a historiographic problematic. For the biographical artifact, from its putative origin in violence (transacted and/or structural) to its possible terminus in law, medicine, and readership markets, traverses a terrain of legibility and credibility that must be considered part and parcel of the cultural construction of human rights practices in our times. To enclave the human rights violation story at a primordial scene of violence is already to preselect the restorative powers of legal, medical, media, and textual rationalities as post-violent. There is a normative and moralizing periodization built into the post-violent depiction of violence. Where violence is and is not positioned in the narrative of witness and the witnessing of narrative is the concern of this essay.

The human rights narrative arrives pre-encoded as a conduit into history—through its relay of the invisible or the unthinkable, through mourning, through the ordeal of its very enunciation and inscription. Thus it functions as a medium for historicity, but a medium that interposes itself between the witness, reader, auditor, adjudicator, and anamnesis. The testimony has a doubled density and *gravitas* due to its historiographic vocation and artifactual status; it is a window of historical visualization and also a historical object, midwifed from materialities of pain and suffering. But the question remains: How does this double status as both medium and artifact orient its relation to the historical? And wherein lies its authenticating status—as first-hand evidence of harmful acts, or as a product of institutional cultures of witnessing?

Many of the essays in this volume interrogate the conditions under which life histories of human rights violations circulate, examining those conditions for their emanicipatory potential and their capacity for instituting dialogical forms of historical consciousness between testimony donors and communities of witness. The contributors to this volume do not assume that emancipation or the authentication of suffering is guaranteed by content alone. Testimonies and narratives that purport to witness violence are subject to protocols of authentication within various regimes of truth: legal, medicalized, psychotherapeutic, and economic. These essays are thus concerned that the modes of publicness and consumption through which these biographies pass will simulate a cathartic affect that too easily transcends the violence described as the biography is inlaid into a juridical or therapeutic resolution.

The utility of human rights or therapeutic agendas here does not abrogate the need to confront how certain presentations of history-effects either hinder or enable a political ethic of anamnesis. Politicized anamnesis constantly requires the re-auditing of "residual" marginal, repressed, denied, and unreconciled historical fragments that can call the present into question, and

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to political accountability. The residual historical fragment is an event or a collage of events, artifacts, and accounts about events that are not easily integrated into such master narratives as the idea of progress, collective reconciliation, or evolution to human rights equity. I use the term "residual" keeping in mind Raymond Williams's distinction between the residual and the archaic, and their differential relations to what he called the emergent. For Williams, an archaicized past is a convenient signifier that has been too neatly stitched into the dominant ideologies of the present, and which does not disrupt, but enforces the linearity of historical time and promotes history as teleological continuum without ruptures or alterity. Sandra Young in this volume describes this pattern in the context of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission:

> The official discourse in particular is driven by a unilinear conceptualization of time. Metaphors claiming a gradual or dramatic break with the past abound: when the enabling Bill was introduced in Parliament, Minister of Justice Dullah Omar said it would "provide a pathway, a stepping stone, towards the historic bridge . . . whereby our society can leave behind the past of a deeply divided society . . . and commence the journey towards a future founded on the recognition of human rights." Formulated this way the TRC becomes a means of containing the disturbing reality of South Africa's history of human rights abuses. It all but vindicates the impulse towards amnesia by promising the opportunity to "leave behind the past" in the interest of present-day politics. (158)[4]

Following a redressive and curative trajectory, human rights frameworks and quasi-medicalized tropes of trauma circulate and archive the experiences of terror and abuse as episodes scheduled for eventual overcoming through redemptive survival, recovery, and restorative justice. Does this prescriptive plotting "archaicize" terror, creating museums of suffering? The museum format freezes the past, transforming it into discrete units of time, and petrifying it within classificatory labels, all of which situate the past as an object of spectatorship, no matter how empathic this gaze may be. The spectator in the museum-archive of suffering is also a witness, but this is witnessing at a remove: in controlled conditions, and within spatial divisions between life and death, viewer and the observed, now and then.

In a 2002 exhibit at the Jewish Museum in New York City of recent art about the Holocaust, "Mirroring Evil: Nazi Imagery/Recent Art," the spectator was offered a choice between two galleries. The first contained materials engaging Holocaust themes that according to the curators were "disturbing," as any artwork with such themes would be; a second gallery held art that the museum feared many viewers would find extremely offensive. As they reached the limen that separated the first gallery from the second, viewers

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were confronted with a sign warning of the visual threat of the artwork in the second space, and offering an intervening passageway that would protectively detour visitors out of the gallery and back to the souvenir sales counter of the museum lobby. Though I personally could not find any difference between the two galleries in terms of possible offense, on crowded days two adjacent lines emerged and parted as visitors chose and followed the corridors proposed by the museum. This spatial bifurcation, this division of witness into two, was far more haunting and disturbing than the actual art in the second stigmatized gallery, as the two lines eerily evoked the concentration camp rite of "the selection," where lines of prisoners were moved in opposite directions to death or to precarious existence. But in this museum, in this post-Holocaust world of anamnesis, rather than roads to death or fragile survival, curatorial logic offered a choice between admissible and inadmissible memory.

Those invested in the trajectory of historical redress, therapeusis, and completion may be ill at ease with historical content that cannot be reconciled with narrative closures. Consider the Argentinean Plaza de Mayo mothers who refuse a final state-sponsored memorial for their disappeared children precisely because such commemoration would subject the politically deleted and absent to biographical closure, and thus excuse the state from ongoing historical accountability. These women defer formulaic memory lest it lend the state a moral stability embodied in the petrifaction of their children's names on a collective gravestone. In this way, the women reserve the right to recall and make public irreconcilable residual historical content that bears upon a present that cannot fully consume or dismiss its problematic past.

In this issue, Wendy Hesford draws on Ulrich Baer to stress the importance of this act (114). Unless we view the past as "an unfinished rather than a stable referent in the service of the present" (Baer 107), we could "indulge the illusion that we might somehow be able to assimilate [atrocities such as the Holocaust fully into our understanding" (Baer 177). Baer continues: "Unless viewers suspend their faith in the future, in the narrative of time-as-flux that turns the photographed scene into part of a longer story (whether melancholic or hopeful), they will misconstrue the violence of trauma as a mere error, a lapse from or aberration in the otherwise infallible program of history-as-progress" (Baer 181).

The remainder of my essay responds to many of the contributions to this volume—a response mediated by my own fieldwork in South Africa and Northern Ireland, and by an archeology of witnessing fragments, cobbled together from other locales and historical periods. These last sites are no

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exemplary because they provide a linear history of witnessing; they offer nothing of the sort. Rather, they are residual and nonsynchronous episodes of witnessing that sketch another tale than the one found in contemporary human rights practice concerning the place of violence, the place of narrative, and the force of authentication. I pose the question: Does the cultural intelligibility of the biographical and witnessing artifact depend on the violence of the signifier—by which I mean repressive authentication by various expert knowledge practices, truth-claiming procedures, and mass media circuits? And if so, how do we witness *this* particular violence? Can communicative equity attend to cultural/historical difference, and be written into human rights norms and guarantees? At stake here are diverging notions of historical time, different concepts of the speaking subject and political agency, and as I shall discuss, the consequences of a visual culture of witnessing that stratifies suffering, memory, and embodiment. I am less concerned here with performing a content analysis of narratives of human rights violations, a task I have performed elsewhere, and more concerned with the social being of narrative truth: the politics of narrative circulation, emplotment, and interpretation. These biographical artifacts may write histories of terror and harm, but they themselves are written into a history. What history that might be is an object of my concern.

ENLIGHTENED PLOTS

Both human rights inquiry and the current cultural predilection for confessional trauma narratives are themselves technologies of memory that generate biographical archives or are grafted onto the biographical artifact, transforming the latter into juridical and emotive currency. Human rights inquiries, grounded in legal realism and/or trauma-tropes, evoke an amorphous specular and quasi-medical realism—an opening of not only the speech, but also the body of the political victim, in the form of accounts of terror and pain. In this manner their collation and public archiving is inflected with a post-mortem aesthetic akin to the public anatomic dissection theaters of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Both performances enacted a common Enlightenment speculum that opposes culture, hierarchical vision, and diagnostic intervention to unruly material violence, dis-ease, and the pathogenic.[5] As Francis Barker states:

> contrary to post-Enlightenment humanist, liberal, and conservative theory, "culture" does not necessarily stand in humane opposition to political power and social inequality, but may be profoundly in collusion with it, not the antidote to generalised violence, but one of its more seductive strategies. (viii)

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Human rights testimony and medicalized or psychoanalytic talking cures currently function as Enlightenment stand-ins, morally polarized to the murky density of embodied suffering and institutional indifference and denial, and to the mutation of state apparatuses into deterritorialized killing machines. These technologies of memory, jural reason, and psychomedical therapeusis are expected to rectify respectively the polluting exposure of the victim and his/her auditors to violence experienced and/or violence virtually witnessed in narrative and other media.

Ironically enough, part and parcel of the mutation of the state into an apparatus or site for chronic violence are the very institutional rationalities of law, medicine, and psychology that are *ex post facto* expected to provide redress and therapeusis in their adaptation and cooptation of the post-terror biographical artifact. The repressive role of the judiciary in totalitarian societies, or of medicine and psychiatry in the treatment of dissidents and various interrogation/torture scenarios, such as in Northern Ireland, Argentina, the Soviet Union, and South Africa, to name a few sites, are well known and need not be detailed here. The ritual of staging the moral opposition between abusive legal and psychomedical rationality and post-violent corrective legalities and medicalized therapeusis is a necessary moment in the reinstitution of a post-violence reason: a moment in which reason divides itself in two, exiling its double through convenient periodization.

Despite the repeated complicity of enlightenment rationalities in the programming and excuse of political terror, the human rights project has not been deterred from evoking its notions of truth claiming as the framework for post-terror biographical disclosure. Thus at the University of Cape Town in May 1994, in addressing the conference "Democracy and Difference," Alex Boraine, who was eventually appointed Vice Chairperson of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission, declared that the proposed commission would "hold up a mirror to South African society that would allow the nation to confront its past and then make a clean break with the past."[6] Here Boraine's notion of the break would correspond to Williams's model of the archaicization of the past. Applied to historical inquiry, Boraine's metaphor of the mirror becomes, in the words of Reinhardt Koselleck, "an unfailing index of . . . naive realism, which aims to render the truth of histories in their entirety":

> The image provided by the historian should be like a mirror, providing reflections "in no way displaced, dimmed or distorted." [Lucian, *How To Write History*, chap. 51] This metaphor was passed down from Lucian until at least the eighteenth century . . . as in the emphasis by the Enlighteners on the older moralistic application demanding of historical representation that it give to men an "impartial mirror" of their duties and obligations. (139)

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Related to the Enlightener's ocular metaphor of the mirror was the notion of "naked truth"—unadorned testimony and discourse in which events and actors are allowed to speak for themselves without ornamentation or mediation. These metaphors installed spectatorship and vision into the core of historical witnessing, and I shall later return to what type of vision is being pitted against the dense materiality of violent history. The enlightenment visual model of knowledge and truth claiming reappears in the mission statements of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission, for the notion of naked truth correlates to the commission's ethic of "transparency" as a process of disclosure heavily dependent on the authenticated witness salvaging an occluded past through both the public performance and the content of his/her pain and testimony.[7]

By examining modes of transmission, circulation, and reception, the essays gathered in this volume query this transparency effect, for they recognize that there are residues of meaningful experience that resist the rapid interdiction of juridical rationalities and optimistic therapeusis. However, the exigencies of local terror are both required and quickly surpassed in the prescribed human rights dramaturgy of witnessing. All terror is local, and the universalization project of transnational human rights, or the unifying anthropology of the victim, seek to elevate these narratives from the particular, and from the opaque materiality of state, ethnicized, gendered, or racialized terror. Locked into the materiality of the violent particular, the victim of political terror cannot be deployed for moral edification, cannot be retooled into a commodity artifact for a marketplace of public emotions, until the biographical artifact itself is resituated in a framework of legal redress and/or psychic therapeusis. Yet it is in these dense political particularities and gross practices of atrocity that may never be redressed or therapeutically treated that the cultural and political logic of such violence can be encountered. Nevertheless, decontextualization is the first movement in the universalization of the narrative of victimage. We are told we cannot understand violence unless it is first legally processed or therapeutically exposed and treated.

The newness of human rights legality or the sensitivities of therapeutic insight do not fully dispense with the historical legacy of asymmetric theaters of witnessing. In *Impossible Witness: Truth, Abolitionism and Slave Testimony*, Dwight A. McBride writes:

> I examine this metaphor of the discursive terrain in order to understand the situation of discourse into which the slave narrator enters when he or she takes pen in hand. . . . [T]here is a language about slavery that preexists the slave's telling of his or her own experience of slavery, or an entire dialogue or series of debates that

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> preexist the telling of the slave narrator's particular experiences. How does one negotiate the terms of slavery in order to be able to tell one's own story? . . . The discursive terrain creates the very codes through which those who would be readers of the slave narrative understand the experience of slavery. (3)

When a biographical narrative is processed through prescriptive expectations—that is, expected to produce healing, trauma alleviation, justice, and collective catharsis—it is emplotted. Emplotment is advanced quite frequently from outside, even if this is an exteriority or expectation that is internalized by the author so that biography can be transmuted into moral currency. More often than not, this contemporary emplotment follows a medicalized syllogistic structure: 1) the identification of a pathogenic situation—chronic violence, racial, gender, ethnic, or sexual inequity and oppression; 2) an inventory or symptomology of the aberrant situation, usually in the form of critical life incidents; and 3) a set of prescriptions to effect redress, cure, and historical completion, a component of which is the very recitation of biographical narrative and its public dissemination for a forum of witnessing. This linearity is meant to culminate in the cathartic "break" with the past—establishing the pastness of prior violence, and managing and controlling the conditions and terms of its periodic reentry into the present, usually through appropriate commemoration. This medical subtext is an apparatus of both memory and forgetfulness, to the degree that inevitably certain acts and events are not readily integrated into the structure of judicial or therapeutic emplotment. In Ernst Bloch's terms, such resistant narratives remain nonsynchronous with juridical or therapeutic resolution (97–116). Bloch's theory of the nonsynchronicity of historical identity and experience raises the issue of the descriptive adequacy of those narratological strategies that reduce the evidentiary to a transparent linear event history.

To the same degree that such disseminated narrative products may be viewed skeptically as having a distorted relationship to historical knowledge, we have to acknowledge that neither human rights inquiries and commissions, nor the consumer media markets for trauma narrative, absolutely dictate the condition of narrative production from political emergency zones where multiple forms of political agency have emerged and survive. The legal formalization, media virtualization, and commodification of witnessing constitute cultural-economic formations, rehabilitation agendas, and patterns of denial and forgetfulness that can foreclose our recuperation of historical depth and complexity. At the same time they also navigate, and unavoidably open, for potential critical inquiry, an ambiguous and often horrific historical terrain that is not easily contained by legal rationality, curative resolutions, and consumer desires.

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SUBJECTIFICATION: THE WAR FOR EVERYDAY LIFE STRUCTURES

It is crucial to compare the contexts out of which many post-terror biographies unfold, the conditions of their production and possibility, and why such historiographic impulses take the form of biographical narrative as a mode of political and linguistic agency. Kay Schaffer and Sidonie Smith write in this volume:

> By the last decades of the century, the modernist language of rights had become a *lingua franca* for extending—sometimes explicitly, sometimes implicitly—the reach of human rights norms, not everywhere but across an increasingly broad swath of the globe. Post-World War II struggles for national self-determination and equality for women, indigenous peoples, and minorities within nation-states led to the rise of local and transnational political movements and affiliations—movements for Black and Chicano civil rights, women's rights, gay rights, workers' rights, refugee rights, disability rights, and Indigenous rights among them—all of which have created new contexts and motivations for pursuing personal protections under international law. . . . Emergent in communities of identification marginalized within the nation, such movements embolden individual members to understand personal experience as a ground of action and social change. Collective movements seed local acts of remembering "otherwise," offering members new or newly valued subject positions. (3–4)

The postcolonial and post-World War II emergence of new subject positions reorganizes the relationship among the political, violence, and everyday life. Alain Tourraine, the French sociologist of social movements, termed this process subjectification. Tourraine discerned a difference in the methodology of social change in the post-World War II period. Previously the Enlightenment agent of social change was the *bourgeois/citoyen* of the French Revolution, the male progenitor of what Habermas terms the public sphere of bourgeois democracy. From the middle of the nineteenth century to the middle of this century, the male proletariat was theorized by Marxists and anarchists as the primary agent of social transformation, and reciprocally, the factory site as the axis of revolutionary action. However, the post-World War II period experienced an expansion of who or what could be a political subject. Previously inadmissible social categories—women, ethnic and racial minorities, peasants, the colonized, sexual minorities, fauna and flora, the disabled and the diseased, youth and children—emerged as political agents with their own political agendas and diverse sites of political struggle. The emergence of new political subjects attests to the multiplication and decentralization of the sites of political antagonism in a society. The process of subjectification likewise points to the emergence of new targets of counterinsurgency activity, new

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objects for the mobilization of repression, and new venues for the cultural construction of intimidation and terror. Everyday life, a heretofore devalued and hidden terrain excluded from serious political struggle, emerges as a political-military object of internal colonization. This was the fundamental characteristic of state violence in Northern Ireland, in South Africa, in Central America, and elsewhere: the violent territorialization by the state of the taken for granted, culturally spontaneous, and mundane sites of social transaction and symbolic exchange that nurture identities and give rise to counter-narratives of social reality.[8]

STRUCTURAL FORGETFULNESS AND THE NECESSITY OF BIOGRAPHY

> In local sites of struggle, a culture of disbelief and cynicism about "official" or normative narratives of history, identity, and nation motivates people to narrate as well as read stories that contradict, complicate, and undermine the grand modernist narratives of nation, progress, and enlightenment. (Schaffer and Smith 14)

In many zones of political emergency, the normalization and routinization of violence was accompanied by structures of deniability built into the very strategy of violent enactment. In other words, political terror not only attacks the witness but also the cultural capacity and resources needed to bear witness, particularly if we consider cultural memory as a performative medium requiring agents, spaces, and reserved temporalities for anamnesis. These social institutions disappeared in the general attrition of social securities achieved by political violence. The impetus for biographical visibility and its public presentation was precipitated from the militarization and erasure of the structures of the everyday, through which personhood was once sustained. Biographical expression was the creation or reclaiming of public space that had never existed or had been radically curtailed. The articulation of biography was an entry into a historical space previously controlled by state apparatuses or other agencies of violence that coercively assigned and/or jettisoned subject positions.

South Africa under apartheid was also inflicted by structural forgetfulness. The fragmentation of public recollection was an institutionally manipulated effect that emanated from 1) the secret knowledge systems of the state; 2) the apartheid culture of deniability that extended from the upper echelons of apartheid's ruling organs—government, armed forces, police services, and intelligence services—to the everyday class, racial, and geographic insularity of most white South Africans; 3) the spatial atomization of social knowledge imposed upon communities of color by apartheid's geographical sequestration, race-based inequitable education systems, and linguistic stratification

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4) the cultural decimation of violently urbanized rural populations; and 5) media censorship and deliberate disinformation campaigns. These factors created a public culture of knowledge fragmentation and provisional memory, which overlaid a dense mosaic of privatized memories and local knowledge, informalized oral culture, and cults of secrecy in both white and black communities. This was the effect of information stratification by race, class, locale, mendacity, and archives of secrecy. The biographical witness at the TRC struggled with the atomization of social knowledge and the imposed grids of invisible experience. In turn, the moral imperative of historical attentiveness—the ethical responsibility to know and to be accountable for what is or can be known—underwrote the TRC's notion of "truth," and its project to interdict an institutional culture of deceit promulgated by the former apartheid state.

In South Africa between 1996 and 2000, the role of confessional witnessing, though subsequently popularized as a variant of therapeutic talking cures, had a theological origin, and thus a motivation more in line with the witnessing dynamics of Africanized Christianity, whose performative modes could be experienced in many of the hearings. Here it was institutional biography that was meant to be revealed through the offices of individual biographic witnessing. The discursive role of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission can be seen as both heir to, and an elaboration of, the Reverend Beyers Naude's adaptation of a *status confessionis* to South Africa. The strategy and ethic of the *status confessionis* originated in the 1934 Barmen declaration, when German churches opposing Fascism formed themselves into a confessing synod.[9] The forum of the confessing synod was revived by the South African Cottesloe Consultation (1960), a meeting of anti-racialist churches that challenged apartheid and its theological justification by confederations of Afrikaner churches.[10] The condition of *status confessionis* mandates a process by which the "confessing" institution confronts its own complicity with evil and untruth, and compels a parallel internal confrontation of identified evils and human rights violations by other institutions. In many ways, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission was intended as the *status confessionis* writ large to compass the entire nation as a collective witness and mass confessing agent.

Through the model of *status confessionis,* the initial communalizing of witness was meant to mobilize individuals to testify for and/or against themselves in order to provide a new moral foundation for the nation. And to a certain and always unsatisfactory degree, this was done in both human rights and amnesty hearings by both the "securicrats" of the state and members of resistance organizations. Confession and disclosure were programmed as

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both an institutional and individual modality, each framing the other. This process encompassed most major South African political parties, guerrilla and paramilitary units, the armed forces, the police, the medical and psychiatric establishment, and the media. However, the ANC backed away from such frankness as the commission drew to a close, and the upper echelons of the apartheid government never admitted to authorizing terror, a denial that could be sustained due to the coded directives of the regime and planned gaps in the command structure.

ANTIPHONIC WITNESSING

When reading the TRC reports, which radically adumbrate a complex six-year hearing process, the commission superficially appears to be a mass biographical project. From its 21,000 individual submissions to the Human Rights Violations Committee, and its more than 7,000 submissions to the Amnesty committee, one would infer that the commission's stress was on individualized testimony and on private suffering. Certainly some of the rhetoric of the more religious and social-work minded commissioners stressed the confessional dynamics of the talking cure, a concept that the white-dominated media readily latched on to as a palatable substitute to black revolution. But this was not the whole story. The view that there was an overreliance on victims' statements, which skewed history by individualizing suffering in psychotherapeutic terms, omits the fact that victims' testimonies before and after public airing were subject to documentary corroboration. The commission deployed investigative departments, using Scandinavian and local police investigators and local human rights lawyers with powers of subpoena to assess evidence and locate corroborating documents and testimony. State archives were regularly consulted, and a good deal of pre-hearing and post-hearing interviewing of both hostile and friendly witnesses took place. There was a concerted attempt to evaluate in terms of available supportive material each testimony about a human rights abuse experienced, witnessed, or indirectly known, though this could be quite difficult due to the anonymous orchestration of terror by the apartheid state. The status of testimonies was established by evidence analysts working with exhaustively researched evidence "bundles" comprised of official documents from government archives and media files, medical reports, and other personal testimony about the same event by witnesses of diverse political persuasions. During the hearings, "context statements" were often elicited from local ministers, educators, journalists, and academic researchers who had knowledge, often both personal and professional, about the surrounding events and back stories which provided

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a frame for discussing specific episodes of violence. The popular and media-generated view that the TRC hearings were planned and conducted by weepy psychotherapists was far from reality.

Rather than fetishizing the atomized biographical narrative, during the hearing process testimony was authenticated in two ways: 1) through historiographic and legal evidentiary assessment before and after testimony; and 2) through community validation, since many of the hearings, located in communities of color, took on the atmosphere of church witnessing call and response and call-outs, choral singing and the dancing of the toi-toi, as other survivors in the audience supported the witnesses through public expressions of feeling. Eminently performative, these displays do not appear in the commission's official transcripts, occurring as they did between and around the speech of individual witnesses. The commission presented acts of testimony on the proscenium stage, in this case reinforced by video cameras and microphones aimed in directions that only obliquely incorporated the audience. This proscenium format only held partial spatial and perceptual authority for the African audiences, who imported church and other communal "testifying" congregational forms into many of the hearings.

From the limited vantage point of the TRC Report, and its rather loose and vague use of the term "trauma," arises the impression that certain administrators of the hearings were focused on the psychopathology of political victimage. The degree to which this was uniformly the case (and it was not a pervasive norm) begs the more important question of the extent to which indigenous witnesses and audiences of color accepted or acceded to this Eurocentric psychological perspective. The talking cure model may or may not adequately describe the legal intent of the TRC in theory, but in practice the use of this model obscures what I call the *Africanization of remembrance.*[11] With few exceptions, Human Rights Violations hearings were held in local communities that had experienced chronic states of violence over decades, and the actual venues were community-based institutions like churches, school gymnasiums, and community centers. In many hearings, sizable segments of the local community turned out and functioned as informed auditors. Many victim-witnesses of color who took the stand were positioned as speaking from and for the community—speaking for familial, township, religious, and political filiations that had undergone common political terror.

As Young notes in her essay on the Truth Commission (154),

> The presence of witnesses sets up the possibility of testifying, but the witnesses too are beneficiaries in the complex dynamic at work. Writing about dramatic representation of trauma, T. W. Adorno argues that the "ability to be horrified"—the

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> "shudder"—is an affirmation, ultimately, of the humanity of the *audience*: "The subject is lifeless except when it is able to shudder in response to the total spell. . . . Without shudder, consciousness is trapped in reification. Shudder is a kind of premonition of subjectivity, a sense of being touched by the other." (455)

But in the context of African kinship and community, it might be better to describe this "shudder" of the other as antiphonal call and response. TRC testimony by many people of color enacted a dynamic of antiphonic witnessing and performative and collective authentication. A significant number of witnesses were women of color who represented not just themselves, or fragmented nuclear families, but extensive networks of filiation, of real and symbolic kinship. These women functioned in their communities as "social mothers." Ruth Wilson Gilmore has defined "social motherhood" as a repertoire of roles and "techniques developed over generations on behalf of black children and families within terror-demarcated racially defined enclaves" (30). These women did not take the stand as atomized traumatized victims, but as representatives and embodied signifiers for the disappeared and the dead. In addition to the acoustic and gestural antiphonal dynamics between these women's accounts and the community-based audience's response, the entire call and response performance existed in an emotionally powerful relation to absence—to the silenced and the dead who would never testify. The presence of these women, and the shadows they brought into the hearing room, evoked the historical depth and recesses of their witness that could not be captured in literal speech. Refusing to ground their language in individualized knots of the traumatic, these women invoked a dialogic of presencing the unreachable, of giving "impossible witness."

C. Nadia Seremetakis parallels this African form of virtual witnessing in the context of Greek rural women's death rituals and lament singing:

> Antiphony has been described as a prevalent pattern of Greek lamentation from antiquity to the present. . . . [I]t has been understood by commentators as an aesthetic device, and a literary genre. . . . [A]ntiphony is (1) the social structure of mortuary rituals; (2) the internal acoustic organization of lament singing; (3) a prescribed technique for witnessing, for the production/reception of jural discourse, and for the cultural construction of truth; and (4) a political strategy that organizes the relation of women to male-dominated institutions. (100)

Antiphonal witness and biography, the alternation between self and other, sound and silence, the person and the collective, the visible and the invisible, emerges in situations where authentication of self and discourse has been withheld and refused, whether through racism as in South Africa or sexism as Seremetakis documents in Greece. The stratification of speech economies

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goes hand in hand with the social stratification of truth claiming. Such communicative asymmetries are frequently countered in oral cultures by language and performance that leads the auditors to tacit domains of moral inference. Antiphonic representation replicates the structure of violent intrusion through the conveyance of the deleted. This antiphonic modality is akin to Freud's magic writing pad of overlapping and discontinuous, visible and less visible, strata of memory transposed through antiphonic dyads into historical representation; here, overt communication transfers an undercode, an afterimage, a shared emotional substance, that renders a testimony collective speech—speech ethically and emotionally accountable to a wounded and defaced collective. The present audience uses antiphonic response to provide the confirmation of speech that the dead can no longer offer the solo witness:

> The truth claims that arise from the ritual, then, depend on the emotional force of pain and the jural force of antiphonic confirmation. . . . Antiphony is a jural and historicizing structure. Its dyadic structure (soloist/chorus) guarantees a built-in record-keeping function. (Seremetakis 120)

Here embodied and expressive pain is not a debilitating blockage or disability of traumatization, but rather a cultural tool for collectivizing truth claims, while antiphonal response is an active recording and historicization of the presence, pain, and speech of the witness. In Xhosa the word *phefumla* means soul. *Phefumlo,* the verb form, means "to breathe." A person in mourning, a person harboring great suffering and emotional stress, experiences a heavy weight on the chest and shoulders, and cannot breathe easily. *Phefumlo* has a moral connotation, for to breathe is also to speak of painful events that weigh on someone. It can also mean the strong empowered speech of the traditional healer. This speech is the exhaling of the soul, the release of blockage, and an emergence from social death that is incomplete unless it is witnessed and historicized by congregational modes of performance, rather than passive recording.

Kin and survivors often took the stand demanding to know the circumstances of death and disappearance of relations and comrades, because among the Xhosa and Zulu, locating the remains of a deceased kin, and knowing the circumstances of death, are part of pre-Christian purification rituals that set the dead on the path to becoming ancestors for an entire collectivity. The dead may have died as isolated individuals within the structures of the state, but their witnessing by the social mothers was a ritual of social reincorporation, and due to the dead's potential but unrealized status as ancestors, a rite of re-origination for the surviving kin-groups, from which the dead had been subtracted by violence.

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Seremetakis's study of gendered mourning looks to affective communities organized around social pain as a strategy of resistance. Whereas Foucault and Scarry examine pain as a political technology dominant institutions use to impose subject positions though somatic intervention, Seremetakis looks at how the performative, embodied, and biographical manipulation of pain can create a rupture between the embodied self and dominant institutions:

> The social impact of individual emotional communication is based on moral inferences shared by social actors. . . . Such shared inferences are activated by the fusion of affective force and prescribed communicative media. The latter provoke validating responses and emotional reciprocation from others, a process of consensus building. . . . The personal communication of pain, synthesizing emotional force and body symbolism can vividly dramatize the dissonance between self and society. This discontinuity can attain a collective dimension by exploiting the moral capacity of emotional inference to generate affective enclaves, i.e., communities of pain and healing. . . . Composed of entire categories of persons in conflict with the social structure, such communities of shared emotional inference and reference correspond to Bauman's (1977) notion of performance spaces as disruptive and disjunctive and as alternative social structures within or at the margins of a social structure. This model points to the link between communities founded on the dramaturgy of feeling and the construction of resistance spaces. (4–5)[12]

The production and reception of the witness discourse were not monolithically determined by official commission protocols, or by psychologized theories of trauma expression, but were frequently mediated by in-place Africanized institutions—particularly church rituals of witnessing, pre-Christian beliefs concerning the ancestral status of the dead, even of dead children, as well as various political ideologies.[13] The witnesses were not deculturalized, depoliticized, and medicalized victims of violence. Many had accumulated long-standing political biographies in "struggle institutions," going back to their childhood, that mediated their narration of violence. Many who testified were capable of analyzing the institutional logics at the roots of the violent episodes they had experienced or witnessed, or that were shared indirectly through the political memory of their peer communities. A process like the Truth and Reconciliation Commission does not simply harvest disabled and politically naive witnesses, susceptible to opportunistic objectification strategies, but inevitably engages and mobilizes people who have been political actors in their own right. And many political activists in South Africa are loath to assume a victimage status, because an ethic of stoic endurance and resistance characterized ANC political postures in regards to imprisonment, torture, pain, and terror.[14] Many witnesses rejected the biographical

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nomination of "victim," with all the passive and depoliticizing connotations this term implies, choosing instead the term "survivor," which allows for a sense of political agency. Submitting testimony was not therefore seen as wounded persons showing their scars in public, but rather as an act of political and historical intervention: setting the record straight after the systemic mendacity and disinformation of the former regime. For the first time in their lives, impoverished shantytown mothers could place their discourse, perceptions, moral evaluations, and experience on the same jural, normative, and authoritative plane as those of the police and army officers who also testified, and who once held arbitrary sway over these women. Former monological authority was now being vehemently contested and delegitimized by Black and gendered voice. Victims of not only violence, but of invisible deleted history, were able to restore their materiality as historical actors who had been submitted to violence because of their political agency.

We all participate in ethnocentrism when we confuse the individual testifying voice—whether in a truth commission forum from a South African black community, or from a Guatemalan Indian collective, or from many other post-colonies—with the juridical monadic subject of the West. Crude applications of Foucauldian models of bio-power, or Agamben's theory of the sovereign exception (based on extermination camp dynamics), lead to an extreme theoretical individualization and atomization of the victim of state violence. However, this atomization is part and parcel of the dehumanization process built into state violence, and is actively resisted in societies with alternative legacies and resources of communal filiation. In this context, projects like the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission may not be successful in reconstituting national community, but they do offer performance sites through which anti-statist, kinship-based bereavement breaks into public culture and into the space of the nation-state as a critical political discourse, perhaps for the first time in the history of the post-colony.[15]

THE ROAD

No one I spoke to associated with organizing the TRC's Human Rights Violations hearings assumed that the mere enunciation or collation of spoken testimony would produce personal or national healing. Healing was theorized in the context of fiscal-social reparation, and as a long-term process, not an event. Reconciliation more often than not meant reconciling experiences and historical facts that had been silenced or distorted by state secrecy and propaganda. Social healing was always advanced not as a cathartic episode, but as a longitudinal diachronic spectrum. Draped as a banner over

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most of its public events, was the TRC motto "Truth. The Road to Reconciliation." The single word sentence indicated where the commission saw itself in historical process—at the edge of a passage. There is no promise here of a definitive cathartic resolution. Truth telling and fact setting were seen as correctives to the apartheid era's official mendacity, historical falsification, and clandestine counterinsurgency, but not as activities that would mechanically bring resolution, comity, or conciliation. For the road to reconciliation—to societal healing—is exactly that, a time-mediated route that in the thinking of many of the commission staff was intimately tied to socioeconomic development and to the special place that victims of human rights violations would assume in that development. The commission actually redefined development beyond its economistic frames to address its social, symbolic, and cultural dimensions, particularly to the degree that victims of human rights violations could be recuperated as valuable human resources and not be discarded as disabled traumatized victims. In the commission's envisioned future, healing was intimately tied to social movement notions of disability rights, societal integration, and economic empowerment. And that movement was explicitly understood as the biographical trajectory of survivors of human rights violations, and not an effect simply of holding hearings, letting people talk, and publishing reports; social healing was a terminal possibility of a very conditional process.

Further, there was no rush to circulate or publicize trauma in the proceedings of the TRC, though this restraint was often overwhelmed by the horrific nature of many of the events narrated. Those who testified to human rights violations had skilled counseling prior to, during, and after their testimony. This counseling was not meant to address long-term issues, but to reduce the potential harm entailed in giving witness in a public forum to personal, horrific experience. Rather than viewing the giving of testimony as healing, the commission was concerned about the harmful and stigmatizing effects of testimony-giving. Though the commission's "witness handlers" proposed that this counseling process should be extended to the communities from which the witnesses originated, and which had been the site of the human rights violations aired in the hearings, this suggestion was constrained by lack of funds and planning.

Catharsis comes from the Greek *kathari,* which means to cleanse or purify. Yet most of the testimony in human rights violation hearings concerned perpetrators who were anonymous, unknown, and could not be confronted or who for a variety of reasons would or could not be brought to public scrutiny. Where was the cleansing in this? In amnesty hearings, recipients of human rights abuse often had to witness the indemnification of their abusers

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because the latter had met formal amnesty requirements. Indemnification of the perpetrator, however, did not advance personal healing, nor was it expected to achieve reconciliation. A major function of amnesty was data collection facilitated by the criteria of full disclosure. There was some level of satisfaction that the deeds of perpetrators were made part of the public record. But there was little healing occurring or expected from the amnesty process. In the most publicized cases of public apology, where the perpetrator faced his victim(s), the latter often demanded fiscal compensation and/or voluntary labor, though these customary demands for compensation did not advance cathartic healing. The Commission's public exhumation of the bones of victims of covert political assassination and torture by the police were events that precipitated intense communal mourning, not cathartic healing. The impact of much of the testimony in any one hearing or exhumation, therefore, was to build a sense of unreconciled history and to produce more questions than answers.

There were, however, other tendencies present in the TRC and in its wider media reception that did authorize a premature, skewed foreclosure of the events and wounds that the commission had opened in public inquiry. This foreclosure revolves around some of the commissioners' preferences, in their hearing summations, for certain utilities of memory over others. These utilities were rapidly grasped by a media desperate for quick fixes on the complex reams of data issued daily by the commission. Whether or not the commission's role players fully accepted the utility of the talking cure, many did view recollection as inherently beneficial precisely because of their need for data, and because so much memory had been muted in the apartheid state's culture of secret knowledge. This perspective on the act of recall could easily slip into a metaphysics of the talking cure. But cultural memory is not transparent, and in the hearings held by the commission, manifold memory formations collided and contested for narrative space and definitive powers of naming. As I have written elsewhere:

> By treating memory as a utilitarian and unproblematic transparency largely residing in individuals or fragmented communities or as a neutral juridical technology the TRC ignored social memory as a normative institutionalized formation with its own political history. And in doing so the TRC ended up stressing memory's therapeutic possibilities at the expense of establishing its pathogenic connection to institutional violence and that violence's inherence in economic racism, a connection that would more explicitly relate the TRC's project with the historical evisceration of apartheid's economic and spatial violence. In neglecting the hegemonic contours of institutional memory the TRC failed to develop a self-reflexive relationship to its own technologies of memory and failed to confront the human

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> rights danger in not recalling the disproportionate character of so-called politically motivated institutional violence. The TRC has left an ambivalent and contradictory moral legacy to the degree that it has ceded to future generations an important archive of political terror and violence, witnessed largely from the previously unwritten perspective of black history and embodiment, and yet failed to adequately confront the institutional procedures that reproduce and bureaucratically routinize such violence—an important prophylaxis for future democratic institution building in South Africa. ("Strange Fruit" 260)

The valorization of memory as inherently beneficial lies behind the disagreement of Andrew J. Gross and Michael S. Hoffman with Claude Lanzmann's understanding of excuse and reason in the concentration camp. For Lanzmann the act of Shoah remembrance as transmission is a priori validating. Transmitted memory is eulogized without exploration of its historical etiology, and without any other authorizing ground for truth than the ex-inmate's tattoo and voice. Truth is the result of transmission and does not precede it, an understandable position within the epistemologically murky space of death. Transmitted memory is already the rehabilitation of experience; transmission is agency out of an ecology where the project of the inmate was only to suffer, waste, and die, and where he/she is denied the status of speaking subject. But as Gross and Hoffman discuss, Lanzmann and Elie Wiesel elevate transmission to a heuristic paradigm of Holocaust discussion and analysis. This centralizes the act of giving testimony as the core ritual of Holocaust anamnesis—a centralization that can also be found in the post-hearing summation of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission, but which does not refract the full dynamic of collective recollection.[16] Any truth commission's acts of recall and recuperation must necessarily contend with how social memory functions in the midst of the very human rights violations and atrocities the commission excavates. If a society is to come to terms with a terror-ridden past, then it must be through a knowledge of how certain memory formations contributed to the creation of that violent past. We need here a sociocultural history of anamnesis, a critical memory of memory in order to remember a future that moves beyond the pathogenesis of political terror and human rights abuse.

THE SPECULUM OF TRAUMA AND WITNESSING

However, in the context of structural forgetfulness and institutionalized cultures of mendacity, the biographical narration's potential for healing is possible less because of its iteration of trauma, and more because of the assertion of ennunciative agency—the registering of both the narrator and previously

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inadmissible experience into a linguistic community and a fractured ecology of truth. As Eric Santner writes about memory, mourning, and film in post-World War II Germany,

> much poststructuralist critical practice views the figure of the mourner-survivor as a kind of arch-trope not just of what it means to be a citizen of postwar or post-modern society but, more radically, for what it means to be a member of a linguistic community. To be a speaking subject is to have already assumed one's fundamental vocation as survivor of the painful losses—the structural catastrophes—that accompany one's entrance into the symbolic order. . . . [The violence of the Western Tradition] may be traced to a repression of these catastrophes, to a disavowal of the opportunities for and necessities of bereaved thinking, speaking, writing. . . . The violence of history grows out of a refusal or an inability on the part of the members of a society to assume the vocation of mourner-survivor of what might be called the violence of the signifier. (9–10)

> In the writing of numerous poststructural theorists, *historical* suffering is believed to spring from a failure to tolerate the *structural* suffering—the always already shattered mirrors of the Imaginary—that scars one's being as a speaking subject. . . . In this view, the speaking subject who has entered—or rather fallen—into the order of signification has crossed over a bar that separates him or her from the benevolence as well as the tyranny of nature and the imaginary relations of myth. She or he is marooned in a world of ruins, fragments, stranded objects, that thereby take on a textual aspect: they demand to be read. (12)

Santner's understanding of the post-violence chronoscape of ruins mandates a heterological history of both the artifacts and acts of witnessing, with memory as both an enabling and repressive cultural practice. Violence is doubled in the act of terror and in the repression of bereavement. Critical bereavement is a language of and about fragmentation, but it also thematizes the privative as a cultural object, rather than accepting it as an imposed fetish such as trauma, and thus as a shelter for rigidified and pathologized subject positions.

Both the terms "language" and "community" invoked by Santner demand a politics of location, of topographic and contextualized speech economies, as I have discussed above. Rosanne Kennedy argues in this volume:

> In developing an adequate response to testimony, the first task . . . is to recognize that Stolen Generations testimonies are "social utterances" which intervene in a present social context, rather than simple representations of a past event. . . . As Tzvetan Todorov explains, Mikhail Bakhtin's concept of the dialogic foregrounds the social context in which communication occurs. Address is of course a central element in a dialogic approach, but the meanings of both address and response are produced from the entire social complex in which they are uttered. (49–50)

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At the same time that we need to attend to the immediacy of the social context, in the face of transnational discourses of human rights and transnational media economies we also have to examine how local context is elided, marginalized, and even effaced as the survivor biography is rendered into symbolic capital in other discursive strata. Thus it is neither accidental nor a fortuitous misreading that the proceedings of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission were reduced to a ceremony of cathartic trauma exposure, or that key actors in the TRC, as they negotiated their post-commission careers, rewrote the complex story of the research and the hearings in terms of the transnational cultural intelligibility of trauma narratives and confessional talking cures. I cannot track these post-commission entrepreneurial careers here, but I would like to explore the consequences of the trauma trope as a signifier of history, as something that short-circuits the opportunities of bereaved thinking through stasis. I can sketch the reductive force of trauma as it circulates both in human rights discourse and in such consumer markets as trauma narrative and "trauma cinema," and more specifically the uncritical use of the term in academic analysis that reflects on truth commissions, human rights inquiry, genocide archives, and the biographical genres they collect and circulate.

The primary characteristic of the non-medical use of the term is its general lack of specificity. It is generically deployed as a description and as a diagnostic tool, and viewed as a pathogen—trauma is both an object and a method of analysis. Rarely are we informed as to what theory of trauma is being deployed when it is invoked: medicalized trauma as physical wounding, psychoanalytic definitions which locate trauma as static blockage or frustration or fixation of drives, an embodied stasis preserved in somatic schemata, a wounding episode that cannot be narrated without inflicting further harm, or the clinical certitude of post traumatic stress theory (which has recently come under substantive methodological and historical critique).[17] In my fieldwork experience in South Africa, the media popularization and generic use of the term "trauma" ended up creating hierarchies of victims and suffering. Many black South Africans made distinctions between those recipients of human rights violations who were "traumatized" and those who were not. The male victim of torture and imprisonment was automatically viewed as traumatized; the local female head of a household who endured constant police raids, the disappearance of her men and children, and minimal economic subsistence as a caregiver for her disappeared/dead children's children was frequently not viewed herself as having been "traumatized" in comparison to male activists. And of course the structural violence of apartheid, which tended to be seen in mainly economic terms, was not described as traumatic

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In academic, media, and human rights discourse, "trauma," due to its labiality, actually functions as an aesthetic concept to the extent that it lends itself to creating a universalized human rights subject, enabling mass reception and commodification, as discussed by many of the essays in this volume. What are the ramifications of fusing an ahistorical medicalized, psychoanalytic, therapeutic, or aesthetic concept to historiographic inquiry and narrative? What occurs when historiography is grounded by a disciplinary concept that purports to exist outside of historical time to the degree that it is anchored in philosophical anthropology and its cognates medicine, psychology, law, or theodicy? The trauma-aesthetic signifies the irruption of the abnormal and the pathogenic. Trauma contravenes the homeostatic and the routine, and the recovery from trauma is implicitly posited as the return to a homeostasis of self and society. Trauma's irruption is an historical fall, and detraumatized history becomes the restorative goal of juridical and therapeutic action. Trauma becomes an ante-historical and post-historical sign under which we place the new human rights history. In the trauma-aesthetic, history becomes epistemologically grounded in the ahistorical.

If traumatic intrusion presumes a non-traumatized prior self that was not disfigured, how is the imputed homeostatic concept of the state of self and society prior to traumatic intrusion reconciled with what we know of colonial and postcolonial histories, the *longue durée* of structural violence of racial, gender, sexual, and ethnic inequities, the historical norm and routine of Walter Benjamin's state of emergency? As Seremetakis observes:

> A group exposed to external and internal domination . . . experiences cultural fragmentation as the very condition of its existence. There can be no holistic experience in the margins, only the creation of refuge areas that provisionally assemble the holistic from fragments in order to intervene in the public structure of domination. The experience of discontinuity and break prevails in the margins. The myth of holism and continuity is the ideological creation of "centers" and of dominating groups. (2)

Jean-François Lyotard concludes that there is no continuity that traumatic history interrupts; what is wounding is the myth of continuity that the trauma-aesthetic implicitly reinforces. In reference to the Holocaust he states:

> All these wounds can be given names. Their names are strewn across the field of our unconscious like so many secret obstacles to the quiet perpetuation of the modern project. (14)

As shall be discussed below, the trauma aesthetic is the continuation of the modern project, particularly its dependency on a politics of the body. The

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trauma-aesthetic smuggles in a medical narrative as a philosophy of history; it projects cure by occluding the prehistory of trauma, by positing retrospective stability where none existed within human experience. Its ahistorical reductionism also ignores the structural difference of historical and political context, as Wendy Hesford discusses in terms of Catharine A. MacKinnon's feminist philosophical anthropology:

> MacKinnon's conflation of rape, pornography, and prostitution across cultural and national locations (for instance, comparing rape warfare in Bosnia-Herzegovina with Linda Lovelace's coerced role in *Deep Throat* (25); comparing "ethnic rape" with brothels all over the world (26); comparing "snuff" films with filmed torture scenes in Bosnia; and comparing Bosnia with the Holocaust, and both with pornography and violence against women) ignores the complexities of cultural location and agency, and creates a universalized misogyny (as pornography) at work worldwide, with no distinction among sites. (121)

REGIMES OF TRUTH

> To what extent do representations of human rights violations position viewers rhetorically as "voyeurs of the suffering of others, tourists amid their landscapes of anguish" (Ignatieff 10)? To what extent does a flexible, mobile rhetoric of listening reflect a generalizing of otherness, which depends, in Edward Said's words, on a "flexible positional superiority"? (Hesford 108)

I would propose that the trauma-aesthetic is but a recent incarnation of a "flexible positional authority." The facile fusion of trauma-aesthetics and testimonial display does more than archaicize violence, commodify the past, isolate the "traumatized" from peer communities, and promote short-term cathartic-empathic identification. I suggest that the trauma-aesthetic installs and smuggles into the human rights discourse a visual genealogy of witnessing and testimony-giving that sorts victim and witness into positions of hierarchical observation, compulsory visibility, and non-reciprocal appropriation of the body in pain. In order to tease out these visual codes that are obscured by legal realism and the psychologization of social suffering, I have to complicate the cultural history of witnessing protocols and their relation to regimes of truth. This will not be a linear, evolutionary narrative of fall and restoration; rather, I propose that the optic of the traumatic and its therapeutic and generalizing project is rooted in its own repression of memory and in consequent compulsive repetition disorders.

In an important study of juridical torture in fifth-century Athens, Page duBois discusses how the slave, as an adjunct to the master, as a component of the master's juridical personality, would be tortured to produce testimony

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that would involuntarily and objectively confirm or contradict the master's discourse in a court adjudication:

> What kind of truth is the slave's truth? Aristotle says of the relationship between slave and master:
>
> > The slave is a part of the master—he is, as it were, a part of the body, alive [*empsukhon ti*] but yet separated [*kekhôrismenon*] from it. (*Politics* 1255b)
>
> Thus, according to Aristotle's logic, representative or not, the slave's truth is the master's truth; it is in the body of the slave that the master's truth lies, and it is in torture that his truth is revealed. The torturer reaches through the master to the slave's body, and extracts the truth from it. . . . [T]he body of the tortured . . . on the rack, on the wheel, under the whip assumes a relationship to truth. Truth is constituted as residing in the body of the slave; because he can apprehend reason, without possessing reason. . . . Truth, *alêtheia,* comes from elsewhere, from another place, from the place of the other. (66, 68)

For duBois the practice of recovering text, testimony, and truth from the slave's body resides in other practices that place the slave body in a relation to writing and communication:

> The tortured body retains scars, marks that recall the violence inflicted upon it by the torturer. In part because slaves were often tattooed in the ancient world, such marks of torture resonate in the Greek mind with tattoos, and with other forms of metaphorical inscription. . . . The woman's body was in ancient Greece sometimes likened to a writing tablet. (69)

The marked slave's body is also the space of transcription, and used to mediate communication between citizens. "This placement of the 'epigram' . . . on the *metope,* the forehead of the slave, makes the inscription a sign. The message of Herodotus's slave was concealed by his hair, directed to a specified other, the recipient who received the slave as a vehicle for his master's words" (73). DuBois traces the relationship of the authenticating torture and communicative deployment of the slave's body to a more generalized cultural construction of truth. The recovery of truth is opposed to *lethe,* forgetfulness. Truth, *alêtheia,* emerges from oblivion and concealment:

> The dominant spatial model for the approach to truth appears to be the . . . descent into darkness and re-emergence into light. [77] [T]ruth is inaccessible in daily life, it is something hidden in darkness, something to which only the extraordinary man has access. [87] Lethe is a powerful concept referring not only to the forgetting of pain and suffering, but also to . . . being erased by time. . . . *Alêtheia* thus may have reference to . . . the truth of history, of accuracy about the events of the past, another realm, another scene. [103] The model of reading suggests a

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> known truth that resides elsewhere, if only in the consciousness of the knower, that must be brought to speech and conveyed by the speaker; at another extreme of this spatial model is the idea of truth hidden and buried. . . . [S]eeking the truth may involve a journey, a passage through a spatial narrative . . . a sinking down into the past, into the interiority of memory. This model of truth seeking is consistent with other such paradigms already suggested . . . where . . . the violence of the torturer is thought to be necessary to enforce the production of truth from the slave. . . . The slave's body is thus construed as one of these sites of truth, like . . . the underworld, the interiority of the woman's body, the elsewhere toward which truth is always slipping. [105]

This dynamic is discernable in some of the earliest episodes of testimony-giving concerning violations of core human rights: the oral and written biographies of African-American ex-slaves as staged by the abolitionist movement of the nineteenth century. According to Houston A. Baker, these narratives

> were, in great measure, extensions of the active oratorical and dramatic roles played by ex-bondsmen in the abolitionist movement. The most important presence at any public abolitionist gathering was that of the former slave. The proof of American slavery's horrendous effects could be dramatically exhibited by requesting the fugitive to turn his naked back to the audience, displaying for all to see the permanent disfiguration caused by the overseer's and the slave driver's whips. The less visible psychic scars caused by slavery could be made manifest, however, only through the vivid, thrilling, first-person oratory of the bondsman. Most authors of slave narratives had told their stories innumerable times at abolitionist meetings before committing their accounts to writing. They had to be skillful users of language indeed to convey their messages effectively at these assemblies. (10)

The fusion of linguistic performance and bodily exposure here unfolds as a rite of hierarchical observation and consequent authentication. The nineteenth century abolitionist audience, ensconced in bourgeois rectitude, clothed and relatively insulated from day to day personal violence, witnesses the slave's authentication of his/her spoken biography through the exposed and mutilated black body. The ex-slave is endowed with the status of speaking subject, but his/her logos both originates in and requires the supplement and the archive of the subjugated body. The full circuit of authentication requires not only the aural engagement, but the empathic yet objectifying gaze of the audience of removed witness.

Sojourner Truth appears to have acceded to this cultural logic of testimonial authentication in the body. In her famous "Ain't I a Woman" speech at the 1851 Women's Rights Convention in Akron, Ohio, she too resorted to the testimony of the body under hierarchical observation. According to one contemporary account:

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Sojourner walked to the podium and slowly took off her sunbonnet. Her six-foot frame towered over the audience. She began to speak in her deep, resonant voice. . . . Sojourner pointed to one of the ministers. "That man over there says that women need to be helped into carriages, and lifted over ditches, and to have the best place everywhere. Nobody ever helps me into carriages, or over mud-puddles, or gives me any best place! And ain't I a woman? Look at me! Look at my arm! I have ploughed and planted, and gathered into barns, and no man could head me! And ain't I a woman? I could work as much, and eat as much as a man—when I could get it—and bear the lash as well! And ain't I a woman? I have borne thirteen children, and seen most all sold off to slavery, and when I cried out with my mother's grief, none but Jesus heard me! And ain't I a woman?"

In *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery and Self-Making in Nineteenth Century America,* Saidiya V. Hartman documents how for any white audience in a racialized American culture, the exposure of the slave's body is invariably imbued with the aura of performance and pleasure. According to Hartman, this exposure cannot evade the "performing of blackness," and its simulation "of black will only in order to reanchor subordination" (56). For it is only through this scopic regime, the peculiar legibility of the black body in a racist order, that the testimonial of the ex-slave attains cultural intelligibility and authenticating witness in the speculum of the abolitionist meeting. For Hartman, under slavery the performative display of the slave's body is "the simulation of consent in the context of extreme domination . . . an orchestration intent upon making the captive body speak the master's truth" (38). In the abolitionist theater, the slave's body still confesses a truth about the master and displays the master's will, which was always manifested through the slave's body, whether as labor power, as token of submission, or in this instance, as a transcript of the master's violence and coercion. As Hartman states, "These performances of blackness are in no way the 'possession' of the enslaved. They are enactments of social struggle and contending articulations of racial meaning" (7). The slave's exposed body mediates between the Abolitionist and the slave master, between the witness and the perpetuator.

As in Page duBois, the abolitionist audience's recovery of the ex-slave's truth is a descending journey into material otherness, but here, in the rationalism of the nineteenth-century abolitionist movement, modern and premodern forms of witnessing and authentication converge. Does the presence of the primitivized other require this regression to older forms of authentication based in the instrumentation of the body and the virtualization of pain? And do not all recipients of terror and systemic violence partake in this projected aura of primitivization to the degree that their exposure to violence removes them, even temporarily, from the presumed civilized surround and

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subjects them to a natal alienation? For in these earlier theaters of memory and regimes of truth, we can recognize the contemporary process of recovering an archive of human rights violations from postcolonial peripheries, from closed societies, and from subjugated, vertically positioned social strata and their respective subaltern groups. We do not have to demonstrate causality to recognize a profound homology. The truth that is revealed or unconcealed from these geographies of alterity is intimately linked to its authentication in material violence—here disorderly matter is elevated to, and controlled by, lawful speech. Trauma conforms to this buried concealed truth, hidden in darkness, the "known truth that resides elsewhere, if only in the consciousness of the knower" (duBois 105). Trauma as buried truth is located in the body, in forgetfulness, in the other denied the full status of speaking subject, and in alien geography, and must be brought up to the surface in modes of exposure and display, including pain and language. The testimonial *mise-en-scène* described by Houston Baker follows this vertical descent to the body and to truth.

The ex-slave has been brought from a geography of bondage, but even in the North, in welcoming but predominately white abolitionist circles, his condition is one of natal alienation.[18] He comes from elsewhere, he is not intrinsic, he has no citizenship, he is an import from the outside. In recounting his biography of oppression, the ex-slave translates his/her body into speech, a speech that still must anchor itself in the exposure of the body, thereby enabling a gaze that descends into the body to access a past embedded and preserved in the materiality of the body. In this exposé the slave has attained an unstable and provisional subjecthood, but what type of subjecthood is this? In the context of South African colonial pictography, David Bunn dissects racially marked provisional subjecthood, explaining it as "a moment when for discursive or ideological reasons a figure is temporarily precipitated out of a background mass as though by brief metamorphosis. At the same time we are led to believe that this attention the native witness exhibits is not something that speaks of self-conscious agency" (46).[19] The testifying ex-slave still needs to support his speech by virtualizing the violence he has been exposed to in the performance of the body. His speech and truth is precipitated from the mass of the body scarred by violence. In the colonial visual culture described by Bunn, "The condition of the figure (the provisional subject), in other words, is that of the native subject as landscape, a witness soon to subside back into the primary visual ground" (46). In the slave's testimonial performance, this would be the vertical descent of subjecthood back into the primordial landscape of the racialized body in the aftermath of the giving of testimony.

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The exposure of the scarred body in the abolitionist oration stands in relation to the exposure of the slave's body as commodity on the auction block. There is a reversal of the body and speech in abolitionist testimony. From the Middle Passage, through the journey of the slave coffle to the auction block, the slave moved from language to the body, from a speaking subject to a reduced mute bodily object, to chattel property. The abolitionist performance of testimony reversed that passage, moving the ex-slave from the body to language. However, there is a median locus where these double exposures of the slave's body, its authenticating status as productive labor or as credible witness to oppression, fuse into a stereoscopic moment, a dialectical image that situates the act of witnessing and the act of violence with a common site: a subordinated subject position, and a shared specular inequity. I would suggest this stereoscopic moment still shapes the act of contemporary human rights witness to the degree that such witness simulates violence in terms of the dynamics of authentication and the fixing of a subject position.

In the nineteenth-century abolitionist meeting, the witnessing gaze still required violence for authentication, even in surrogate and virtual forms. The witnessing gaze descends into memory and the evidentiary depths of the body for biographical truth. As in duBois's discussion of Greek torture, the ex-slave's body carries, in its scarification, an autonomous truth, independent of the slave's speech, memory, or subjectivity. These days the popularized and generic aesthetic of trauma carries this burden of disfigured bodily presence in the metaphor of painful and resistant buried memory/speech. Traumatized speech is more proximate to the body and disorderly matter than non- or de-traumatized speech; traumatized speech and speech from trauma are physicalized speech scarred by the history of the body. The victim's traumatized speech is a *logos* that is retrieved through a painful and heroic descent into memory and pain, a biographical journey that culminates in language, but which is also a more materialized and disordered speech than that of the truth commissioner, mental health therapist, or audience of witness, secure in the supposedly post-violent space of observation and adjudication.

To resist archaicizing the cultural legacy of slavery is to recognize the trace of mastery and subordination in the abolitionist and more contemporary theaters of witnessing. Within the formats of legal and traumatic realism, the act of testifying out of violence both exposes often hidden oppression, and ironically replicates the relational structure of that violence pathogenically. The imago of the perpetrator and the recipient of violence is replicated in the testimonial (in)formation of the victim, and in the specular and communicative circuit established between the recipient of violence and the *ex post*

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facto audience of witness. The audience of witness and the perpetrator share the same visual culture of victimage. They both attain their subject position and relation to the victim through the display of pain, and they both use the marked body of the victim to construct memory, to restage truth. The historiography of memory is a record of reenacted horror, violence deployed to reproduce remembered or desired mastery, as much as it may be expected to produce beneficial recovery.

I stress the spatialized circuit and the differential speech that exists between the late modern human rights testimony and the audience of juridical or therapeutic witness because this relation bears the mark of typified postcolonial subject positions. I have commented on the imposition of rapid healing agendas on victim/survivors in the context of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission, though I have also indicated alternative cultures of witnessing that cut across the grain of the monophonic structure of the commission's proscenium, jural, and therapeutic formats. Many of the essays in this collection discuss the commodification of trauma/healing in certain readership markets. However, I have not yet considered to what degree the cathartic investment in healing agendas expresses the contradictions of the biographer's audience more than it describes the desires of the local chronicler of human rights violation. In his classic ethnography *Shamanism, Colonialism, and the Wildman,* Michael Taussig explores how the colonizer in Latin America sought healing from the colonized, and solicited cures from the most marginal, and sometimes almost extinct recipients of prior colonial violence: the Indian and the African ex-slave. The biography and vocation of the African and First Nation's healer in Colombian and Venezuelan shamanic traditions begin in the healer undergoing a prior violence or life-threatening illness that marks the healer and brings with its decentering the capacity to cure others. Taussig links these prior afflictions to the etiology of colonial conquest and structural oppression, and correspondingly sees the descendants of the colonizer expressing postcolonial contradiction in illness and dis-ease. The colonizer seeks emblematic victims for somatic cure and implicit historical resolution. Taussig's phenomenology describes this process as "healing through hallucinogenic creation of the anti-self" by which the "colonizer gains release from the civilization that so assails him" (327). Taussig's descriptions of socially and culturally stratified colonial and postcolonial healing resonate with duBois's description of the spatialized model of truth recovery as vertical descent, as a relatedness to spaces and personifications marked as beneath and as other. Taussig is quite clear about the possibility and fate of empathy/identification/recognition in

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this dynamic, and his discussion is apropos of human rights testimony, its therapeutic dramaturgy, and its specular theaters of witnessing:

> How often we have been told that rites enforce solidarity, bringing people together affirming their unity, their interdependence, the commonwealth of their sentiments and dispositions. But what are we to make of rites such as this wherein the Indian heals the souls of the colonist? Surely the healing here depends far more on the existence, the reproduction, and the artistry of difference as otherness and as oppression than it does on *solidarity*? . . . [Such a dynamic displays] the colonized turning back to the colonizer the underside of this hate and fear congealed in the imagery of savagery. (327)

All these unburied ghosts of domination—the slave master, the ex-slave, the abolitionist, the ill colonizer, and the curing colonized—bequeath us a countermemory of witnessing and an enchainment to violence that cannot be easily archaicized—that is relegated to a pre-human rights past. Instruments and media of authentication reappear like compulsion repetition disorder from place to place and epoch to epoch. Methodologies of truth claiming resemble a traumatic blockage wherever truth making occurs between those who are not coeval.[20] Truth claiming is historically subject to the transformations of media and modes of simulation, and yet the spatialized project of virtualized remembrance, the appropriation of others' memories, speech, and embodiment, and the use of the other as a theater of truth persist. DuBois's incisive study of fifth-century torture in Athens opens at a contemporary exhibition of instruments of torture in Rome in 1985. DuBois sees torture as emblematic of the Western civilization project's search for unitary truth, which is always somewhere else, always out of reach, and coextensive with the exportation, mounting, and display of civilizational master narratives on the figure and spaces of the other:

> Though I will write of the etymology of torture and its meaning in ancient Greek culture, I do not want to reduce it to an etymology, or trivialize it as a literary topos. Rather, I want to show how the logic of our philosophical tradition, of some of our inherited beliefs about truth, leads almost inevitably to conceiving of the body of the other as the site from which truth can be produced. (5–6)

HISTORIES WITH AND WITHOUT A SUBJECT

I propose that the biographical artifact of human rights violations is a disemic text, performance, or enunciation in so far as it carries both the marks of the perpetrator and the trace of the historical survivor not only in its inception

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but at the point of its reception, and in its modes of reception. Violence is not only written into its content, but into the action of the biography's endowment and receivership. The specter of the dyad—recipient and perpetrator—haunts every moment of witnessing, as a static nucleus or kernel that simulates antithetical subject positions at every moment of witnessing's repetition and relay. These narratives of human rights violation are testimonials to the irreconcilable. They neither refract a unified speaking subject, nor readily lend themselves to unification and instrumentation from without, despite the many orderings and reductions applied to them by law, media, and medicine. Asymmetric subject positions are not only figures within the narrative, but also are relationships inscribed into the symbolic economy of narrative transmission, response, and adjudication. The authoritative and monophonic application of a narrative closure can only instigate further asymmetric subject positions, further tales left untold, further forms of cultural violence, and further inequitable regimes of truth obtained from the condition of those who have been othered by violence.

The narrative of human rights violation is morally pathogenic because it resists and provokes all moral ends. There is both an existential and political necessity to the survivor of historical shipwreck resisting ends and final purposes. The survivor's story holds out a deferral for future historical reflexivity. The victim/survivor can never be totalized or exhaustively depicted, and resists descriptive adequacy as a necessary ethical recess. The political necessity of such an ethical reserve, deferment, and recess implies a critique of any history grounded in philosophical anthropology. Any exhaustive ideological appropriation of history's survivors should be an occasion for political wariness because of its potential to legitimate new victims and new excuses for assault and harm—to commit violence "in the name of." No ideology of just war can function without the biographical totalization of the victim—the exhaustive ideological appropriation of the victim by moralized concepts such as trauma, the fact that the term "victim" or "trauma" permits definitive representations, propels the stranded historical survivor into a condition of fiction and fetishism, and bars the discovery of other truths and other subjects. Am I asserting that it was ethically wrong to violently resist apartheid in South Africa, for example? Not at all, to the degree it was an inclusive struggle for an open-ended political subject. However, I will ask to what degree did the exclusive chartering of national community on the commemoration ground of apartheid victimage legitimize the post-apartheid regime's denial of the human rights of persons infected and affected by HIV-AIDS—a denial by a new state apparatus that greeted the pandemic with a familiar

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structural indifference once associated with the erased suffering of the victims of apartheid?

The recent wedding of historiography, archiving, and witnessing to projects of restorative justice entails instituting a proper subject of history, and thus the imposition of a master narrative, a temporal transparency, and a foreclosing anthropological limit that can exclude emerging minorities characterized by gender difference, sexual preference, and compromised immune systems. This insight, I believe, informed Foucault's critique of humanism in *The Archaeology of Knowledge*:

> If the history of thought could remain the locus of uninterrupted continuities, if it could endlessly forge connections that no analysis could undo without abstraction, if it could weave, around everything that men say and do, obscure synthesis that anticipate for him, prepare him, and lead him endlessly towards his future, it would provide a privileged shelter for the sovereignty of consciousness. Continuous history is the indispensable correlative of the founding function of the subject: the guarantee that everything that has eluded him may be restored to him; the certainty that time will disperse nothing without restoring it in a reconstituted unity; the promise that one day the subject—in the form of historical consciousness—will once again be able to appropriate, to bring back under his sway, all those things that are kept at a distance by difference, and find in them what might be called his abode. Making historical analysis the discourse of the continuous, and making human consciousness the original subject of all historical development and all action, are the two sides of the same system of thought. In this system, time is conceived in terms of totalization and revolutions are never more than moments of consciousness. In various forms, this theme has played a constant role since the nineteenth century: to preserve, against all decenterings, the sovereignty of the subject, and the twin figures of anthropology and humanism. (12)

The biographical artifact of historical horror is not the history of a single typified subject; rather, it bears traces of the relationality of violence, and as a text of mourning, the traces of the absent, the disappeared, and the dead. The biographical artifact anthropomorphizes the relationality of violence, and thus can serve as the embarkation point for an analysis of this relation, but it can only slip into further repression if allowed to languish in the rigidified form of a terminal legal, medical, redressive, therapeutic subject. For it is the fetish of petrified subject positions, dyadically polarized, subordinate to each other, imposing wholesale equity and inequity on each other, cannibalizing each other, surveilling each other, and witnessing each other in acts of empathy or retribution that crowd the historical spaces of death, and congregate in the archive of terror.

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The fetish of the subject position is what Michel Serres would identify as the para-site of the relational structures of violence. It is what we often hope to morally salvage from the wreckage of political terror, and yet the rigidified subject position of the assaulted and aggrieved can readily serve as the ontological ground for justifying and replicating renewed violence. Human rights' legal, therapeutic, and media publicity may reinstall the traumatized subject at the center of historical process, but this installation will not disinstall violence from history. To move beyond this subject-centered history, and those agendas that propose to cure, restore, and indemnify the subject, we must look past the cultural mask and historiographic screens upon which historical personhood is permitted to project itself: those surfaces and facades of legitimated juridical-therapeutic narrative. The victim/survivor can never be exhaustively represented, and historically formed personhood cannot be contained within the limits of the utilitarian subject position. The latter is almost always an institutional and ideological objectification that allows persons to circulate in history as objectified substance that can be attacked, assaulted, defaced, restored, rehabilitated, forgiven, narrated, and commemorated.

In a transnationalized, interdependent world, what is the underside of the neo-liberal project of making history transparent, of resolving the contradictions of the globalizing violence and the impinging spaces of disorder that assail the neo-liberal world view? What is the moral genealogy of extracting or eliciting testimony of the other from historical, geographical, and economic margins afflicted by this violence? Taussig's ethnography suggests colonial relatedness haunts the postcolonial projects of historical clarification and civilizational cure. For Taussig, the postcolonial curative project is entangled with a complicity in historical violence that remains tacit but unacknowledged. What are the entrenched and uncomfortable memory formations that underwrite neo-liberal humanism's own contradictions and dis-ease in bearing witness to the afflicted other? Tikka Wilson cites the following remarks from one member of Australia's Stolen Generations:

> I am not comfortable talking about myself, precisely because marginalised people are often called upon to do a kind of public confession. The others say, "If you speak to us about your personal experiences we can better understand your position." I often wonder why people from dominant groups couldn't understand my position by reflecting more on their own actions. (86)

The audience of witness places violence and its survivor before it, on front stage, and yet violence functions as the staging ground and the condition of possibility for its gaze. Authenticating auditing activates an unconscious figure/ground relation; historicized and transnational complicities of violence

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constitute the effaced ground that enables the witnessing gaze. The cultivation of the scopic regime, the visual culture of watching the performed memory and virtual suffering of the other, the gatekeeping that cultural intelligibility imposes on diverse and heterological experience, are not necessarily identical with learning self-reflexivity from people who are arbitrarily positioned as the stranded objects of history.

In a transnationalized world, the need to demarcate, through performance and iconography, disorderly political matter and spaces of death and violence from supposedly civil terrains of order discourse and rationality becomes a political ceremony. David Harvey has called this the pathologization of social space, a demarcation that creates arenas of judgment and didactic spaces of disorder. It is no coincidence that recent post-9/11 discourses on barbarism/civilization have justified military interventions on the other side of the world as humanitarian aid, and that humanitarian aid itself has been militarized and transformed into a mode of policing. In many instances the mediatization of witnessing through commissions of inquiry or electronic circulation is but the creation, replication, and enforcement of such difference, marking virtual boundaries in a world rife with political complicity, leaky ideological borders, and interspatial accountability. The erection of virtual boundaries throws up virtual figures of disorder that require *cordon sanitaire.* These historical ghosts include faceless terrorists, teenage suicide bombers, elusive masterminds of disorder like Osama Bin Laden, economic refugees and asylum seekers, and liminal victims of human rights violations—they all partake in a provisional subjecthood that is polarized to enlightenment vision and lends itself to various objectification practices. Consider the political irony, and the complete lack of coincidence, that the bodies used for recent public dissection theaters—the epitome of the enlightenment medical gaze—by the notorious Dr. Gunther Van Hagan have been exposed as being those of deceased, maltreated, and in many instances executed Chinese prisoners, whose corpses were sold by their captors.

Part and parcel of this marking of spatial hierarchy is the perceptual stratification of subjecthood and narrative efficacy. These tend to be one-sided performative strategies that promise the politically afflicted a progression to civil dignity supposedly already possessed by those who manage the rationality of jural exposure and resolution, and the magic of raising trauma to the surface. In this the Cottesloe Convention was politically correct; the witnessing of human rights violations necessitates a "*status confessionis*" from auditors as much as it does from witnesses. Disclosing the violence of removed witnessing brings the figure of the perpetrator closer to home, and with that intimacy widens the scope of moral and political responsibility,

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and more importantly widens the scope of memory-work that needs to be undertaken. Will those Western European and American governments who supported the breakup of Yugoslavia and posited Milošević as a stabilizing force in the region stand trial with him at the Hague? Will the American officials who armed Saddam Hussein sit in the dock when he is placed on trial? Will the British government abandon its neutral façade as arbiter of a peace process in Northern Ireland, and disclose its ongoing role in the production and reproduction of political terror? Where does the political intelligibility and stage of witnessing begin and end? Whether these technologies of memory can fulfill their utopian promise as empowering political technologies, as the means to create polity and community and to restore human dignity, may very well reside in a rare cultural capacity to shift the boundary lines between violence and post-violence, and to recognize and retrieve our own "traumas" of memory and self-serving dramaturgies of truth claiming and their long occlusion of history and personhood.

NOTES

AUTHOR'S NOTE: I would like to express my appreciation for the rich dialogues and thoughtful feedback provided by the various members of the Center for Religion and Media at New York University, where I first aired this paper as part of their Human Rights Workshop in March, 2004.

1. Seremetakis's ethnographic and historical study of Greek women's lamenting is a seldom cited but seminal study on bereaved practices of signification and embodied mourning that contest social hierarchies through ceremonies of truth-making. Despite her regional focus, the implications of her work extend far beyond Greece, providing an ethnographic complement to Julia Kristeva's study of abjection, though not derived from it.
2. "Hegel insists that the proper subject of such a record is the state," White writes. "When there is no rule of law, there can be neither a subject nor the kind of event that lends itself to narrative representation." Neither "historicity" nor "narrativity" "are possible without some notion of the legal subject that can serve as the agent, agency, and the subject of historical narrative" (12–13).
3. See also my discussion in *Formations of Violence* of the exigencies of collecting oral history and life history in a political emergency zone, and the relation of biographical remembering of self to fragmented embodiment in an ecology of political terror.
4. As a government minister, Dullah Omar was involved in the legislative planning of the Truth Commission, but was not involved in the implementation of the TRC or its day to day activities. As I shall discuss, though part of the official rhetoric, his views about the rapid overcoming of the past were not uniformly shared by those intimately involved in the organization of the human rights violations hearings, nor reflected in the Commission's public imagery or broad mandate.

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5. See my discussion of the sensorium of narrative and visual realism in relation to political terror in "Violence and Vision."
6. I was one of the presenters at this conference. All discussion of the inception and procedures of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission is based on my multisite fieldwork between 1996 and 2000 on the hearings and organizational dynamics of the commission. This fieldwork and analysis was funded by a series of Senior Fellowships from the Harry Frank Guggenheim Foundation for the Study of Violence and Human Aggression, 1997–2000.
7. Transparency both signified the non-secretive public functioning of the TRC itself, and the optimism of reestablishing a factual basis to South African history and polity. See the section on structural forgetfulness below.
8. See my *Formations of Violence,* in which I examine local oral history as an excluded discourse of everyday life that possessed no truth claiming status in the linguistic economy of Northern Ireland's Republican and Loyalist political culture. Through oral history research I was able to identify embodiment as the material site and everyday life-world where political violence invested its semiotic and transformative energies.
9. After Hitler's seizure of power in 1933, Protestant Christians faced pressure to "aryanize" the Church, expel Jewish Christians from the ordained ministry, and adopt the Nazi "Führer Principle" as the organizing principle of church government. The Barmen Declaration was a call to resistance against the theological claims of the Nazi state.
10. After the Sharpeville massacre in 1960, the South African member churches of the World Council of Churches (WCC) met in the Johannesburg suburb of Cottesloe to discuss human rights violations in South Africa. At the end of the week-long consultation, the delegates drafted the "Cottesloe Statement," condemning racial discrimination, affirming the legitimacy of multiracial worship, calling for an equitable justice system, and affirming the validity of interracial marriage. In the following years non-Afrikaner churches, especially the South African Catholic Bishops Conference and the SACC, became increasingly critical of apartheid, issuing numerous declarations and pronouncements about the racial injustices perpetuated by the apartheid regime. They also challenged the theology of apartheid that had been constructed by the Afrikaner churches. In 1981, the black Reformed churches declared that apartheid was a heresy.
11. For a fuller exploration of African countermemory vis à vis the proceedings and protocols of the TRC, see my essay "Strange Fruit."
12. See also my discussion of the signifying body in *Formations of Violence.*
13. Unfortunately, despite the significant presence of Muslims as witnesses, the TRC indulged in vaguely Christian symbolism and made little effort to incorporate publicly Islamic perspectives and ethics, even though Muslims were represented on the commission staff. This occurred despite the fact that between 1960 and 1992, with sanctioning from their Imams, many South African Muslims engaged in resistance activities because of their religious beliefs.
14. Stoic endurance hindered the expression of suffering by ANC activists. Most denied breaking under torture, and those that did were stigmatized and excluded from the movement as informers. Many women activists did not want to speak of violations of

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their bodies under torture and in captivity, for fear of being restigmatized by the existing gender hierarchies of post-apartheid South African society. ANC women activists demanded closed hearings in order to testify in front of the truth commission, but these were not considered successful due to lack of participation.

15. For the relation of victim biography to public mourning as a cultural/political practice, and for the extensive history of state and/or church repression of kinship-based mourning in public space, see Seremetakis, Loreaux, and Aries.
16. The camp guard's refusal to rationalize does not, however, remove rationality from the Shoah, but points to the programmed absence of rationality, of excuse, or explanation as the core administrative logic of the camp. The indifferent administration of the arbitrary is integral to the social death the camp is designed to produce on a mass scale. Indifference and the arbitrary is a mechanized effect of the camp; it defines subject positions, or rather the absence of one, for the inmate. Reason requires an intra-human recognition which is impossible in the social organization of the camp. The camp inmates' fates are to be exiled from difference and individual address: they are, as Adorno states, meant to be both finished off and leveled off as specimens. Indifference as an administrative *dispositif* is a power effect, but it should not be confused with a cosmogenesis of the Holocaust. It is not an *arche,* an origin point, nor a diagnostic metaphor that possess an exhaustive descriptive adequacy. Indifference is an administrated technical rationality that reduces the inmates to bare life, as Agamben put it. But to understand this is to understand how institutional amnesia and anesthesia is reproduced in the camps to bar history, memory, and biography from the inmates; and it is to recognize the extent to which this institutional indifference is being politically replicated in post-Holocaust state violence. Elevating indifference to a cosmological *arche* is to efface its political utilities in the present as a methodological motor of human rights violations.
17. See Alan Young, and Hacking.
18. For a discussion of natal alienation, see Patterson.
19. Bunn focuses on the inability of the colonial gaze to separate the black body from the landscape, and the inability to see black agency independent of the agency of landscape. There is a metonymic relationship between landscape and the black body that renders the latter as a negation of agency and personhood. In the context of the natal alienation of chattel slavery—that is, in the absence of natal landscape—the black body assumes this vocation of the inhibition of agency. It functions as primordial landscape in the racialized gaze.
20. For a discussion of the distorting effects of temporal stratification and asymmetry, and the resulting denial of coevalness in ethnographic dialogue and witnessing, see Fabian.

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"ON THE CUSP OF THE PERSONAL AND THE IMPERSONAL": AN INTERVIEW WITH GAYATRI CHAKRAVORTY SPIVAK

LAURA E. LYONS AND CYNTHIA FRANKLIN

In the spring semester of 2003, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, Avalon Foundation Professor in the Humanities at Columbia University, occupied the position of Citizens' Chair at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. The Citizens' Chair was created in 1965 by the state legislature to attract individuals of extraordinary scholarly and creative accomplishments to our University with the mandate that their presence would benefit both the academic and the larger communities of Hawai'i. In addition to conducting a graduate seminar, "Narratives of the Multiple Politics of Culture," Spivak gave numerous talks: "Terror" here at the university; "The Humanities in the Twenty-First Century" at the Honolulu Academy of Art; "Beyond Academe" for the Graduate Student Conference in Languages, Linguistics and Literatures; "Two Worlds Meeting: Conversations on Indigenous Issues and Settler Viewpoints" with Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa, Director of the Center for Hawaiian Studies at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa; a roundtable on film and social justice for the South Asian Studies Symposium; and several presentations on the other islands.

Although not regularly associated with the field of life writing, Spivak's work provides integral contributions to it, as evidenced by the many references to her work in this volume. A cultural and literary critic, translator, and teacher, Spivak has been at the forefront of the disciplinary formation of postcolonial studies. Her influential books range from *In Other Worlds* (1987) to *Death of a Discipline* (2003). Her interest in those parts of the world that are left out of or "jumped over" by hegemonic orders such as the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation brings to the foreground the importance of narratives that testify to the resilience of people and oppositional cultural practices. A feminist who has participated in the Subaltern Studies Collective, Spivak challenges as well as provides insights into questions of agency, authority, and representation, all of which are crucial to life writing studies. Known for

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using evocative stories from her own and others' lives, Spivak in her teaching and writing powerfully positions herself and her critical interruptions "on the cusp of the personal and the impersonal." In her recent research, Spivak has been a vocal critic of those who attempt to redress human rights abuses through "quick fix" models or glib forms of liberalism that do not adequately address the material conditions and structures on the ground. By contrast, Spivak works in rural areas of India as a self-subsidized volunteer through small local non-governmental organizations to train teachers for teaching democratic habits of mind through elementary education. Her work in these schools exemplifies the difficult process of "learning to learn from below" that is so necessary to effecting the kind of cultural transformation that has a chance of creating a more just world. She addresses these and a wide range of other issues relevant to life writing in the interview below.

* * * * *

Cynthia Franklin and Laura E. Lyons (CF & LEL): *An explicit duty of the Citizens' Chair holders is to extend their influence beyond the University and out to the larger community. Can you speak to your relationship to "citizenship" in the context of occupying this chair at the University of Hawai'i? At several points, you have remarked upon the ways in which your students at Columbia have access to certain kinds of organizations that allow them to see themselves as benevolent actors in the world. How do you see yourself using your position as Citizens' Chair to intervene or work against neoliberal notions of the "citizen" that are tied to good works and to the kind of benevolence that you critique? Do you see particular problems that you want to pose to the concept of citizenship given the uses to which it has been put in the post-9/11 political climate in the United States?*

Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (GCS): I have tried to follow the mandate of the Citizens' Chair and go beyond the academic community and provide a constructive criticism of a confidence in being able to right the world's wrongs through the euphoria of academic organization, of organizing through the United Nations, the Non-Governmental Organization activities, and so on. I have not been able to do as much here as I am able to do in New York, first of all because New York is my base, and secondly because New York has the offices of the UN and also because my university, Columbia, has a very influential school of International and Public Affairs, and an established Human Rights Center. I have students who come through who really are engaged in all this or want to become engaged in it immediately after graduation in a rather direct way. It is not possible to try to change people's minds on these issues, which are taken as given in the polity these days, as effectively in the place where one is visiting.

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Given that, I would say that in the public presentations I have made, I have tried to relate to the war as continuous with these attempts. I have tried to say that between all the benevolence of organizing away from the state and the citizens of states other than the United States, as the UN would, as the NGOs would very strikingly, and indeed as the edge of academic activism would, to try to do that however benevolently is continuous with wanting to intervene militarily in a state, saying at least, whatever the real issues, that we want to liberate the people and establish good government. And here, you see, the protesters were able to say that maybe the issue was oil, maybe the issue was fear of influence, maybe the issue was reshuffling after the supposed end of the cold war, etc. What I have been urging, and in a friendly spirit, because people who engage in the kind of work we are talking about are good, but impatient, is that perhaps these connections with global economics—maybe oil, maybe transnational agencies, etc.—actually are quite often not examined when we get into the euphoria of quick fix problem solving all over the world. I have said these things, making the connection with the war as often as I can. It does seem to me that in order to make this particular critique, the person occupying the Citizens' Chair has to have some kind of a residency requirement. You must have noticed that my brief always is to enter the other's space. So I think this particular critique—and you very astutely put your finger on it as something very close to my heart—is rather impertinent and difficult to launch successfully in a place where you haven't been that long.

CF & LEL: *You've been very critical of the ways that many NGOs engage in a certain kind of quick fix work that not only doesn't fix anything but that can actually worsen conditions on the ground for local activists. Given this critique, do you see similar kinds of problems with the work of truth commissions, human rights tribunals, South African style truth and reconciliation commissions? What value does such work have, and what do you see as the limitations of such venues for addressing past injustices that continue to shape the future? What do you see as the possible uses and dangers of human rights forums, such as the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission, and other state-sponsored and institutionalized forms of truth telling?*

GCS: The first duty is to endorse the work of human rights commissions, truth commissions, reconciliation commissions. Any criticism that I offer is in terms of the problems that sometimes are not counted in. But these days, problems are being counted in more and more. That said, yes, I do see similar kinds of problems where the idea of reconciliation by testimony and confession—a literalization of a Christian model, and we think about Bishop

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Tutu—still has the same sort of problem as, strangely enough, international Communism had—that you take a philosophical or transcendental account and you literalize it and transpose it literally onto the socius. That's how Marxism was understood by international communism, often, and that's how to an extent the expiatory bar of the Christian narrative, the confessional narrative, is understood if we take the truth commission, the reconciliation commission's philosophical underpinnings seriously, and I think there is a problem there, yes. But on the other hand that certainly does not mean do away with them! What it means is do not think of them as the last instance, frame them.

CF & LEL: *To return to your work as Citizen's Chair, while you have been at UH this semester, you have given enormous energy to a number of different audiences. Can you discuss the kinds of pedagogical, intellectual, and organizational work that this series of events has made possible for you and the various communities you have addressed? Does Hawai'i, where citizenship is complicated by a sovereignty movement that calls attention to an imposed and often unwanted US citizenship, offer particular challenges to teaching and possibilities for learning?*

GCS: In my course, the Narratives of the Multiple Politics of Culture, I think I have really been helped to rethink the issue of how one relates to cultural politics. It's too soon to give the answer but I will give a provisional answer as I feel it. Today as I was thinking, for example, on the plane back from Hilo, that the predicament of Hawai'i—as it has been so far made clear to me—is very much related to the United States on the one hand, and on the other hand, is related to a wonderful effort at the transformation of a cultural performative into performance and in this effort redesigning education. I am fortunate enough to be at this university where this is very clearly seen, so I don't know what it would look like if I were outside of the university system. But what I am trying to say is that it is very much tied up with the United States and the education system, which is designed by the US system. I think that the closest parallel to this is New Zealand, because there, too, you have a developed university system that is not US, but very much Euro-US. There again you have a relationship with an established white place, as it were. Australia is different. And, it seems to me that in my course I have been able to think—I don't know what's going to happen with it later—that the thinking of the Pacific—not just Polynesia, but the Pacific, because "Polynesia," the word itself, is more looking back toward those performatives whereas the Pacific is what I would call contemporary, not modern but contemporary. Contemporary is rather different from our slightly older ideas of tradition and modernity. And it seems to me that I have at least been

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introduced to the difficulty of imagining the Pacific. The Pacific seems to fall into each speaking for a certain cultural formation. This has been very exciting for me, because this heterogeneity is even greater than the heterogeneity of what is called the Asia/Pacific. So that's the course.

"Terror"—I must say that I'm very happy with that piece because there I tried to imagine the suicide bomber. I had to give the talk here, and I was not ready to recycle, and I was looking at my old friend Martin Luther King vis à vis Vietnam. Later I found out that this imagining resonated after the fact with his injunction to himself that he should imagine his designated enemy as a human being even if he didn't endorse what he did. Because of that, I clearly hit the other side, who did not imagine that I was following Martin Luther King. How can I be so confident? Because I happened to win the Polly Prize, which is given by the person who was appointed by George W. Bush to his Peace Institute. It is given to the academic who has made the least appropriate statement, in the entire United States! I, by resonating with Martin Luther King and asking people to imagine the suicide bomber, suddenly hit the other side, otherwise I would not have won this prize, would I have? So I am very pleased with this, because we academics, I often feel, are just kind of fluttering our wings to ourselves and preaching to the choir. But hey, this one got there. Otherwise there would not have been a prize. Am I not right? And now, therefore, it is time for me to say again and again that this is a resonance with Martin Luther King. And so, we have come to a position where Martin Luther King would win the Polly prize. That talk opens something for me. I am pleased with that. And I think that I won a certain kind of vote of confidence. Hawai'i, I have noticed, Honolulu at least, is a very politically thoughtful place. I was struck by the fact that one of the vice presidents of the university came to speak at a rally. This was really quite unusual. And so at any rate, I think that this talk, especially its kind of loose organization, was a good entry into the community here. So that's what that talk did for me. It's unfinished business, and I'm doing a lot of reading here and there in order to bring it to a proper, if I can ever bring such a thing to a proper, end, but at any rate that's work in progress.

Then "Two Worlds Meeting" was for me an extraordinary experience. My idea of entering the other's space calls for the imagination at its most active. Now, I felt that I, especially because of the fraught situation of the Native Hawaiians at the university, about which I have generally heard unilateral explanations from both sides, I felt that here as a reader what I had to do was read rather than judge. I give to "reading" an extremely powerful value. By reading I do not mean analyzing and diagnosing. By reading I mean a kind of no holds barred self-suspending leap into the other's sea, as

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it were. One must keep in mind that that's what I mean by reading when I say reading. As you must have noticed here, I always prepare for my speeches. To the extent that I didn't—I couldn't—for "Terror," I said so to the audience. And for the graduate student keynote I had prepared, when one of my colleagues in fact was surprised that I was preparing. Well, I was expected to say a few benevolent words. No, I was preparing hard for the dialogue with Lilikalā. But here, because reading, in my judgement and as I have learned from my teachers, has to be without any kind of preparation—the preparation happens elsewhere, I was "unprepared." When you encounter the text, you suspend all of that, you don't look for anything, you're sinking or swimming. It's hard to learn, but one way that you can learn it is by always being very literal, letting everything be outside the door. That's the effortfulness of reading. And so therefore for this encounter I did not prepare. I said to myself, if indeed all of this preparation for reading, teaching reading, my own learning of reading from extraordinary teachers, etc., my own attempt at reading in other areas of the world, various activities, if that practice, if that workout, has done anything to my reflexes, it'll kick in. If not, it will just be a boring thing for the audience, yeah? And so, remember when you begin that way, it's the beginning of a long thing. Reading is not a one-shot deal, at all. So, I hope that this is the beginning of a much longer encounter, and I don't mean just with Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa, whom I also like very much, who has become a friend. We have taken steps towards each other, and we talk about our mothers, it's the real thing. But in terms of this effort at reading, I'm hoping it will flower in ways that I don't know.

CF & LEL: *Can we follow up here with a question about reading, particularly as it pertains to the uses of fiction in relation to human rights work? If fiction, as you have argued in your class at UH and elsewhere, is concerned with the singular and unverifiable, how do you conceive of the possibility of fiction's advocacy in situations like post-apartheid South Africa, Latin America, or other areas where literary forms are serving to open up for discussion human rights abuses? Is the advocacy located in the fiction, the criticism, or some engagement of the two? What kind of advocacy can fiction participate in that testimony and testimonials cannot, or vice versa? In what ways does the teaching of these different genres enable or preclude a vigorous engagement with the possibility of entering into the space of the Other?*

GCS: I think I am afraid when literature is taken as opening up discussion, as you say, for human rights abuses. When you take literature as evidence, you generally abdicate the task of reading. It seems to me that if we are to treat literature as a source of advocacy, we really have to learn how to read.

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I think there are problems if literature begins to serve as evidence for human rights work. I'm not happy with that. Again, I won't censure the writing of fiction. What I'm really criticizing here is the use of fiction as evidence. Yes, because that is the denial of—and this is the same sort of problem in fact with testimony—you know there is a distinction between testimony and evidence. And so if you say that you are going to use it as evidence, you are not in fact denying legalism. What you are denying is within legalism the rigor of evidentiary practice. So I have a problem there. Of course it is a case by case thing, it is possible that someone is reading well in order to lead to consider imagining human rights abuses, but in general, what happens is you deny literature its freedoms by taking it as evidence.

CF & LEL: *To go back to Hawai'i: you've visited many schools, and whereas you are quite obviously well established in relation to European philosophy and literary and cultural studies on the Indian subcontinent, recently you have taken visiting positions in Hong Kong and now here in the Pacific. Does a change in location lead to a different research agenda, or do you find that your interests are sharpened and/or broadened but remain constant across different locations? In the conversation that you had at the Center for Hawaiian Studies with its director Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa, you talked about your desire to come to Hawai'i not for information, but to see "how things are hanging out in Hawai'i," and to get from this a kind of knowledge, a way of moving towards literacy or of learning "how the alphabet of the world is arranged." How does learning to read this part of the world help you to understand "what the Asia/Pacific jumps over"? How does it inform your thinking, and the kinds of things that you are writing?*

GCS: What the Asia/Pacific jumps over—this is interesting. I'm very interested in strategic exclusions. This is nothing new. But on the other hand, people always think strategic exclusion is of their own group and I think that's just ultimately tedious. This does not speak to me. Life is short, if people always remain completely focused on their own group, even when that group has been besieged, it seems to me that it's a problem. So I'm interested in seeing the Caribbean being jumped over, the Pacific being jumped over and in many many ways, the rest of the world now being jumped over—the new name "Bollywood" turning the longstanding underclass internationality of Hindi cinema into a simulacrum of Hollywood, for example—because of the importance of the diasporic voice. Now I'm beginning to see the issue of the Pacific being jumped over in terms of metropolitan domination and racism. And that in itself becomes important. I come to these places trying to learn this way so that I don't get taken in by easy generalizations. When you're here you hear people talking about Hawai'i as if the United States is

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thinking about nothing else. You go to Bangladesh and you feel that the United States is thinking about nothing but Bangladesh. They do think about these places in extremely murderous ways, but I think the real problem is that the general consciousness of the United States is untroubled by either Hawai'i or Bangladesh. That would be very difficult for the engaged person to understand. There was a colleague here from Malaysia, a visiting colleague, she was constantly comparing the United States and Malaysia and I think to myself, hey what you really have to think about is that the US is such a gargantuan power now, such a Goliath, it does not think about Malaysia except when it has to. You know what I mean? That is what we must fight, by joining others, not always focusing on the US.

CF: *"Jumping over" is a really great metaphor to get at that dynamic, because "Asia/Pacific" just becomes a mindless thing that really means the Rim.*

GCS: It's good, but listen, that's an American statement. Don't forget China. China is changing because of the WTO, but China is a big place. When you look at China changing it's really like another huge thing moving this way and that. India is a big place too, but India is out of this game because of the whole colonial story. It's an old story. Another thing that one jumps over is of course inner-Asia. You know, there's a quite active although slightly dated competition about who wears the trousers in the house of postcolonial theory, should it be Latin America or South Asia or yet Africa? In the postimperial world, one has to begin cultivating skills—which I don't have, and my contenders on the other side don't have either—skills to look at inner-Asia, western China, not just genocide and Tibet. Cultural genocide is graspable; thanks to the Dalai Lama there's a good deal of publicity, etc., it's a deplorable fact but nonetheless, no one's jumping over it. But this other thing, Western China, inner Asia . . . the exclusions. Why, in the Armenian film *Back to Ararat,* unrecognized by all the commentators, why does the only really canny political figure there, an old woman, why in her songs is she talking not about the Turks but the Chechens? You know what I mean? So that's where the jumping over is also happening now, as postcolonialists emote into some diasporic enthusiasm about themselves, do you know what I mean? So yes, there are many different kinds of jumping over. And when you actually address jumping over, what you have to watch out for is people telling you about how they themselves are jumped over. That's when you have to begin to think about cultural politics and not just being totally gullible. Because he who can speak of being jumped over is not as jumped over as the one jumped over.

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CF & LEL: *In your public conversation with Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa, you told an especially detailed and brilliant story about your earrings, one that illustrated how the victim can take agency through the act of giving, or of helping the benevolent helper. You also noted that this story is not one that you would tell in the classroom. You said that you would give students this same story via Marx instead. We have been struck by how effectively—both in the classroom and in talks—you use stories from your own life as a form of pedagogical instruction, and in resistance to any simple kind of identitarian politics. For example, in the dialogue at the Center for Hawaiian Studies that night, as you discussed the pieces of jewelry that you were wearing, you used the jewelry as a way of marking your relationships to various people in ways that would not have been obvious. How do you decide to illustrate a point or develop a concept through a personal story instead of through more conventional textual ways? What kinds of stories do you feel have no place in the classroom?*

GCS: One of the reasons why I put on all those pieces of jewelry had to do with my lack of intellectual preparation. A couple of days later, reading some Levinas for a colleague and friend here I was struck by a passage where Levinas says that the object man, the word in him is "man," the object man is figured at the beginning of every act of thinking. In other words, the human being is not the subject of thinking but the object of the other. So without really thinking, I had made myself a kind of show and tell because I had not prepared. I wore these earrings about which I would not tell the story in a classroom because it would become too pathetic. People are always ready to emote because it was an aboriginal woman in very dire circumstances who gave me the earrings, and it is useless. I mean it won't touch her because they will never see her. So they won't hurt her, but nevertheless, it seems to me to be an error of taste, if you like. What I was trying to say was that this turning of oneself into the agent rather than the victim, that had happened between her and me in the private sphere as it were. What Marx was about was trying to bring this transformation about in the public sphere, and since I am trying to work with the intuition of the public sphere, somehow bringing it into this arena, the example became to me more apposite as I was speaking. I had not thought it through when I was putting on the earrings. And indeed I had spoken about it once in public when I was giving a talk at the Community Service for Gays and Lesbians in New York City, which is different from CLAGS. I had spoken of the originary queerness in these places, and brought in my contact with the women. But that was a completely different argument. Here it makes sense. It is precisely the same instinct, the same or similar change if you like, but just Boishakhi coming in

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and giving me the earrings is not going to move into the public sphere. That is why the Marxian example is worth discussing. I have made very strong and careful arguments about this in terms of contacts that are invariably happening now and developing between my aboriginal students and parents of my students and myself. But I insist that they have no bearing upon the public sphere, and one must keep this in mind when one listens to NGO people or anthropologists emoting over how wonderful it is to be welcomed by these groups who have nothing. In fact, as another proof of this, in the South Asian symposium I made the point that when we talk about films affecting the public, we really do not have a good sense of what the mental furniture of the public is like. I mean there are of course, (post)questionnaires, statistics, all kinds of things, but if we are really talking about social justice, which is a nebulous thing, questionnaires will not give it to us. Statistics will not give it to us. And so I gave an example of how I had to my great astonishment found that an illiterate, somewhat headstrong, and indeed I have been told seriously socially violent person with whom I work in one of my areas had indeed claimed me as a person from his village among other migrant laborers. So clearly there was a readiness for my finding out what this member of the subaltern public was like, but I made the point that this does not move into the public sphere. One private sector volunteer by benevolent work had brought it about with one person. That proves nothing. And so how very difficult it is to have an intuition of the public, forget public sphere. Strangely enough I gave two examples in my comments. One was from this extreme end of the spectrum—the poorest of the poor—and the other one was about a rather famous diasporic filmmaker, totally at the other end of the spectrum, whom I also know. Why does one feel like saying the subaltern cannot speak? Because in that audience, nobody talked about the first example, which is much rarer, at all; whereas, the second example was not only picked up and talked to death, there were even people ready to ask why are we talking about her, and I am sitting there laughing, I said gee, I gave two examples you've picked up one and you are talking it to death, and you ask me why we are talking about this one? How about that, hello? That is the distinction between the story of the earring and the Marxian thing. In this case, the story of the earring would have taken everyone's attention, but it would have been just as much the subaltern not speaking because my point was that it does not translate into the public sphere. That wasn't so much about being autobiographical.

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CF: Actually, it really spoke to me that way though because I am reading all these academic memoirs and repeatedly the interpersonal relations people have are posited as the model for transformation in the public sphere without working out how that happens.

GCS: Exactly, and in fact it is almost impossible to bring in the intuition of the public sphere into people in an honorable way. Generally it is managed in slapdash ways that make no real effect, that produce dependency and litigious blackmail. Legal seminars, short discussions about situations where redress must be found. That is not what we do with students. So therefore that is the one area which people completely ignore, and they flash around their stories of these encounters as an immediate proof of transformation, and I think that is really grotesque.

LEL: *This term, "intuition of the public sphere," is one that you have been using in your classes and talks here. Can you say a bit more about your use of this term? Within your own work you have been critical of theorists who want to import psychological concepts like the unconscious into other cultural contexts. Does this formulation of intuition run any comparable risks?*

GCS: That's the problem with needing words, one has to use a word. I was using the word "intuition," frankly, it's a bad use, colloquially, because I didn't mean that I was going to give them instruction in the history of the public sphere—come on, these are elementary schools in extremely backward areas. So what I wanted to develop was not connected to subjectship, what I still want to develop. I was just told by someone who wants to translate me into French that the word "agency" is giving them trouble, so thank God you're at least publishing this in English. The area of subjectship is where psychoanalysis is important, but in the area of agency, which is action validated by a collectivity, institutionally validated action, we don't have that much of a problem with using colloquial language, right? On the other hand, one of the great things about psychoanalysis is that it wanted to tap the subject in order to restore social agency, and that's of course kind of fallen by the wayside in the use of psychoanalytic vocabulary without that mission, as it were. But, anyway, to go back to my use of "intuition," the word intuition there stands in for my needing to develop in the young people some kind of sense that the entire legal structure, civil structure, exists for their use. That's the intuition of the public sphere. It's an incredibly difficult thing, because of course at the moment, these structures exist for their oppression. So therefore the intuition will, one hopes, lead to real resistance rather than the shortcut that's often taken by filling these unprepared minds with just lessons of resistance. I mean that stuff can so backfire once some power has been

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gained, or if it hasn't been gained, it becomes a kind of litigious blackmail, dependency and so on.

Now public sphere, as I said, my idea is very simple here. Simply that the citizen is the owner of the state and the civil society. That's the idea of the public sphere, that all redresses are not confined to the private sphere of the community, completely oppressed by everybody around them. And the reality doesn't match up to it, but one hopes that the attempt at educating—I'm very depressed right now because, you know, it's hard to undo centuries, millennia in this case, of oppression—but I thought there was one student among all the eleven schools who, I was not sure, because this is very slow work, with no ascertainability, who might have been susceptible to this kind of work. I mean I've known her now for many years. But she died last month of encephalitis. I had really hoped that something was passing there between her and me, that she would be the one who would finally say, "why are you here?", you know what I mean? But there's been a setback. When people think that it's just, you go there, you give a building, you put in teachers, they're all sitting down, they have books in their hands, or you give them technology, that is a fool's dream or a knave's ruse. So that's where this comes from.

LEL: *In your teaching and research in the last several years, you have been turning to Levinas and Klein, who typically have not been at the center of literary theory and criticism. What do you find in these two thinkers, and how do they help you think towards ways of entering the space of the other? In connection to this question, how do you think about the concept of the "conscience"—Levinas's engagement with questions of ethics and Klein's interest in the development of conscience in young children?*

GCS: Okay, why am I interested in Levinas? At first I had come into Levinas through Derrida. Levinas was there as material that I had to read. Derrida's engagement with Levinas began in the 60s with "Violence and Metaphysics." And it has continued. Now, my work with material which relates to the Bhakti tradition, in practice rather than as a scholarly enterprise—I'm not an Indianist—it has led me to the thinking of the subject as object figure, which is the most interesting part of Levinas. And in the Western context it is Levinas upon whom I can call, to find this intuition without getting into religion. Now people like Alain Badiou have read Levinas too quickly and have decided not only that Levinas is only religion (which one can perhaps see why), but that Derrida's interest in Levinas makes Derrida, in the latest phases, only religious and therefore against secularism and against the thinking of ethics and secularism. This is very dangerous. In my own life, confronting my

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role as part of the majority in India, and also confronting my role as resident alien in the United States, the need to think secularism with an intuition of the transcendental, which is not identical with religion, makes me extremely cautious about such thinkers as Badiou, who privatize the transcendental, and think the secular as completely the binary opposite of what they think of as religion. And it seems to me that that difference, which comes out of early Christianity, is not one that will travel if one looks at today's world.

Now as for Klein, the reason that I use Klein is because of the development of reparation in children. You know Klein does not have an evolutionary narrative, so to an extent she is also talking about grown ups, although she worked with children. She engages sexual difference without any kind of nervousness. Klein was before the feminist debates about biologism. She engages sexual difference as a semiotic field, as a kind of originary site of semiosis, ethical semiosis, where with a plus and a minus, the human subject begins to construct the ethical mechanism with permissible narratives. This is interesting for me because I'm a feminist and because I'm interested in the development of ethics, and in terms of my life, this is the area where life and work—in fact this is true in general for me—that life and work interest merge. I mean I can't really say that there is a separate compartment for my work which my life does not inhabit. If anything that's both my strength and my failing. I mean my scholarship sometimes gets sadly depleted because it's so filled with life things, you know what I mean? On the other hand, I am not a memoirist. I will never in fact write my memoirs because my life becomes a representative text rather than just me expressing my uniqueness and so on. So that's my interest in Klein. As a feminist ethical thinker, you know, this is a very important crux, where ethics and sexual difference are brought together as a semiotic project.

CF & LEL: *Although you are opposed to writing your memoirs, you do use autobiography very powerfully. In general, what do you see as being the possibilities and limitations of using autobiographical moments as a teacher and a critic? How does this work for you as someone who has "star status" in the academy? How has your use of autobiography shifted or changed over the course of your career, and also in relation to the contemporary academic star system and its fascination with the personal lives of "academic stars"? How would you position your use of autobiography in relation to the outbreak of academics writing their memoirs?*

GCS: I think autobiography is a dangerous tool, even as I think all work everywhere is autobiographical. You know, you have to resist the autobiographical impulse depending upon what it is you are doing. If you are doing

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mathematical physics, you kind of frame it in a different way. But I am sorry that stories about my own experiences creep into my writing a lot. I have tried very hard to theorize this, and I have for a long time tried to point out that I treat my situation as a kind of representative situation rather than a situation of unique detail. But even that is not enough, because the line between sheer narcissism and using one's own experiences in a representative way is kind of thin. You know, a young woman criticized my treatment of the Rani of Sirmur in a pretty savage way, saying that it was more about me than about the Rani of Sirmur. And it made me think, you know, in a certain way it was, because I was talking about how I could or could not retrieve the Rani. But nonetheless, one should think about this. I think it was a senior graduate student from Emory, who gave a paper at a conference. I wasn't there, but someone gave me the paper, and it was really quite unnerving. But at any rate, in my two most recent works—they haven't even been published, so I should say work in progress—*The Other Asias* as well as *Red Thread*, in *Red Thread* I give scrupulously the occasion for each article. I have a general theme. I take Gramsci's remark about the organic intellectual being a permanent persuader and try therefore to endure what cannot be cured. I think my style has become set somewhat in this, and so I have to be vigilant constantly. In the other one, *Other Asias,* I try to relate my work to the genre of the familiar essay, which does use personal detail. I don't really think that the details I give have to do with my change over the course of my career or details about academic stars. No, in fact, if you look at the details, you'll see that they are not personal revelations.

CF & LEL: *We notice the frequency and seriousness with which you identify yourself as a teacher; we also have been struck by how often you mark the anxieties that accompany teaching and its various responsibilities. You regularly put deconstructive pressure on the various ways in which others might identify you (for example, as a woman from the third world, as a South Asian, as a feminist). "Teacher" seems to provide a way of naming yourself that counters the identitarian ways in which others name you. Do you see your identity as a teacher, which can name a function or associate you with an institution, as one that you also strategically deploy?*

GCS: "Teacher." See it is not so much strategically deploying. I think for me at least the idea of teacher has been one that allows me to do that jumping into the other's space. I don't really think—and I know that you are going to be profuse in your objections, but I know what I am saying when I say that in my own judgement I am not a very good teacher because I lose my students when I get very excited about something, and I have to pull myself

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back. It can be a good thing if the students are told this and if they can manage to renegotiate the contract. Sometimes they have been able to do it, but sometimes it is too difficult. You know, I tell them this can happen. So that when I am most taken by what I am doing I can leave you behind. And what you should do is stop me. But that is not a good way of being a teacher. You should know how to temper yourself. So I am at the mercy of this role. The reason why I quite like it is because it is a position without an identity, because it is defined in terms of the class. It is defined in terms of class, the subject, the institution, the others who are also teaching. It is truly a flexible kind of shifter. There are many people who are teachers at this institution. You are a teacher. I am a teacher. You know what I am saying? So from that point of view, when the student is looking at us sometimes they are seeing commonality. There are many faculty sitting there. And my students have said it is very scary to make the oral presentation with all those faculty people sitting in the classroom. And so "all those faculty people" right? And so therefore, in terms of identity, it has the same problem that the concept of identity does, about which I have written, that it is based on *idem,* it is not something that belongs to you. What I also like is what teacher brings with it, which is student. I have found it very powerful that in the class what really happens—and I have thought about it later, I mean I don't think about it when I am teaching, or you don't think about it when you are teaching, or Cindy doesn't think about it when she teaches I am quite sure—but what happens is that this strange identity called student which does not allow all the individual specificities to disappear but puts them under erasure begins to take over. That is a very powerful and wonderful thing. That is what keeps our professional ethics in place. I am always very disturbed by male colleagues who sleep with their students, in spite of what Foucault says about doctors, this is the other side. It would be like a doctor taking advantage of you. Doctor after all does mean teacher, doesn't it? And it seems to me that that position called student has plenty of erotic charge within it. I mean one who remembers Socrates and Alcibiades knows that it has. But it is on the cusp of the personal and the impersonal. It is a grand thing, really. And you know when generations of students pass and there is this most personal of relationships and yet it is not personal, it actually shows one the nature of human relationships in general. That is I think what the classroom teaches me, and this also brings with it a certain kind of philosophical impersonality which a student searching for discipleship finds unnerving. So it is as if the classroom instructs me.

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CF & LEL: *How does your attention to teaching as strategic relate to your sense that teaching and the classroom are sacred, or close to the sacred? Strategy seems to involve a space of negotiation and reason, whereas the sacred seems more to do with ceremony, ritual, and faith.*

GCS: Sacred. Teaching as sacred. I used the word "sacred" in this sense in the afterword to *Imaginary Maps,* sacred as a name for the wholly other. You are quite right to bring in the question of ritual and ceremony and so forth. Again and again I am saying that strategy fails me in the teaching situation, so that I am more at the mercy of the teaching situation than someone who is planning moves. I make lesson plans and so on, and those of course I can follow as anybody can. But the element in teaching which I am calling sacred is the element where, and everyone senses this I think to some degree, this is taken away from you. And so I feel that when it is taken away from you, and I mean this quite seriously, and you are thinking of other human beings in the room, and you know the phrase that I have used so often, uncoercive rearranging of desire, which you don't do, how should I put it, which you don't do deliberately. Forget intention. The intention is of course there. But you cannot uncoerce deliberately. It is a situation where the otherness of the other, the mysteriousness of the other, because whatever you are saying you are hoping like hell that it is working on these very different psychic machines, so many of them, you know. And you don't know anything about what is getting through. You can only try in the dark. It really is a glimpse of the wholly other that one gets, as far as I am concerned, more than in designated places where the wholly other has been transcendentalized and named. That is why I call it sacred, not in any kind of ceremonial, ritual invocation of the sacred.

CF & LEL: *We appreciate the ways that you have arranged through your position as Citizens' Chair to bring other scholars to UHM: Ritu Birla, Teema Ruskola, Mark Von Hagen, and in noting that some of these visitors have been former students, we wonder if you want to comment on the particular satisfactions and pleasures in inviting former students to teach alongside you and to present their work as guest lecturers?*

GCS: Ritu was the only one who was a former student. Everybody seems like former students because I have such a kind of boring teacherly manner. But yes, it is wonderful, You know I have this foundation for rural literacy, but my take on rural literacy is rather different from the NGOs. My Board of Directors is composed of old students. Since I have been teaching from 1965, I have students who are well-placed people. But my criterion has been who among these will be able to swing with my idea of how to suture intuition

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of the public sphere, by learning the lineament of the compromised culture on the ground, of the oppressed culture, you know, which is not cultural information. You know you don't go there and ask them to tell you about their worshipping techniques and how do they marry, etc. It is not like that. It is some other thing. It is that reading. So I have students who I feel have learned this, and they are on my Board of Directors. That is really genuinely working alongside because I hope that they will continue this when I am dead. So that is the answer to that question. Easily given. Great fun.

CF & LEL: *Many of your theoretical formulations get picked up and used more loosely in contexts different from the specific ones you've discussed, especially since you have this flair for formulating phrases that are marvelously aphoristic. An example would be the ways that you have had to work against the misappropriation and misreading of "strategic essentialism." As your last answer suggests, you are committed to the necessity of doing the patient and painstaking work of "learning to learn from below." Could you elaborate on this concept, and perhaps discuss how it is or is not appropriate to models of learning in the classroom? Would you want to reserve the concept for a very particular learning situation? How does "learning to learn from below" relate to seeing how things hang out?*

GCS: I deplore my tendency to form aphoristic expressions. Because they really do get picked up, and people really do say "We are doing this." I have taken of late to not using any recognizably theoretical words at all, and it is very alarming for the students I am sure, who think what, Gayatri Spivak has become non-theoretical? It isn't so. I am somewhat less precise because I cannot use the theoretical words. But I don't think it matters in the classroom situation. On the other hand, all teachers don't stop, right? So I had on Thursday two smart students who wanted me to explain something I had said in class about capital freeing gender. And so I really took trouble and I talked to them very slowly and very carefully for about half an hour explaining what it was. And then at the end of that, I asked, well now have you understood what I was trying to say? Give me a little feedback. And one of them came up with, out of fear perhaps, two sentences full of theoretical gobbledygook, and my heart sank. And you know I asked, what does semiosis mean then? Not a clue, not only not a clue but also describing something that would be completely denied by even the most commonsensical perception of how language works. So it seems to me that it is not just my aphoristic tendencies, I think we have done something to students by being the way we are that they just actually kind of float on waves of this sort of theoretical stuff which doesn't ever touch ground. It just seems to me to be a very sad thing indeed, and on the other side, there is this kind of complete small "p" positivism of

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the social sciences. Which is why, to come back, I was sad that the linguistics and language students did not come to the Languages, Linguistics, and Literatures Graduate Conference keynote. How can one teach and unteach at the same time in the classroom, because that is what one would have to do. Someone said to me the other day, that one of the reasons I am difficult is because I make a statement and immediately counter with possible objections to the statement, and so therefore the lecture becomes very painful to the listener. And I think there is some truth in that. But it is because in the classroom I feel afraid that what I say will get picked up as a simulacrum of the way things are, or Spivak said, which immediately makes me want to unteach. That is also like the helplessness in the sacred.

You don't really know what you are going to do with that which you are teaching. In fact, a very unhelpful tendency I see in my students all over the world is to quote something and treat it as just simply evidentiary simply because it is quoted from somewhere. They don't read what they quote, and it seems to me that relates to this picking up on expressions, etc. So, I just don't know what to do about it. I think in the long run, teaching will become more and more difficult, to end with my theme song, as the humanities are trivialized more and more. I think distant teaching is bad news, because the kinds of things that can be taught in distant teaching are all simply content related and what one really needs to concentrate on is the saying rather than the said, immediately. This is even true about the production of statistics. This is true about the production of the kind of unexamined and uninformed benevolence that the discussion began with. This is true about taking for granted certain kinds of generalizations about the state of the world and the obligation of the citizens of rich countries. These axiomatics nobody will have the imagination or the suppleness of the intellect or the courage to understand and confront as the body of teaching becomes more and more organized by distant teaching so that our teaching is evaluated, numerically evaluated, in ways that will allow teaching itself to disappear. And I think that is a very sad and dark day that we are looking forward to. I think with the disappearance of another couple of academic generations behind me, people will not even know that this is a problem. It is like the complete lack of mourning that we have had for the destruction of the museum in Baghdad, or the library, as people are jubilant about people coming back. And I am not even talking about American triumphalism. I am talking about quite understandable jubilation about people coming back. I keep thinking about Shelley when he talks about what would have happened if certain poets had not written, as opposed to certain thinkers, and he says in a rather scary and sinister way that some millions of people would not have

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died and so on, but you know he had an upper class confidence to be able, even as a revolutionary, to get away with saying literature is worth more than social engineering. Poetry, with a capital P in this sense, is worth more because people die anyway. And I am not certainly wanting to be as aristocratic as old Shelley, but nonetheless the absence of mourning for this irreparable loss has struck me, and it is related to what I think we are talking about.

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LAND, LEADERSHIP, AND NATION: HAUNANI-KAY TRASK ON THE TESTIMONIAL USES OF LIFE WRITING IN HAWAI'I

CYNTHIA FRANKLIN AND LAURA E. LYONS

Haunani-Kay Trask is descended from the Pi'ilani line of Maui and the Kahakumakaliua line of Kaua'i. A professor of Hawaiian Studies at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, Trask served as director of the Center for Hawaiian Studies for nearly ten years. During her tenure as director, she played a primary role in the building of the Gladys Brandt Kamakakūokalani Center for Hawaiian Studies. Trask is the author of *Eros and Power: The Promise of Feminist Theory* (1984). Widely read and taught in Hawai'i, the continental US, and throughout the world, her collection of essays, *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai'i* (1993; reissued in 1999) is a foundational text for those interested in indigenous rights. Equally important is the award-winning documentary film *Act of War: The Overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom* (1993), which Trask co-wrote and co-produced. A poet whose work explodes with anger, profound beauty, and eroticism, Trask has published *Light in the Crevice Never Seen* (1994) and *Night Is a Sharkskin Drum* (2002). Her work as a scholar and activist is featured in the CD *Haunani-Kay Trask: We Are Not Happy Natives* (2002).

Trask's activism on behalf of Native Hawaiians and other indigenous groups extends beyond her writing. A founding member of Ka Lāhui Hawai'i, the largest sovereignty organization in Hawai'i, Trask is a foremost leader in the Hawaiian sovereignty movement. Since 1986, she has anchored and produced *First Friday,* a monthly public access television show spotlighting cultural and political issues important to Hawaiians. She has represented Native Hawaiians at the United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Peoples in Geneva, and at numerous Indigenous gatherings in Samiland (Norway), Aotearoa (New Zealand), Basque Country (Spain), and Indian nations throughout the United States and Canada. In 2001, she went to Durban, South Africa to participate in the World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance.

As Trask reflects on the Hawaiian struggle for sovereignty, she also provides insights into popular forms of testimony that often go unrecognized as such, and she does so in a way that brings together theory and practice.

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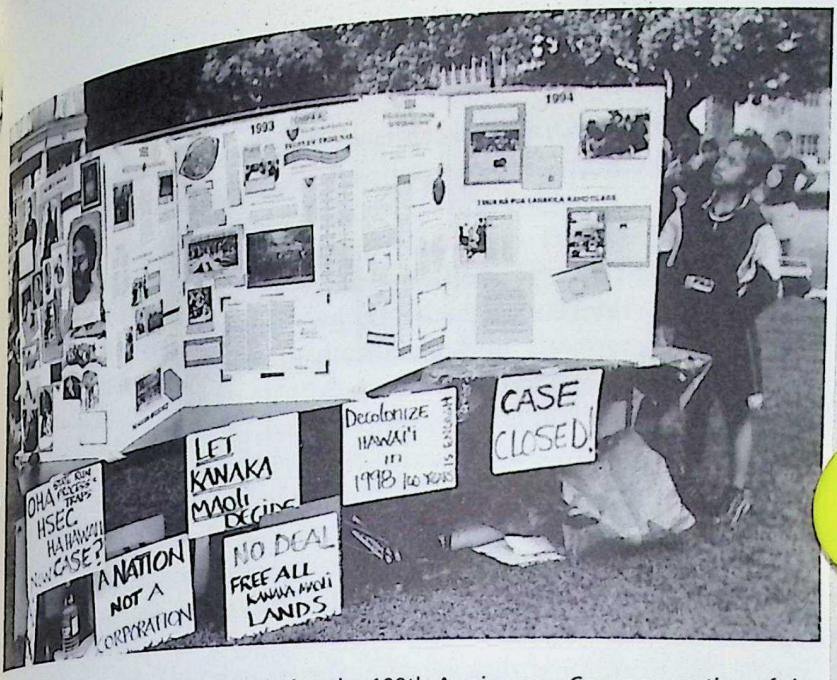

Display by Leandra Wai at 'Iolani Palace during the 100th Anniversary Commemoration of the 1898 Annexation of Hawai'i. Photograph © and reproduced by courtesy of Ed Greevy.

Cynthia Franklin and Laura E. Lyons (CF & LEL): *Could you talk about the role that testimony and/or forms of life writing have played in the struggle for sovereignty at various moments? We have particular events that we would be interested in having you respond to. First, can you describe the petitions that Hawaiians signed in 1897 opposing annexation, and discuss how important the recovery of them has been for Native Hawaiians? In other words, can you discuss the importance of these documents as a form of testimony, both at the time they were signed and presented to the US government and their significance now?*

Haunani-Kay Trask (HKT): Several years ago, I realized how Noenoe Silva's work in recovering the anti-annexation petitions would change the way Hawaiians looked at contemporary sovereignty.[1] At the time, many Hawaiians were undecided about sovereignty: should they support the sovereignty movement which, for most of them, meant a move away from supporting the Democratic Party—i.e., the dominant political force—or should they wait and see? The petitions moved a lot of unaware or indecisive people toward supporting the sovereignty struggle. The growth of the sovereignty movement, its acceptance by many Hawaiians beyond the activists, was given added strength by the petitions. Of course, my parents' generation already

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knew about our people's resistance, like my grandfather on my father's side and my grandmother on my mother's side, whose names are on the petitions.

Then statehood changed everything. The political focus was on the Democratic Party gaining ascendancy over the Republicans. The past—the overthrow, the petitions, the political resistance to American annexation—was eclipsed. Although I grew up in a very political family—my grandfather, David Trask, was a Territorial Senator for two decades—I learned nothing about our Native past—including the petitions—when I attended St. Ann's in Kāne'ohe and Kamehameha in my high school years. The movement against the Americans, and specifically against annexation, was never, ever mentioned, let alone studied, in school.

This historical amnesia was intentional, of course. Education is one way for governments to indoctrinate their citizenry. For our colonized, mis-educated generation, the petitions revealed how unified—in truth, unanimous—was our nation's opposition to the United States and to annexation—from the royal family on down to the rural *maka'āinana.* Today, our quest for self-determination is rooted in that time, takes its sustenance from that national resistance.

But first came the process of historical retrieval.

When a group of us began research for the film *Act of War,* we had to unearth the primary sources, like the magnificent Blount Report, written by President Cleveland's emissary sent to investigate the overthrow and the complicity of American Minister Stevens, and the American troops, in the taking of our sovereignty.[2]

My Uncle Arthur knew the Queen. He was the oldest of the Trasks. He just recently died at the age of 96. Fortunately, he gave me an original copy of the Blount Report with this magnificent old-fashioned handwriting, saying, "And here you are, the next generation." He stepped right out of the pages of history, literally. I was stunned to learn that he had known our Queen, indeed, had done some work for her as a young man.

The petitions not only gave legitimacy, an anchor, to the sovereignty movement. They gave an excitement to what we were doing and the path we were on. It was thrilling to search for the names of our *'ohana* (relatives) and find them, indeed to find that all of our *kūpuna* (elders) were opposed to annexation. The physical process of retrieval meant searching for family names. If some of us couldn't find our genealogical names, we were likely to wonder "What happened?" My students would ask parents or grandparents, who didn't previously want to say anything. All of a sudden, my students are talking to *Tūtū,* who becomes very animated and wants to talk with the *'ohana* about the pride of having officially resisted through signing petitions.

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I remember when I found my grandmother's name from Hāna. I was shocked. She had a fourth grade education. She raised eleven children. She was alone, because her husband had been murdered when she was carrying my mother, the last of their children. She had a little taro patch—in those days, everybody did. My mother said the people had to sign petitions in one place. So the officials went by boat from Wailuku to Hāna to collect signatures from the people.

I hadn't heard any of this before. Not when I was growing up, nor when I came back from college. In thinking about your question, I recalled the many significant political events I had never known about as I was growing up. Then, by asking people about such things, and hearing them say, "Oh, yeah, we were involved in that," or, "yes, your grandparents were involved," another world, a world of Native resistance, is revealed.

My parents' generation rarely talked about the overthrow, and forced annexation. I think they probably decided that our future, that is, their children's future, depended on looking ahead, not recalling the past. They had worked hard for Statehood, particularly my grandfather, David Trask, Sr., who had been a Territorial Senator and the Sheriff for two decades. He was a stalwart Democratic Party member. In fact, he helped to found the party. He was also a long-time proponent of statehood. He knew, as did the rest, that statehood meant the ascendancy of the Democratic Party, and therefore, of Hawaiians and the non-*haole* population in general.

Nearly forty years after statehood, when the centennial of the overthrow is both commemorated and deplored, the petitions once again surface in 1997, and Hawaiians reconnect with an era of resistance against the United States. They search for family names to establish their linkages to Hawaiian patriots, and thereby their family's opposition to becoming Americans.

Among other things, this kind of historical retrieval demonstrates the power of testimony: the linking of generations, the mapping of resistance, the evidence of our own past through our own recording of it.

The storytelling that came out of people recognizing that Hawaiians had signed petitions started a whole new *moʻolelo* ("story" in Hawaiian). A retelling began. For example, I'd see somebody who'd say, "Hey, I saw your tūtū's name on the petition. I know your family from Hāna." Then we'd start to talk about where we came from and how we were related, even if not by blood, then by *ahupuaʻa*, the indigenous land tenure system. That generated more stories, say, when their family met the "pigs," which is the PGs [Provisional Government]. They might say, my *tūtū* did this, or got up and walked away from them, or something that suggested a kind of resistance to the *haole* who stole our government.

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For us, resistance at the overthrow was part of the *mo'olelo*, the long story of resistance from contact, including the ongoing resistance today. We join each other in resistance through speaking about it, even though we're not talking about ourselves but about our parents and our grandparents. For Hawaiians, that's important, because the behavior of the older generations confirms and supports our resistance today.

When we started the sovereignty movement, lots of Hawaiians were very afraid of it, especially the *kūpuna*. They thought our behavior would bring down the wrath of the ruling political parties. That would mean more suffering as a result, more evil. Because we were young, and the young think of what to do, rather than what it will cost to do it, we didn't really care about the wrath or anger of non-Hawaiians. We were the injured, the ones who had a claim to anger and to the justice that would heal it. Today, our students, who could be our children, actually a bit younger, are also looking for our Native history that has been suppressed because of the overthrow. And so, each generation adds to the historical recovery.

CF & LEL: *We also are interested in how you think sovereignty has been forwarded by accounts of activists such as George Helm and Kimo Mitchell who were lost at sea in March 1977 during an attempt to occupy the island of Kaho'olawe. These activists were part of the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana (PKO), which in 1976 carried out a series of occupations of this island which had been taken over by the US military at the start of World War II and then placed under the authority of the Secretary of the Navy by Executive Order in 1953.*

HKT: I was very active in the PKO, but I didn't come home from college in time to have met George Helm and Kimo Mitchell. They had just recently gone missing—at the time I returned home. It's a curious story because Emmett Aluli, founding member of PKO, was my mother's doctor when I was planning to return home. She had had breast cancer surgery and Emmett Aluli had been her doctor. She would write to me in Wisconsin, enclosing packets of clippings on the Kaho'olawe landings. She kept asking: "Are you coming home? When are you coming home?"

Dissertations are not something easily explained to people who think you've been away too long. They think, correctly, that school goes on and on. They want to know if you are ever going to get a job and grow up!

So I finally replied that, "yeah, I'm coming home." I returned in 1977. Of course, one reason for that date was my desire to get involved in PKO. I had been in Madison for ten years; had been part of the anti-Vietnam war student movement, of the Women's Studies struggle on campus, of the

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Black Studies struggle. But it was time to come home and re-join my fami-
ly and write my dissertation.

My father had died while I was away at school. Something I regret to this day. These life changes put you in a different mind. So I had a talk with my adviser, Booth Fowler, and asked him what he thought about my going home. I was very fond of him, still am. I trusted his judgment, so I said "Do you think I could write this dissertation at home?" And he answered, "Dissertations are written all over the world. If you don't go home, your heart will be there and your mind will be here—just go home and write it." With his blessing, I was on the plane instantly.

I came home in 1977—the first landing on Kaho'olawe had been in '76. And Walter Ritte and Richard Sawyer were in prison, and I thought: I'm here, now what? You know, feet first, let's go.

I became a grant writer for the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana, which I had a planned to do since I was interested in contributing to the legal team. But as Emmett Aluli and I were strategizing, we realized that getting arrested was no longer helpful. Leaders like George Helm and Kimo Mitchell were missing, presumed dead. Others, like Walter Ritte and Richard Sawyer, were in prison. Neither Emmett nor I thought more arrests and imprisonments would help. In truth, I thought they would only hurt us, taking away more leaders, or disappearing them altogether. Of course, I was criticized. Some 'Ohana members said, "Oh, you see what happens when you spend ten years getting your Ph.D.? Now, you're not going to be arrested. Why do you think you can prevent us from landing and being arrested?"

I answered that we were addressing a strategy question, not a personal commitment issue. It was simply the wrong path. To me, getting arrested depleted our ranks. It didn't stop the bombing and we lost valuable, young leaders.

I decided to concentrate on moving our Federal lawsuit against the military. I went to see our pro bono lawyer, Boyce Brown. He told me he didn't have enough time, with all the rest of his paid work, to give the lawsuit his full attention. He knew the lawsuit could be a path-breaking avenue if we had a full-time attorney taking it on.

Boyce suggested I call Cynthia Thielen. She was an older woman who went to law school after she had her family. She wasn't only mature, she was incredibly sharp, enormously energetic. At the time, she was studying for the bar, and told me: "I'll call you back if I pass." And so she did. Meanwhile, I raised money through a grant to pay her salary. And the rest is history. She went into the 9th Circuit Federal Court and got us access. Ironically, it was her first appearance in court. Legal access changed the whole nature of the

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struggle. The cost of occupying the island meant civil disobedience, prison, or death. So, I kept saying to Emmett Aluli, the leader of the 'Ohana, that legal access was imperative. He replied, thoughtfully: You get us legal access.

Because the 'Ohana had been trying for months—after Walter and Richard were in prison—to get legal access, Emmett wanted me to pursue whether, and if, I could get it, in my own way. In the past, the courts had said no. But once we got the lawsuit off the ground, the judge awarded us access.

Legal access was the beginning of the end for the military. The media came over. The military couldn't deny them access, since we were allowed, and because the press argued it was a matter of their freedom to cover the news! Once on the island, we all saw how the military had been lying about what actually went on over there. You know, the usual lying military, the same as with the Stryker Brigade now. They said, for example: "We are taking great pains to protect the historic sites." But they weren't doing a thing to stop erosion of the sites, or direct bomb hits, or anything! In truth, they were destroying the land, the sites, the water table, the surrounding seas, the endangered species, everything. The press accompanied us, covered the entire access in living color on the evening news. And for once, the media was on our side! They couldn't help but be on our side, all they had to do was film the island for all to see.

The end to the bombing was such a public issue that it even became pertinent to the presidential race with the first Bush. There was a narrow contest for a Congressional seat from Hawai'i. The Japanese American woman who was running for Congress, a Republican, Pat Saiki, didn't get elected. But she gave the Democrats a real scare. So Bush, the other Bush—there are so many Bushes—called a halt to the bombing in the hopes of swinging the Hawaiian vote to Saiki. She lost, by a slim margin. But we had won because the bombing was stopped.

Now regarding George Helm. In my analysis, he and the others who were arrested—Walter Ritte, Richard Sawyer, Emmett Aluli, and the rest—changed the possibilities of acceptable political praxis. Hawaiians, at that time in our history, did not support breaking the law. Like many subjugated people, Hawaiians were fearful of the consequences of breaking the law. So, it was generally considered bad behavior, something likely to get all of us in worse trouble than we were in. But not only did George and the others break the law, they inspired more Hawaiians to do the same, or to feel badly if they didn't. That reversed the idea that all arrests are bad, either in terms of strategy or of public disapproval. To be arrested in the name of protecting the *'āina* became an acceptable risk. If you loved the land, if you were Hawaiian, you had no excuse to merely sit and watch the military bomb the

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island. You could see the bombing from Moloka'i, you could even hear it! That's what George made them think about. The young wanted to occupy Kaho'olawe. The older generation, our *kūpuna,* supported them. Eventually, after five landings, jail time for many, and a precedent-setting lawsuit, the bombing was halted.

I'm proud to say I was the one who suggested we bring the *kūpuna* and parents on the first legal landing. We brought Mrs. Helm, Mrs. Ritte, and Mrs. Aluli. That was my exhilarating moment, because nobody had considered inviting the mothers.

Of course, it was the mothers who stayed with the struggle, the mothers who came to meetings. Always, the mothers. And nobody thought of inviting them. But I did. We flew them over to Kaho'olawe. The rest of the team came on boats. We have pictures of them sitting together and talking; they were so excited. We also did memorials and offerings to George Helm and to Kimo Mitchell. The mothers were critical: they served as guides because they were elders. Not guides in the sense of guiding us around the island, but spiritual guides, those who give strength and deep love to all of us in struggle.

Resistance entails suffering. The sacrifice required to engage in resistance —whether by organizing, or by demonstrating, or by breaking the law—is enormous. Usually it's the family who worries, because they care about you and want you to be safe. Then, it's friends of the family. Then, classmates, or community supporters. Everybody supports sacrifice in theory, in talk, but they hesitate when it's people they know, or they care for, and are afraid for. It's a basic human reaction, to fear for our loved ones. Sacrifice makes you both sad and buoyed in the struggle. The recognition by our communities of our sacrifice enables individual Hawaiians to experience a collective connection that is the basis for our existence as a nation, a people, no matter the level of diaspora, of media assault, of colonial oppression.

This brings me to obligation. Once you see somebody else engage in political work for the nation, you realize your own obligation to contribute. George and Kimo's sacrifice generated a larger sense of obligation to carry on what they began. That feeling of obligation to the *lāhui,* the people, is part of our Hawaiian cultural heritage. We are the only people in Hawai'i who have that ancestral obligation to the land and the people.

Through Kaho'olawe, our generation began to speak to the previous generations, and to our own generation. Just recently, Emmett Aluli was honored by all these Hawaiian dignitaries and institutions, including reactionary entities like the Kamehameha Schools and OHA [Office of Hawaiian Affairs]. It made me smile to see Emmett honored. I was thinking way

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back when I joined the PKO of how people would say, he's a doctor, why does he do this? But now he's one of the establishment's heroes. He's passed into history. In the end, obligation must override opposition to resistance.

CF & LEL: *Another context that you might address is the International Tribunal held in Hawai'i in 1993 in an attempt to hold the US accountable for crimes against Native Hawaiians and the occupation of these islands.*

HKT: The International Tribunal was a kind of miracle. I show the film of it to my students, because time passes so quickly, they know nothing about it. The Tribunal left a record, always important to our history. Because of the Tribunal, we had international jurists lending the proceedings an official status. These were people expert in their own fields. They passed judgment on the United States, finding it guilty on all counts of invading and annexing our independent nation. That aided our struggle, which resulted in the Apology Bill.[3]

It's important that we have a written and filmed record of the Tribunal. Historical memory and retrieval depend on it. I think of my nephew, who is seven. As he grows up, he will see that tape on public access TV, and hear about it from me. And he will know, almost without thinking, that we are a nation occupied by the United States. Unlike my generation, he will not have to rediscover we were once an internationally recognized nation. He is learning that right now!

Public access TV is fabulous. We have stored every *First Friday* tape in the UH library. Actually, some of the tapes were filmed before the program was called *First Friday*, when it was *Honolulu Peace Talks* and Majid Tehranian was moderator. We were in our 20s and our 30s. Among other interesting realities, it's a record of our aging, not just of the movement! Everything is in there. It's astounding. My sister's and brother's kids are learning about our family, not just our struggle, through watching *First Friday*. Just as I grew up knowing about my grandfather, and the opposition to annexation, they're growing up with my speeches, and my television show. Now, in a matter-of-fact way, they say to me, "Oh, Auntie, I am not an American."

LEL: *Is the Tribunal's judgment against the United States invoked at the UN or other international forums?*

HKT: Yes. It's cited, but I'm not sure it has any real force. Of course, it does have legal status but, as we all know, there's only one world power. In the sense that very serious people take notice of the Tribunal's findings against the United States, the effort was worth the struggle. Like other struggles, ours needs to move from one stage where a few people know, to another stage

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where more people know, to a much larger, international stage. But informing audiences is not the same as changing the political power imbalance.

CF & LEL: *Can you also discuss the current work that Native Hawaiians, most noteworthy that of your sister Mililani Trask, are doing at the United Nations through mechanisms that include the presentation of testimony?*

HKT: When I first went to Strasbourg and the European Parliament, the Working Group on Indigenous Populations was the only entity for us. As nations, we didn't have an indigenous seat, as we do now with the Permanent Forum. The Working Group was under the Economic and Social Council (Ecosoc). The UN is vast—like a honeycomb—so the establishment of the Working Group was critical; it was a foothold. It took so long to move into the stage where we had a Permanent Forum, almost twenty years. Now, we have a kind of indigenous embassy where indigenous representatives can stay.

Mine is a curious story. In 1984, I received an invitation to attend the Working Group on Indigenous Populations, which was only in its second session. I attended as a member of the International Indian Treaty Council. They were the first group to call for the establishment of an indigenous entity to interface with the United Nations.

Absolutely critical to the founding of the movement, they had done all manner of American conferences and meetings inviting other indigenous peoples, such as Hawaiians. Then they had gone to the United Nations, demanding entry. It was impressive with tribal leaders from different geographical areas, wearing official tribal clothing and identifying headdresses. And they succeeded in conveying that, "we're here and we belong here." Now, after some two decades, the Working Group has become the Permanent Forum and our own Hawaiians, including some of my students, go there regularly to testify.

At the second meeting, nine of us testified, including Rigoberta Menchú, and the head of the Cree nation, and other distinguished indigenous leaders. Today, there are hundreds and hundreds of Native representatives who attend. I am astounded at how fast the growth has been in the global consciousness of indigenous people. They know they should send representatives to the Forum. They know of the Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples—part of which I include in *From a Native Daughter*.

And participating not only reinforces indigenous consciousness, it affords everyone a transformative experience. For example, my students met people who changed their entire sense of the larger issues for indigenous nations. They came to understand other situations, which are often worse

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than our own Hawaiian condition. Much worse. For example, the conditions of genocide, removal, tremendous underdevelopment, and industrial/political invasions.

Then the *mo'olelo*—stories—begin to be repeated about other peoples, their suffering, their struggles. This is why it's important, especially for first-timers, to attend. I haven't been back since my initial visit, which is the strangest thing. I went in the other direction, not to Europe but down under. I went to Australia and New Zealand, and of course, to South Africa. I would very much like to return to South Africa, and to teach perhaps, at a South African University.

Meanwhile, Mililani, who was doing all the work here, founding *Ka Lāhui,* and heading up the Gibson Foundation, is now a member of the Permanent Forum. It's wonderful. Both for our family and for our people.

Many of those people at the Forum know each other from decades of working together. You can see the effects—like ripples from a stone in the ocean—of all the work these individuals contributed, one by one. For example, when Mililani and I were in South Africa, four of the people we met went on to become members with Mililani of the Permanent Forum. One was a Saami man, Heinrich. One was a tribal leader from the Torres Strait Islands. It was amazing how much spade work we had done which was reflected in the people who actually took the first seats at the Forum. They had been doing this kind of work for years, for decades. It was sweet justice to see them take their places.

Ironically, I saw their first gathering on CNN as they entered the UN I was on my way to Europe, in a hotel in New York, exhausted from traveling. I turned on CNN, and that was the first news story, one of those human interest stories about something other than the President. And there they were, entering! Mililani and the other delegates. It was news because they were entering the United Nations in New York to take their seats as indigenous representatives. There was Heinrich, dressed in his traditional Saami dress from which Santa Claus's uniform was stolen. And there was Mililani, my sister. And all the others.

That reminds me of something else I want to say about Mililani's work for the United Nations in regard to testimony: it's all preserved in official UN documents. Like the petitions, the arguments in the testimonies have entered into general everyday discussion regarding the human rights of indigenous peoples, including Hawaiians. Four of my students attended the UN for that opening. They were only twenty-two years old!

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Native Hawaiian is Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen, written by Lili'uokalani in 1898. It is read by diverse audiences that range from Native Hawaiian scholars and activists to tourists. It is widely taught at the University of Hawai'i across a number of departments. Could you discuss the work that you see this text having done and continuing to do?

HKT: The autobiography of the Queen is probably, both for the people who are teaching but also for Hawaiians, the first time that we know from Lili'u's own hand what actually happened at the overthrow, as opposed to growing up with the idea that the United States brought us democracy and all the rest of the lies. The kind of lies I was taught at St. Ann's school in Kāne'ohe. The kind of lies I was taught at Kamehameha where, by the way, I never read the Queen's story. In fact, I didn't read it until I was back from college, jumping into the movement. That, too, was my Uncle Arthur's copy, just sitting around the house. He knew her. He used to do errands for her, and he used to rail against the *haole,* just rail against them for their mistreatment and rudeness to her.

A wonderful book, it explains our Native history. It is more intimate than anything else that we read because even though Blount is meticulous in his interviews, he's speaking to her as the sovereign. He's not concerned with what she felt, but with what happened. The real Lili'u wrote the Queen's story. Not the missionaries, or the emissaries sent by the President. But our *ali'i,* herself. We Hawaiians need to know what our *ali'i,* our Queen, really thought.

Personally, I wish I had known her. When, as a child, I listened to my uncle, he would emphasize her tremendous *mana.* Even in very old age, she was beloved and respected by our people. Some would leave presents for her at her house. My mother used to tell me how, in the olden days, Hawaiians would bow before her, as they did for higher personages, especially the *ali'i.*

The Queen was the last of our *ali'i.* Not a pretender to the throne, but the sovereign herself. I have never witnessed a sovereign of my own people. All we have seen and heard are little politicians anxious to get ahead, without any sense of how to govern, to protect and represent the people. It's simply disgusting, what Americans have done to us. My mother grew up with a sense of the *mana,* the royalty of our Queen. What a contrast to the disgusting, rude *haole* like John Stevens, totally without any sense of honor, of his obligation to the sovereign of another country. Even Sanford Dole, her alleged friend the sugar planter who helped to overthrow her, even he treated her with great respect. But Stevens was so rude, like stupid American tourists today, or stupid Americans period. Lili'u wrote to the President,

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Grover Cleveland, who was a friend, and asked him for help. She wrote something similar to the question, "Can't you do something about this man? He doesn't have any manners." When we were researching the background of the overthrow for the production of *Act of War,* we found out that Stevens had been expelled from two previous posts in Latin America because of complaints by government officials saying, "This is the rudest, most disgusting man. We refuse to accept him as your emissary. What is the matter with you people? Do not send us this kind of person." That's the way we see him too, because that's exactly who and what he was.

Not only is it very emotionally liberating to read what our own people say in *Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen,* but there's also a rootedness about how the Queen talks. Even though it's in English, and she's very reserved, if you're a Hawaiian, you have a feeling, a sense of what she means: the idea that she's taking care of all these orphaned children, for example. That's very Hawaiian. It's not at all unusual to say that this is your blood family, but you were brought up by so-and-so, and that's the way her Lili'uokalani Trust Children's Fund worked for children. That Trust is the one the lawsuits brought by anti-Hawaiian *haole* are now attacking. Just think: these bastards are suing to break the Kamehameha Schools that Bernice Pauahi Bishop created through a trust dedicated to the education of Hawaiian children. Those behind the lawsuits look at these trusts as discriminatory because they serve only Hawaiians, but these trusts are in fact a cultural patrimony to the next generation, whom we are obligated to support.

And thank you for the question because I never teach Lili'u's book. I do teach the Blount Report, but long ago when I first started teaching my course on Modern Hawai'i, almost everybody had read *The Queen's Story,* having been through the public school system. I thought, well okay, have any of you read the Blount Report? Of course, none had.

Her's is a sad, actually, a tragic, story. The Blount Report, by contrast, is a condemnation of the United States. Blount makes very clear that Stevens, the American Minister to Hawai'i who lands American troops to overthrow the Queen, is a liar, that the PGs are liars. But the most astounding statement is that of Cleveland when he withdraws the Treaty of Annexation from the Congress. He carefully reveals the criminal intent behind the landing of the troops, and acknowledges that Hawai'i was not tendered to the United States by the government of Hawai'i, but by thirteen *haole* men who called themselves the "Provisional Government." Here's the president of the United States saying his own representative is committing treason against the Hawaiian Kingdom! You can't find a better witness than the President of the United States.

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To drive home the point about American hegemony, I always end this section of my class by asking, "Where is McKinley High School?" My students invariably reply, "Oh, we know where McKinley High School is." Then I ask, "And who was McKinley?" They answer, "We don't know." I say, "I just told you. He's the President that annexed Hawai'i." So then I say, "Where is Cleveland High School?" "There is no Cleveland High School." "Mm-hmm. And why is that? Is there a Cleveland Drive? Cleveland Street?" They say, "That's right, Haunani!" And I say, "Yeah, because he was the good guy and McKinley was the bad guy. So there's McKinley School, and McKinley Street in Mānoa, nearby the University." And of course, the reality is beginning to dawn on these kids why all this is so, why we are surrounded by pro-annexationist street signs. Usually, I then suggest that one project they might consider is changing the signs in Mānoa. Maybe putting up a Cleveland sign in place of a McKinley sign! Strange as it sounds, this kind of suggestion makes students' ears perk up. It's the small examples that open the door to larger issues and analysis!

Another thing regarding Lili'u's autobiography: it restores our memory, which has been skewed by this current *haole* propaganda that there was a "willing annexation."

At its best, that's what testimony does. Renders a different level of memory that, two or three generations hence, can be retrieved. A kind of memory restoration.

CF & LEL: *Would you see contemporary music and also traditional cultural practices (chant, hula,* oli*) as forms of testimony or life writing? Are there any that you find particularly powerful? In asking, we are thinking about Gramsci's insight that those engaged in on-the-ground struggle often don't have the luxury to document their histories and so it becomes all the more necessary to look for that documentation in other forms.*

HKT: Contemporary music and traditional cultural practices are forms of testimony. Absolutely! I'm writing an article called "Resistance Metaphors in Hawaiian Chant, Rap Music, and Poetry." These resistance metaphors are everywhere. Sudden Rush, Israel Kamakawiwo'ole (Bruddah Iz), Makaha Sons, and other composers all use resistance metaphors in their work. In Iz's "Hawai'i '78," the line "Cry for the people, cry for the land," is part of this modern *kanikau*, or grief chant. So too, "Mele o Kaho'olawe," by Uncle Harry Mitchell for his son and George Helm, who disappeared when they tried to land on Kaho'olawe. The genres may change, but the grieving is everywhere. For people whose language was banned, these compositions serve as a powerful form of testimony. The testimony of the Queen's story,

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of the petitions, and the rap music of Sudden Rush, are all similar. Even though people may not think of them as testimony, say in the sense of a tribunal, they all testify to our conditions, our national life as a people.

Another form of testimony would be *Holo Mai Pele,* which was performed in 1996.[4] This hula was a creative departure from the regular *hālau hula,* which itself was a departure from the era when everybody did sitting hulas because standing hulas were banned. *Holo Mai Pele* is an epic, and although once we chanted and performed great epics, they were stilled by repression and Americanization. With the banning of the language, hula became a form of entertainment for tourists. So the people who chanted for the Queen in their old age were dancing for tourists, like Auntie Jennie Wilson, who was a tremendous traditional dancer who wound up in her elderly years dancing for "distinguished visitors," like presidents, and Clark Gable.

But today, *Holo Mai Pele* is a form of resistance, and hula, especially traditional hula, has evolved into something completely opposite from the tourist/Hollywood fluff. Hula is now very athletic, forceful. The bodies aren't covered in Western clothes. Men now wear *malo.* The emotional level is one of strength, what Hawaiians call *mana*—power. The particular stories being told through the dance are no longer just tourist pieces. Now, epics are presented: heartbreaking dramatic narratives; at other times, humorous, playful episodes. The stage is now filled with hundreds of dancers, often enacting very athletic movements. All this is, of course, completely different from the hula in hotels. When I saw *Holo Mai Pele,* many of us in the audience had tears in our eyes. The epic of Pele was presented on a grand scale. We had forgotten, or never knew, that our ancient form of hula, called *kahiko,* was forceful, tremendously athletic. The performance includes scenes with huge outpourings of grief. We once performed epics regularly, not just little moments of one or two dances. Of course, missionaries called it a form of *kahuna,* suggesting it was pagan. Well, "*kahuna*" means "priest." The comeback of hula, especially *kahiko,* is tremendous. *Holo Mai Pele* is the first thing that came to mind when I thought about life writing and testimony. This epic is testimony to our own history, a living performance of our past.

I agree with Gramsci that for those engaged in struggle to record their own history is very difficult. Unless, of course, the history is a form of testimony, like a tribunal or the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Gramsci's idea opposes the notion that serious creative work is that which is written, is somehow academic, and is published. I remember people saying to me, "You can't be a poet until you publish a book," yet I had grown up in a house where I wrote poetry when I was very little, because Hawaiians just engage in whatever [illegible] dance, or song, or

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writing. We don't repress ourselves by defining what we ought to do. If we like to write, we do, or to fish, or to dance, etc.

My dad used to tell me great things about writing, and my mom was a creative writer. She won a writing contest at the University of Hawai'i. I don't remember the details, but it winds up being a very sad story. The professor accused her of plagiarizing—and you know, there were only two persons Hawaiians at UH—and then someone else said to him, no, she writes well, she didn't plagiarize. She gave it to me. It's about Alexander the Great's lover, Campaspe. You can see how my themes are different. But I do love Alexander the Great, and the ancient Greek civilization.

CF & LEL: *You have been asked to write your autobiography on any number of occasions. Why does this not appeal to you? What do you see as the possibilities and limits of using autobiography for forwarding human rights and decolonization?*

HKT: Many people whom I respect, like Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, have encouraged me to write my autobiography, so I'm trying to get interested in it. I also think, as I get older, I begin to look forward to the next generation and I realize I haven't left a record of my own life and struggles. The record that's left for me, besides *From a Native Daughter,* is the *Advertiser* and the *Star-Bulletin.* I don't want the *haole* newspapers to determine the record of my contributions as perceived by the next generation. Although they were sympathetic at some early point, after the hundredth anniversary of the Overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom in '93, the press coverage became very negative. Anyway, I'm thinking about an autobiography. David and I have talked about it at great length, and I've talked to other people, especially Eleanor Wilner, who's a good friend of mine. She thinks I should do something. And then David and I started talking about memoir versus autobiography, and I've been reading *A Mountainous Journey,* an autobiography of a Palestinian woman poet, Fadwa Tuqan, which I am thrilled about, especially because she was persecuted by the patriarchal culture of Palestinians. In the end, she triumphs, and is now considered one of Palestine's greatest poets.

It seems I'm slowly moving down the path of writing something autobiographical. I'm glad I didn't do it earlier because I wasn't ready, although people have said that *From a Native Daughter* is a kind of autobiography.

CF & LEL: *Although that book is not an autobiography, in it you do use stories from your life as both an academic and an activist to testify to the problems that Native Hawaiians face. We're especially struck by your stories about UH. How do you see this as different from autobiography?*

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HKT: In those parts of *From a Native Daughter,* I wanted to tell people, this is what it's like to be at a white university in a colony. All you Hawaiians who buy this book, get over to the University and start carrying on the struggle. I didn't think of it personally. I thought of it politically. I didn't think of it as autobiography until I read your question.

CF & LEL: *One of the problems that leaders within oppositional movements face is the way in which the individual can become conflated with the entirety of the movement. In your case, you have been regularly attacked by the media in a way that is both personal and clearly calculated to delegitimate the sovereignty movement. What are ways that you have both utilized your position as a representative of the Native Hawaiians and worked against it?*

HKT: Oh, yeah. You can really see these attacks in my case. It's all over the papers. Trask, comma, who hates *haoles,* comma, lives with her long time live-in *haole,* David Stannard. So I write back and I say, "Well, that just proves my point that I'm not a racist." But beyond these little tiffs, I have had to think carefully about how to deal with the press because I don't have the luxury of being an individual. I speak for and represent Hawaiians, for good or ill. In dealing with a negative, *haole* press over the years, I've had to get tough. My approach is, fine, you want to attack me, then I'm going to fight you. I hate doing this because it detracts from the argument we Hawaiians are trying to make. In the early days, the press was more sympathetic because I was trying to stop the bombing of Kaho'olawe. But later, when sovereignty became an issue, when we were making arguments for land and water and reparations, then things got nasty. This speaks to the level of the press, to their pro-American, anti-Hawaiian positions. Of course, it also speaks to the institutional reality in Hawai'i. The press represents the United States, the domination of American capitalism, of the American military.

For example, my relationship with David was fair game for the press, especially the editors. Better to attack a woman about her personal life, than deal with the oppression and the racism suffered by her people. Hawai'i has a very high interracial marriage rate. In fact, press people, including editors, are themselves linked up with people of color. But they aren't nationalists, they could care less about Natives.

But the press has also targeted my sister and I because we are defiant, independent, and politically astute. Many people in Hawai'i are linked with partners of a different race, but only nationalists like myself are targeted.

CF: *It's also used in such a contradictory way, because on the one hand it's used to discredit you as a Hawaiian—*

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LFL: *—and it's accompanied by "you hate haoles" and you've made one exception. I think this is a particularly American, or western problem, the way in which one individual becomes conflated with a movement. There's a couple of problems with that. Not only can you discredit the movement by discrediting the person, but also the entirety of the movement isn't represented, which can be bad for the people within it who are also subject to those media representations.*

HKT: It's unfair on lots of levels because we're specifically targeted. When the legislators disagree, nobody says well, "this dumb legislator" or "this racist legislator." I had a huge fight with the *Advertiser* three or four years ago and I took all my students to their offices for a large confrontation. We had about fifteen people, and it was wonderful because the *Advertiser* editors and writers literally never had to face anything like that before. Shane Pale started. He said, "This is why I hate the media. I'm a big Hawaiian man, and I'm really tired of the way you represent us. We're either prisoners, that's when we get big pictures. Or when we're demonstrating, you always pick on people that look like me. Men who are large and therefore, threatening. Do you have any idea what it feels like?" Speaking of testimony, once Shane started, everybody just opened up, and the *Advertiser* editor was shocked. There were three *haoles,* and I don't think they had ever imagined how offended and angry Hawaiians were. I thought, we should have done this ten years ago. We should have demanded a meeting ten years ago!

Everybody knows the media is *haole.* And not only *haole,* but racist to the core when it comes to Hawaiians. But during the Kingdom, there were over twenty newspapers for Hawaiian audiences, written by Hawaiians. In the case of newspapers, you can really see how hegemony is not a word—it's a political force, it's a practical reality.

Hawaiians would love to have our own newspapers again, then we could go back and forth with each other instead of having to fight to get something printed in response to Kenneth Conklin or Freddie Rice or Thurston Twigg-Smith. Thurston's family founded the *Advertiser.* They still own it! So much for independent, fair-minded coverage of Native issues and people!

CF: *What are ways that you've managed to use the focus on you as an individual to advance your politics?*

HKT: That's an interesting question. I'm going to teach a course on media, and I want to teach the strategy that you have to adopt to defeat them. One of the strategies is the one that I just talked about. Nobody does that. You always feel badly when the press attacks you, but it doesn't dawn on you to attack them. No, you go down there in person, and you attack them. You can't do this anymore, because they have a gate and a guard, at the back

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entrance and the front entrance. But sometimes I used to take the back stairs and just show right up in their room and say, "Hi, you guys," and they'd go, "AAAAHHHH!"

LEL: *Freedom of the press. You can't get to them, but they're free to get to you.*

HKT: Yeah. As I got older, I came to embody the movement and the most left positions regarding Hawaiians, and for good or for ill, even the Hawaiian people say that. So it came organically, through the movement itself. At one point you seem radical and out of touch and the press is quoting everybody in the Civic Clubs. The Civic Clubs passed six resolutions against the Protect Kaho'olawe Ohana, repeatedly saying, "They are not Hawaiian. They are not Hawaiian." To give you a comparison of what I mean, when David is criticized, the press doesn't disparage him by saying, "Oh, he's not a real *haole,* or a good *haole.* We refuse to acknowledge him as a white person." That sounds ridiculous! When I came home from college, and read about how the Civic Clubs responded to the PKO, I thought these ratbags! But in fact, this backfired, because other Hawaiians began to ask, "If we're Hawaiian, why are we criticizing the younger generation?" Eventually, the Civic Clubs passed a resolution supporting the ending of the bombing of Kaho'olawe. And eventually, the press began to cover us, if not in a fair manner, at least with a larger, more in-depth analysis that included our political positions.

CF: *To go in a slightly different direction, I've heard you speak on another occasion about the way you and your sister have utilized different but complementary strategies for the media. Can you talk about that?*

HKT: Lots of it is just the way we are as individuals. Mililani is, and always has been, more willing to reason in a kind of back and forth, incremental way. She can be very charming. But she can also be tough as nails. Still, for a while, it seemed she was the good cop, and I was the bad cop, as the movement rolled along. The press was so ridiculous, trying to pit us against each other, when it's just the opposite. When they would do this, Mililani would say something such as, "Yes, well, I am the more beautiful younger sister," and that of course diffuses everybody's anxiety. But then she'd say, "And, of course Haunani-Kay says this, and in the international context, this is what it means," and all of a sudden people, against their will, are smiling and what they were ready to pounce on didn't happen. There was nothing to pounce on. To me, that's her great skill. That's why she's a diplomat. You see, being at the UN requires being diplomatic. That stuff is slow. It's boring. You listen to people attack you all day long from the United States. She can put up with that. Anybody who can write the constitution of *Ka Lāhui* and become its governor, or *Kia aina,* has got to be a diplomat.

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People have told us I'm like Malcolm and she's like Martin. I never liked this comparison because the struggles and the issues are different, but they are referring to personality, and also function. Malcolm was much more likely to say exactly what people were thinking, whereas Martin used a religious framework—the beloved community, justice as a higher form of being a good person, etc. Malcolm was much more likely to attack, and in that respect I'm very like him.

People used to tell me, "Your greatest speech was in 1993," at 'Iolani Palace, commemorating the 100th anniversary of the Overthrow. I told Mili, "Oh, that's Malcolm," and my sister said, "why do you say that?" And I said, "I was listening to him on the way to the speech." I don't mean it metaphorically. I meant I was relying on him, his energy. He gets me up, and if I'm going to give a great speech, I have to be up. In fact, when David and I drove to the march, we didn't say anything, because it would distract me from my Malcolm X position. I was listening to him, so I was high, I was ready. I always feel, in my best moments, that Malcolm's spirit is with me, he lives through and within me.

CF & LEL: *What if any problems do you see with using life stories in ways that invite readers to uncritically identify with writers from oppressed or marginalized groups? On the one hand, empathy can be an important part of solidarity, but on the other hand, a rush to identify can lead non-Hawaiians to adopt positions such as "Hawaiian at heart."*

HKT: People's eagerness to "identify with your pain" is something I know all too well. For example, when I went to UC Irvine to give a talk last year, a *haole* woman who had married a Hawaiian and has three *hapa* kids got up and cried and went on and on: "I don't know what you expect me to do—why don't you want me in your country?" I was very puzzled. I said, "I don't understand what you're saying. I didn't say anything about you. I don't even know you." Whereupon she started to cry, and it's always the tug-at-your-heart thing, which never works. It always makes me angry instead.

And I said, "Well, I don't understand how talking about the overthrow, the loss of land, the 6.5 million tourists a year, makes you feel bad. It makes us feel bad. It's our land." She just kept crying about her children, and the conversation continued like this. In fact, we didn't have a conversation. Then started a whole series of attacks—"You're a Marxist and you used to be a nationalist!" "How could you do this?"—the whole thing turned into a massive audience attack. I thought, maybe this is group hysteria. People could not address what I had just said about American colonialism. All they could think about was their own lives, petty and small as they [illegible]

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CF: *It's a diversion away from the issues to how you make people feel.*

HKT: Apparently! I don't think about empathy myself, because I don't want people to identify with me. I want them to *listen* to what we're saying. I don't want their empathy. If I say, "don't come to Hawai'i," which is how I end almost all my talks on the continent, I mean don't come, don't physically come to my country. Then, this woman got up and said, "well, my children are part Hawaiian so what am I supposed to do, put them on the plane and just stay here?" I said, "Lady, I'm not talking about you. I'm talking about 6.5 million tourists who come each year." Empathy to me is irrelevant; it's Clinton: "I feel your pain." This issue is so far beyond the *manini* idea of empathy. People are suffering and they're dying. They don't have land, they suffer ill health. When somebody once said to me, "Well, what can I do? I can't give you anything," I said, "You don't know that. Let me ask you. Do you own a house? Give it to me. Sign it over to me. Do you have a car? I got all these Hawaiians that are taking the bus from Waimānalo. Give it to me, and I'll give it to them. There's lots you could do, but you just want to cry and tell me that you feel badly for me. I don't need that. I don't need your feelings. I need two million acres of land that were stolen at the overthrow. Are you a lawyer? We need lawyers to defend Hawaiian prisoners who can't mount a defense."

In 1993, I talked with the Truth and Reconciliation group from the United Church of Christ. They made an apology, and had given money to the churches in Hawai'i. They brought me back after ten years, to celebrate. I thought, these guys, they love suffering! They bring me along with some other Hawaiian leaders to Kawaiaha'o Church. So they start with me, and I spoke about "cheap grace." I learned this phrase from the President of the United Church of Christ, when the apology was first made. He told the Hawaiian leaders, "I'd like to hear what you have to say." I was the first to speak, and I said, "I don't need your apology. It's not going to help us. It just makes you feel good, and it doesn't take care of the problems that we have." Many Hawaiian leaders were kicking me under the table, saying, "You've ruined it again!" And then, after everybody said, "Haunani doesn't represent us, we represent us," and when we were all done, the President turned to me and said, "We have a name for that in Christian theology." And everybody sat there and thought, "Oh no, they're not going to make the apology, because of Haunani." He said, "Our term is cheap grace." I said, "Cheap grace?" And he explained, "Cheap grace is when we try to trick God by saying, 'I'm really sorry,' so you can have some grace to get into heaven. But in fact it's on the cheap, because it's not real." And I thought, these Christians know all about it. They know when they apologize, they're after

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deep grace. Of course, other Hawaiian leaders were taken up short by this serious discussion, and the President said, "And that's why we need to know, besides the apology, what else should we do?" I asked, "What else are you planning to do?" And he said, "We're going to sit down with the congregations and do just what you're suggesting. We're going to talk about the money that we have; we're going to talk about programs that we have; we're going to talk about where our lands are." I thought, this is a serious man who came here, directly from Chicago, to do the apology. Eventually they gave several hundred thousand dollars to the church. My complaint is that it went to their own church, but apparently it went with some qualifications. They had to use the money for the poor, and so on.

When I returned to the discussion at Kawaiaha'o Church ten years later, I said, "Since your President said this, I herewith give you ten things to do. Pay for prisoners' phone calls." I didn't know until I did prison work that Hawaiian prisoners in Lompoc have to pay for their calls home to Hawai'i. I said, "You pay for it." I also told them, "Christ says feed the hungry and clothe the homeless. Okay. Here is where all the homeless are. They're in Kapi'olani Park. They're being harassed in Makapu'u. They're being kicked out of Wai'anae. You go down there and you feed them." The last thing I told them was, "Central Union Church sits on one square city block, which is worth millions of dollars. I want you to set up tents to feed the homeless." I got this idea from Martin Luther King, who did this march and had this tent city, when he was fighting for the civil rights bill.

I put Kaleo Patterson, a Hawaiian Reverend-Doctor of the United Church of Christ here in Hawai'i and a strong proponent of sovereignty, on *First Friday* several months later, and I asked, "By the way, whatever happened to my suggestions?" He said, "We're doing them. I don't know if they're going to do all ten, but they've started with the prisoners." I felt pretty good about that.

CF & LEL: *We know that you went to South Africa in 2001 for the World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance, and you have written about the issues of truth and reconciliation and also reparations in the US context. What connections do you see among different decolonization movements?*

HKT: Reparations are something that interest me. I keep getting invitations from people to attend conferences on the whole bundle of issues on reparations around the world, not only in South Africa. I wind up now on panels with the Basques, the Catalans, of course American Black people, Canadian First Nations. And it's good because not only do we support each other, but

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we learn from each other. In fact, I'll give two speeches at UC San Diego in March, one on settler colonialism and one on reparations. That a Hawaiian goes to South Africa with the Fisk University Race Relations Institute, is a good example of people's movements linking up. Who would have thought I'd be in South Africa as part of the Race Relations Institute's representative group. Incredible!

LEL: *How did you get connected to the Institute?*

HKT: This is a circuitous and strange story. Public Enemy was here—Chuck D, the so cool rapper. I was doing a forum on campus and there were the usual twenty-five people attending, and he came to the forum. He was wonderful. He listened to what I had to say and then he jumped right up and said, "You all need to listen to this sister. This is the way things really are, and this sister needs to be supported." I could hardly believe it. I'm probably old enough to be his grandmother! So then we hung out together for awhile, and I listened to his music, which is both radical and beautiful. So we became friends and comrades. He's a good man fighting for justice. Later, I went to the Fisk Race Relations Board meeting in Nashville, and he was there, as a speaker. This was a public conference after we met as a board. He kept saying to me, "This is really boring—why don't we go take a ride around Nashville?" He gave me a guided tour of Black Nashville, a whole other Nashville, not the Grand Ole Opry but the ghetto, the poverty-stricken Black communities. By the time we returned to the conference, some awful person was talking who didn't support reparations, and Chuck D started yelling at the guy from the back of the room, asking "What are you doing up there? Shame on all of you for inviting this man, he's against reparations. Get off that stage!"

I thought, oh, yes, I'm in good company. Speaking of connections across decolonization movements!

CF & LEL: *You've mentioned reparations, but not all tribunals or forums give people the possibility of reparations. Can you discuss the political limitations and problems with things like the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa or other similar state-sponsored human rights forums?*

HKT: I address these limitations in my article on reparations ("Restitution"). Too often, I think, truth becomes more central than reparations. There's no mention of reparations in "truth and reconciliation." There seems to be a national interest in reconciliation. Here, I'm thinking of stability, both economic and political, of the state. Then there's the taking of human life, which is the family's interest, the peoples' interest. In the interest of the

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nation, the family's interest is glossed over. And at the international level, often people are too poor to appear and to raise issues against the state or individuals who committed crimes. There's a large difference between what can happen at the international and at the national levels.

There's no doubt that South Africa took the lead in raising the issues of truth and reconciliation. The irresolvable part, to me, is that issues of genocide cannot be resolved by truth and reconciliation commissions. In the film, *Long Night's Journey into Day*, a South African woman whose son is killed by a fellow African man, confronts him, and at first she is very angry, and demands, "Why did you kill my son? Don't tell me you killed him because you were paid by the apartheid guys to do it. Everybody knows that. But why did *you* do it? You look at me and you tell me why you killed my son," and of course they both started crying, and he can't tell her. He can't. He just sits there, mute. Then, in a long and painful sequence, she goes to him, and says, "I forgive you." Obviously, she did it to further the healing of the nation. That's when my students, and oftentimes I myself, start to cry. No one says a word. We take a break, then resume.

I start off by telling my students, there's a contradiction here. Who sacrifices? The people. What for? The future stability of the state. What do you think, class? Is the stability of the state worth it, worth giving up the search for justice? Most students say no, but they realize in a painful, deep way, that South African stability depends on the victims giving up the quest for justice for the injured and punishment for the guilty.

CF&LEL: *Often, solidarity is aided by the dissemination of memoirs and autobiographies of leaders of movements. We think here of Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, Malcolm X, Angela Davis, Rigoberta Menchú Tum, etc. We also know that you are very interested in the prison writing of Antonio Gramsci. These are figures that have been important allies and/or sources of inspiration to you. Can you discuss ways that any of these people or others have used their life stories in ways that you find politically powerful?*

HKT: Actually, in terms of Gramsci, I know nothing about his personal life, but his writing includes the personal in the sense that he is struggling against his enemies. We learn about these individuals and the roles they play in the politics of his times. But we know little else about him. Whereas in my case, and in Rigoberta's and Angela's and Ngũgĩ's writing, there's a lot of heart-rending personal stuff. This is different from Gramsci.

One of the things I haven't wanted to do in my writing is talk about anything personal, but David has convinced me after ten years of arguing, that I should write a memoir. He said, "Stop thinking Hollywood and well-all and

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who slept with whom." In Angela's book, for example, she never talks about the fact that the man she loved was murdered during the Marin County courthouse shootout. Bettina Aptheker, her long-time political and personal friend describes that; reprints the love letters between them, in fact. So maybe it's for somebody else to do my personal life, although as I say, I feel no one should talk about my personal life. If I don't give my approval, it's because I don't believe my personal life belongs to the public realm.

In a larger sense, I think the political becomes personal, more than that the personal becomes political. In other words, these people are thrown up into the public sphere by virtue of the oppression of their people. Their lives come to represent that oppression and struggle. The Hawaiian leaders of our generation became symbols of our people, even if we didn't think we were symbols when we became politically engaged on behalf of our *lāhui.* Historically, that's what it means to be a public figure; that is, our individual lives come to represent our people. This probably explains why the newspapers conduct leadership polls every five or six years regarding whom the Hawaiian public identifies as their leaders. I've never seen polls of *haole* leaders, Japanese leaders, etc. Of course, a *haole* sovereignty movement or a Japanese sovereignty movement has been absent. The ruling classes don't need movements since they already run the state.

Regarding our *lāhui,* we've all looked at the Queen as a symbol of our sovereignty. I think those of us who began the movement have become part of the life of the nation. In a strange way, all our leaders represent the people. We embody the *lāhui,* are symbols of it, both as leaders and as individuals. And we are the only people in Hawai'i who are identified in this way. Others are identified as leaders of businesses or of political or legal entities, but we are the only ones identified by a people. That's as it should be, since we are, literally, the only leaders who can be said to have a people, a *lāhui,* a nation.

As I get older, I have more acceptance of my representation of the nation, meaning that I am speaking for the nation, for our political needs, for self-determination. Part of the reason I can speak for our people is simply that I am very articulate, have a first-rate education, and descend from a long line of political leaders who were also identified by our people as leaders of the *lāhui.* In Hawaiian thinking, therefore, my genealogy predicts or makes my leadership possible. And my people confirm it.

Of course, the educational class I occupy—a Ph.D., and a professor—is at the top of the occupational pyramid for Hawaiians. My people, on the other hand, are at the bottom of the economic and educational ladder. And this says nothing about the large, indeed disproportionate, status that accrues

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as professors. Both in terms of respect and in terms of obligation, I am expected to contribute to our people's welfare. In Hawaiian culture, much more than in *haole* or Japanese cultures, my educational and political position carries a large obligation to the *lāhui*, the nation. This is partly because we are a nation, a people, and because we are poor, oppressed, and in need, we need. After twenty-five years of struggle, I see how leaders do come to represent the people, both symbolically and practically. We are the personal and the collective, the personal and the political.

So many of us are now recognized by our own people as leaders. We all were there in '77, when we landed on Kaho'olawe, and we're all here now. The continuity, the longevity of our contributions, make me understand how we are all in it, both personally and politically, which is why people want us to write our autobiographies.

LH: *I've been thinking about what you said about the petitions and how your generation has had to pass on what your grandparents said about them. However, as time passes, people can't go back to the generation who signed the petitions and ask, "What did you think?" because those people are gone now. Instead you have to rely on anecdotes and family stories, and so a lot of history can get lost. So there is a need to have some self-representations from within the movement itself about itself.*

HKT: And actually from people like me. I agree now with the people who say I should write my memoirs, because the historical record which enriched us so much can enrich the next generation. The other nice thing, too, is because of television, my nephews and nieces see us on TV all the time. I never had the luxury to see my grandfather on TV. We didn't have TV when I was a kid. But my nephews and nieces grew up with TV. They grew up watching us, and now, of course, 'Ōlelo. Thank god for public access TV. I think in many ways more people in Hawai'i know me because of *First Friday* than from the newspapers or even because they read *From a Native Daughter.*

LH: *I want to raise one last question. I have been looking at these archival boxes on your coffee table, that contain Ed Greevy's photos that you wrote captions for, for the Ki'e exhibit this past summer. Testimony is regularly associated with voice and words. Can you address these photographs—which cover over thirty years of protest in Hawai'i—as a form of testifying to both the years of struggle, and to building the contemporary sovereignty movement?*

HKT: Perfect. Me and Greevy. The expression that one picture is a thousand words captures why photographs are so effective, especially if the people in the photograph are no longer alive. Or, when a moment is so shocking, if

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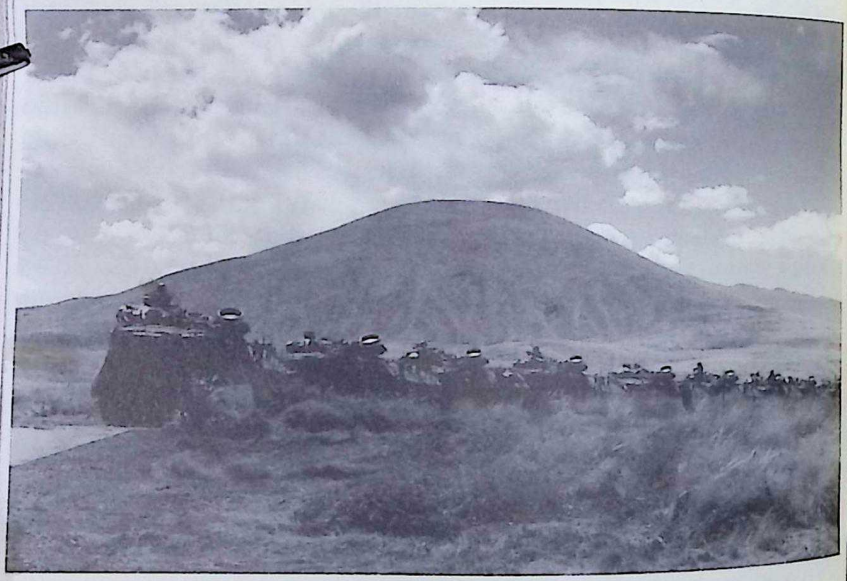
somebody hadn't photographed it, we would have lost the meaning, the testimony. And I think here, for example, of a photograph by Wayne Levin that accompanied a 2002 article I wrote for the *Honolulu Weekly* called "Stealing Hawai'i: The War Machine at Work." The tanks in the photograph look like a behemoth wending its way through Saddle Road on the Big Island. The American military has occupied Hawai'i since prior to the 1893 military invasion and overthrow of our islands, and this stark photograph brings home the violence of this occupation.

When people are in struggle, they're not really thinking about testimony. But photos, like Levin's, or like the *Kū'ē* exhibit of Greevy's photographs—soon to be a book—become an archive of a historical movement. There might be some pictures from newspapers, but in Hawai'i they represent the ruling classes. Because we are a colonized people, photographs like Greevy's or Levin's offer a completely different historical view, one born from resistance. Photographs can be much, much better than just verbal testimony. And photos last. They last in a way that memory doesn't. They almost bring you there.



US tanks in Pōkahuloa Training Area (PTA) along the Saddle Road of the Big Island, 2002. PTA, most of which is on ceded land, is the largest live-fire training facility in the Pacific. Photograph © and reproduced by courtesy of Wayne Levin.

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NOTES

AUTHORS' NOTE: This interview was conducted 16 January 2004, in Kāne'ohe, Hawai'i.

1. Noenoe Silva is an Assistant Professor of Political Science and Hawaiian Language at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. While conducting research at the Smithsonian Institute for her dissertation on Hawaiian resistance, she uncovered lost petitions against the annexation of Hawai'i signed by over 21,000 Hawaiians, over half the indigenous population at the time. For a full account of these petitions, see her *Aloha Betrayed* and "Kanaka Maoli Resistance to Annexation."

2. Blount's evaluation, a part of the House Foreign Relations Committee Report, was published in 1894. Documents related to the annexation, including both the Blount Report and the names of those signing the anti-annexation petitions can be viewed at <http://libweb.hawaii.edu/libdept/hawaiian/annexation/annexation.html>.

3. In 1993, President Clinton signed Public Law 103-150, a joint resolution of the Congress that officially apologized for the wrongful overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom one hundred years before. Although the law includes language pointing to the necessity for the US to reconcile with the Native Hawaiians, it significantly made no moves to offer the Hawaiians any form of material reparation, or recognition of their right to political sovereignty.

4. For a text of the *oli*, or songs and chants performed in this hula, see Kanahele.

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REVIEWED ELSEWHERE

Contributing editors Patricia Angley, Judith Coullie, Michael Fassiotto, Marie-Christine Garneau, Théo Garneau, Corey Hollis, Noel Kent, John W. I. Lee, Gabriel Merle, Barbara Bennett Peterson, and George Simson provided the excerpts for this issue.

Publications reviewed include *Albion, American Quarterly, Bryn Mawr Classical Review (BMCR), French Review, French Studies, Los Angeles Times Book Review (LATBR), Le Monde des Livres, The New Yorker, New York Review of Books (NYRB), New York Times Book Review (NYTBR), Le Nouvel Observateur, Pacific Historical Review, Romance Quarterly, Studi Francesi, Times Literary Supplement (TLS), Washington Post National Weekly Edition (WP),* and the *Women's Review of Books;* and from South Africa: *Cape Argus, Cape Times, Daily Dispatch, Grocott's Mail, The Herald, Mail & Guardian, The Natal Witness, The Sunday Independent, Sunday Times,* and *This Day.*

Allen, Woody

Woody Allen: A Life in Film. Richard Schickel. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2003. 224 pp. $22.50.

"While Allen's work seems to highlight a continuing struggle in dealing with death, he makes it clear in an interview with the film critic Richard Schickel in 'Woody Allen: A Life in Film' that he himself is not encumbered by existential gloom."

Richard Simon Chang. *NYTBR,* Sept. 7, 2003: 24.

Antonia Augusta (36 BC–AD 37)—younger daughter of Mark Antony

Antonio Augusta: Portrait of a Great Roman Lady. Nikos Kokkinos. London: Routledge, 1992. Rev. ed. London: Libri, 2002. 290 pp. £17.95.

Of the original publication, Greg Rowe wrote (*BMCR,* May 14, 1994): "The [Roman] principate was the rule of a dynastic house in which the women were nearly as prominent and powerful as the men. . . . Yet historians continue to treat the principate as though it was the rule of a single person, the emperor. A volume devoted entirely to a woman of the house should provide a corrective. Livia was perhaps the more obvious choice for a subject, but Antonia, in addition to being the wife of Drusus the Elder, mother of Germanicus and Claudius, grandmother of Caligula, and great-grandmother of Nero, was the daughter of M. Antonius. . . . Kokkinos hopes his book will serve as a model for future studies of ancient figures, and it deserves to be used in this way. It will also stimulate thought on the nature and extent of women's power in the ancient world."

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"The new paperback edition affords an opportunity to the author for a review of the new evidence which has presented itself since the original work was completed; especially new finds in the field of epigraphy and iconography. Rather than undertake a major re-write of the book to include this new evidence the author, has, quite rightly, included a final Review Chapter (pp. 241–275) to the work. . . . This volume still remains a leader in the field of women's studies in the ancient world despite the more recent volumes on Imperial women that have emerged."

Susan Sorek. *BMCR,* Nov. 18, 2003.

Arbus, Diane

Diane Arbus: Revelations. New York: Random House, 2003. 352 pp. $100.

"It [the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art's Arbus retrospective] is accompanied by an aptly titled compendium, 'Diane Arbus: Revelations,' which contains a critical appreciation by one of the curators, Sandra S. Phillips, and a technical discussion by the photographer Neil Selkirk, who has been the official printer of Arbus's work since her death. 'Revelations' has a number of pictures, and variants of pictures, that have never been seen before, though none of the new material significantly alters one's impression of the oeuvre. The real revelation is contained in a chronology compiled by the curator Elisabeth Sussman and Doon Arbus, the artist's eldest daughter and her executor. Their narrative punctuates an eloquent assemblage of previously unpublished writings and images: notebook entries, snapshots, contact sheets, passages from letters to family members and friends."

Judith Thurman. *The New Yorker,* Oct. 13, 2003: 109.

Baker, Ella

Ella Baker and the Black Freedom Movement: A Radical Democratic Vision. Barbara Ransby. Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 2003. 470 pp. $34.95.

Ransby makes good use of manuscript collections, personal interviews, as well as secondary sources in her biography of Ella Baker, a woman who worked to make change through her involvement in several organizations, such as the NAACP, SCLC, SNCC, and SCEF. "Baker did not use her gender to push her agenda; she worked around it. It was a handicap to be a woman in a world where authority was assumed to be male. She didn't ignore women, but usually worked as a woman in a man's world, where she was always marginal." Baker's direct involvement in the Civil Rights Movement and Student Movements of the 1960s made her privy to much of the revolutionary history that was being made during the Cold War in the American South.

Jo Freeman. *Women's Review of Books* 20.12 (Aug. 2003): 21.

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Ball, Lucille

Ball of Fire: The Tumultuous Life and Comic Art of Lucille Ball. Stefan Kanfer. New York: Knopf, 2003. 361 pp. $25.95.

"Kanfer skirts the chance to document the birth of the TV star as American icon, instead touring the familiar terrain of Ball's troubled marriage. Unlike his subject's sharp punch lines, Kanfer's writing is tepid and staid: he gives us the facts of life but none of the verve."

The New Yorker, Sept. 1, 2003: 127.

"Although neither she nor her biographer can quite account for her comic gift—it's a mystery, as talent always is—'Ball of Fire' does convey a vivid sense of her fearlessness. By the end of the book, you feel as if Lucille Ball's slapstick life deserved something better (certainly less dignified) than a Kennedy Center Award. Maybe the Red Badge of Courage. Wine red, I mean."

Terrance Rafferty. *NYTBR,* Aug. 10, 2003: 11–12.

Barlach, Ernst

An Artist Against the Third Reich: Ernst Barlach, 1933–1938. Peter Paret. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2003. 246 pp. $35.00.

"Ernst Barlach (1870–1938) was a mature artist when Hitler came to power and had an established reputation for his expressionistic human figures, especially in moving sculptural memorials to World War I. Though modern, Barlach's art was not erotic, nor was it citified or overly political—all red flags for the Nazi cultural bureaucracy. But he refused to compromise his aesthetic. Though Barlach's personal story resonates—poor health and the state's hounding forced him to stop working at the very end of his life—the historian Peter Paret's 'An Artist Against the Third Reich' sheds much light on the tortured evolution of Nazi policy."

Ted Loos. *NYTBR,* Sept. 7, 2003: 24.

Beckett, Samuel

Comment c'était. Souvenirs sur Samuel Beckett, avec quatre portraits d'Avigdor Arikha. Anne Atik. Translated from English (US) by Emmanuel Moses. Paris: Ed. de l'Olivier, 2003. 168 pp. EUR20.

Atik knew Beckett very well. Hers is a direct testimony. It is to be expected that her memories run counter to other representations of the poet. The expectations are fulfilled, to a certain extent: no, his childhood had not been unhappy, he had good memories of it; no, he was not an impassive mummy, a nihilist skeleton, a cold inhuman abstraction, he was alive and generous. True, his silences were unfathomable. And, naturally, the essential in him was poetry, read (omnivorously) or declaimed (passionately), and music.

Philippe Sollers. *Le Monde des Livres,* Nov. 14, 2003: 1.

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Benedict, Ruth. See **Mead, Margaret.**

Bielski, Tuvia, Zus, and Asael

The Bielski Brothers: The True Story of Three Men Who Defied the Nazis, Saved 1,200 Jews and Built a Village in the Forest. Peter Duffy. New York: HarperCollins, 2003. 320 pp. $25.95.

"After discovering that their parents and other family members had been murdered by the Nazis, three brothers—Tuvia, Zus, and Asael Bielski—took to the Soviet forest and encouraged friends and relatives to join them. ...As Peter Duffy writes in his first book, 'The Bielski Brothers,' to survive the brothers assigned groups to gather food, build shelter and fix weapons; informers were threatened with burning in the event of betrayal."

Raye Snover. *NYTBR,* Oct. 5, 2003: 24.

Bligh, William

The Bounty: The True Story of Mutiny on the Bounty. Caroline Alexander. New York: Viking, 2003. 491 pp. $27.95.

'Caroline Alexander writes in her stirring book about the mutiny, 'William Bligh has punished his crew with 229 lashes in the course of a voyage of 17 months to the South Pacific.' In contrast, one of the captains who presided at the court martial of some of the Bounty mutineers ordered 278 lashes in just three and a half weeks aboard his ship, the Brunswick. This is the kind of detail that makes one rethink the satisfying tale that the mutiny on the Bounty has become in popular culture. Alexander's vigorous retelling in 'The Bounty' leads to lots of rigorous rethinking."

Verlin Klinkenborg. *NYTBR,* Sept. 14, 2003: 9.

Blum, Leon

Lettres de Buchenwald. Léon Blum. Edition and presentation by Ilan Greilsammer. Foreword by Antoine Malamoud. Paris: Gallimard, "Témoins," 2003. 196 pp. EUR20.

Political prisoner in France from 1940 to 1943, then in Buchenwald from 1943 to 1945, Léon Blum wrote from this latter camp 59 letters to his son Robert, himself prisoner of war in an Oflag. The document is fascinating and moving: far from succumbing to despair, Léon Blum resists, appears serene, finds hope in culture. He reads, or re-reads enormously, listens to music, composes a kind of political will, incredibly high-minded; in short, collects from among the ruins the unchanging material of human conscience. A lesson for all times.

Philippe-Jean Catinchi. *Le Monde des Livres,* Oct. 31, 2003: 1.

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Boniface VIII

Boniface VIII. Un pape hérétique? Agostino Paravicini Bagliani. Paris: Payot "Biographies," 2003. 516 pp. EUR26,50.

Shortly after his death in October 1303, proceedings against Pope Boniface VIII were instituted on the charge of heresy. Medieval biography is difficult [but] owing to the testimonies and various items added to the action, that is not the case here. The author brings out the political message of the pope [and] his sense of the symbolic (of the Church, of his own power). He reveals a brutal man, abrupt, hurtful, haughty, uncompromising, irascible, vindictive, unbending. Whether this portrait will help getting Caetini (the pope's name) out of the hell into which Dante plunged him remains dubious.

Ph.(ilippe) J.(ean) C.(atinchi). *Le Monde des Livres,* Oct. 10, 2003: 7.

Boswell, J. G.

The King of California: J. G. Boswell and the Making of a Secret American Empire. Mark Arax and Rick Wartzman. New York: Public Affairs, 2003. 560 pp. $30.00.

"The book's story line . . . has all the makings of yet another clichéd CEO celebrity biography. . . . Fortunately, 'The King of California' goes far beyond that genre. . . . [It] is a thoroughly moving, deeply rendered and utterly trustworthy book. . . . [O]ne feels that this multilayered account is rooted not in ideology or advocacy but in anecdote, history and a sense of dispassionate investigative reporting."

Malcolm Margolin. *LATBR,* Oct. 12, 2003: 3.

Boudin, Kathy

Family Circle: The Boudins and the Aristocracy of the Left. Susan Braudy. New York: Knopf, 2003. 496 pp. $27.95.

"Braudy's gripping study of generational struggle in the Boudin family is less sentimental [than the theory that Kathy Boudin's involvement in a Brinks robbery was motivated by "idealism"]. The enthusiasms of the left were always center stage in the Boudins' Manhattan home, Braudy tells us, but the clashing ideals of Leonard and his daughter Kathy—the law as a tool for social change versus revolutionary commitment and action—were simply weapons of convenience in a deeper family drama of an old and classic sort.

Thomas Powers. *NYTBR,* Nov. 2, 2003: 9.

Braden, Anne

Subversive Southerner: Anne Braden and the Struggle for Racial Justice in the Cold War South. Catherine Fosl. New York: Palgrave-MacMillan, 2002. 418 pp. $35.00.

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"Fosl quotes [Braden] extensively and ruminates on the challenges of writing

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about someone who will read her book. She found 'the emotionally and intellectually complicated world of biography with a living subject' to be a battle of wills that persisted for years' even though Fosl and Anne Braden were also friends." Research is extensive in this biography that traces Braden's life of privilege in the South and her devotion to the fight against racism. Tied to the Communist party because of her husband's affiliations, her involvement in the Civil Rights movement was marginal. "Fear of red-baiting caused most civil rights leaders to keep [Braden and her husband] at arm's length. . . . Anne lived to see her work vindicated with a variety of honors in the 1990s." She began her career as a journalist and became a champion of social justice who "used her socially acceptable status as a married woman and mother to advance her causes."

Jo Freeman. *Women's Review of Books* 20.12 (Aug. 2003): 21.

Brasillach, Robert

Intelligence avec l'enemi. Le procès Brasillach (The Collaborator: The trial and execution of Robert Brasillach). Alice Kaplan. Translated from English (US) by Bruno Poncharal. Paris: Gallimard, "Folios," n° 3908, 2003. 480 pp. EUR7,10.

The "star of literary collaboration" was sentenced to death on Jan. 19, 1945, on the charge of secret dealings with the enemy, and executed soon after (Feb. 6, 1945). Alice Kaplan's book is a masterly enquiry on that last period of the writer's life. His writings were watered down by his brother-in-law and publisher Maurice Bardèche, but even so, they were and remain damning. Kaplan would have liked to track down the members of the jury, but she could not, and they remain shadows. Not so the signatories of a petition for presidential pardon (Anouilh, Aymé, Mauriac, Claudel, Cocteau, Colette, Paulhan, Valéry). A very short period of a man's life, but in the present case, capital.

Laurent Douzou. *Le Monde des Livres,* Oct. 17, 2003: 5.

Brunel, Isambard, and Samuel Cunard

Transatlantic: Samuel Cunard, Isambard Brunel, and the Great Atlantic Steamships. Stephen Fox. New York: HarperCollins, 2003. 493 pp. $29.95.

"Fox's lively social history reminds you that engineering was once the study of romance, verging on the swashbuckling, never mind the dark Satanic mills."

Sarah Ferrell. *NYTBR,* Sept. 14, 2003: 18.

Bulwer Lytton, Edward George Earle

Bulwer Lytton: The Rise and Fall of a Victorian Man of Letters. Leslie Mitchell. London: Palgrave, 2003. 320 pp. $34.95

"Mitchell, an English academic and biographer, seems eager to rehabilitate Bulwer Lytton (1803–73); his book is less a straight-forward biography than

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a series of discursive footnotes on his subject's varied career: society figure, fashion-setting novelist, successful playwright, member of Parliament and even, briefly, cabinet minister. Fully one-quarter of the intermittently engaging 'Bulwer Lytton' is taken up with his famously appalling wife, Rosina, and his more private but loathsome behavior as husband and father."

Alexandra Mullen. *NYTRB*, Aug. 10, 2003: 20.

Butler, William Francis

William Francis Butler: A Life, 1838–1910. Martin Ryan. Dublin: Lilliputian Press, 2003. 244 pp. £17.99.

"Part of Butler's attraction, indeed, lies in his mixture of apparent irreconcilables." Ryan implies that Butler is "an appropriate model for today's pluralistic and accommodating Ireland."

Keith Jeffrey. *TLS*, Oct. 24, 2003: 12.

Capek, Karel

Karel Capek: Life and Work. Ivan Klima. Trans. Norma Comrada. 215 pp. North Haven, CT: Catbird, 2002. 266 pp.. £23.00.

"Klima's opinions about Capek's work are sound enough, but his biography gives far less of a sense of what it might have been like to know him than to Capek's own writing. Certainly it seems a fair bet that if Capek was writing his own biography, it would be a more lively affair."

Leo Carey. *TLS*, Aug. 29, 2003: 3–4.

Castro, Fidel

Castro l'infidèle. Serge Raffy. Paris: Fayard, 2003. 672 pp. EUR28.

The narrative is spirited, the anecdotes many, the formulas those of a prosecutor. But the structure (a serial in 45 chapters) is inadequate. Above all: narration, hypotheses, inquiry are not differentiated. The pages about the assassination of Kennedy and Allende are pure speculation; they arouse doubts on the seriousness of the work. (Castro's crimes are enough: it's not necessary to attribute some more to him.) Notwithstanding, one finds some felicitous formulas: Castro is a "staggering kaleidoscope"; "a don Quixote with the look of a cop." On castroism: "the one certain thing is that the man has devoted the largest part of his energy to keeping his throne."

Bruno Patino. *Le Monde des Livres*, Oct. 24, 2003: 7.

Raffy analyses the genesis of the tropical gulag. He shows how a ferocious system organized itself in Cuba. He brings new information on many episodes, e.g. the attack on the Moncada or the unexplained death of Camilo Cienfuegos. He refuses the appellation of "implacable speech for the prosecution" that some give to his book; he prefers to call it "the scanning of a disillusion

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including his failure to understand Garcia Marquez's unshakable faithfulness towards the "unfaithful" Castro).

Catherine David. *Le Nouvel Observateur,* Oct. 9, 2003: 116–17.

Chalamov, Varlam

Récits de la Kolyma. Varlam Chalamov. Translated from Russian by Sophie Benech, Catherine Fournier and Luba Jurgenson. Preface by Luba Jurgenson, postface by Michel Heller. Paris: Ed. Verdier, 2003. 1760 pp. EUR45.

No hell imagined by a writer would approach this scrupulous narrative of the reality of camp life in Stalin's era. "What I have known, no man should know, even know that it exists." Chalamov leads the reader into the womb of the space he describes, he does not let him on the other side of the mirror, like a worried but protected onlooker. His book, with those of Robert Antelme, Primo Levi, David Rousset, or Tadeusz Borowski, ranks among the most terrible and necessary of the twentieth century.

Patrick Kéchichian. *Le Monde des Livres,* Oct. 10, 2003: 1.

Chamberlain, Betsey

The Life and Writings of Betsey Chamberlain: Native American Millworker. Judith A. Ranta. Boston: Northeastern UP, 2003. 284 pp. $18.95.

Much of what Ranta learns about Betsey Chamberlain's life comes from her writings that appeared in the *Lowell Offering* (1840–45) and the *New England Offering* (1847–50). Ranta's text "answers a number of questions about Chamberlain's life, resolving some of the mysteries that have surrounded the fate of at least one of the women who lived and wrote in Lowell during the era of the Offering. The volume presents a body of writing that reflects Chamberlain's eye for detail and talent with words, one that suggests her potential for a more sustained literary career. It invites one to ask: Had Betsey Chamberlain's life circumstances been different, might America have enjoyed a larger body of work by an important female voice?"

Melissa McFarland Pennell. *Women's Review of Books* 21.1 (Oct. 2003): 25.

Chateaubriand, Viscount Alphonse de

Chateaubriand. Poésie et Terreur. Marc Fumaroli. Paris: Editions de Fallois, 2003. 800 pp. EUR27.

In our mean society, Fumaroli is bound to expect a superficial reception of his ample, generous, great book. Yet, knocking about academisms and pseudo-modernities, he has erected a magnificent multiform monument to the glory of a master writer, a man who found himself in a changing society, at a major crossroads in the history of France, of Europe, and of the world as well.

Philippe Sollers. *Le Monde des Livres,* Oct. 3, 2003: 1.

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His family had been decimated by the Revolution: forgetting that, one cannot understand Chateaubriand, and his obsessive wish to reconcile the two Frances. He despised the Bourbons, but he pleaded for monarchy; he respected the diversity of beliefs, but exalted Christianity; inventor of the universality of man and midwife of equality. Fumaroli's beautiful book does justice to that wounded figure, who remained faithful without hope.

Mona Ozouf. *Le Nouvel Observateur,* Oct. 2, 2003: 122–23.

Christian, Fletcher. See **Bligh, William.**

Cianci, Buddy

The Prince of Providence: The Life and Times of Buddy Cianci, America's Most Notorious Mayor, Some Wiseguys, and the Feds. Mike Stanton. New York: Random House, 2003. 442 pp. $29.95.

"Stanton, a Providence Journal reporter who was part of an investigative team that won a Pulitzer Prize in 1994, seems neither to like nor admire Cianci. His Buddy is, at root, a scoundrel."

Clyde Haberman. *NYTBR,* Aug. 10, 2003: 8.

Clare, John

John Clare: A Biography. Jonathan Bate. London: Picador, 2003. 650 pp. £25.00.

This book, "the first full-scale life to appear since 1932, succeeds splendidly, not only making generous use of Clare's own wonderful prose and verse, but adding historical perspective and a constant, intelligent probing which amounts almost to a dialogue with Clare's view of himself. . . . [I]ts seriousness, compassion, and lightness of touch make it highly readable."

Grevel Lindrop. *TLS,* Nov. 7, 2003: 6–7.

Clark, George Rogers. See **Lewis, Meriwether.**

Claudel, Paul

Claudel. Marie-Anne Lescourret. Paris: Flammarion, "Grandes Biographies," 2003. 562 pp. EUR29.

Uncompromising catholic, papist and hyperpapist, excessive dramatist, unapproachable reactionary, crafty like ten jesuits, he is always against the current. So many people detest him that it seems impossible to plead his case in the Court of the New Illiterate Inquisition. Some keys to understanding him: Rimbaud (he was one of the first to have understood the young genius); China (the French diplomat saw the Chinese as proud, tenacious, shrewd, incompressible—the XXIst c. should listen); Rosalie (Partage de Midi: Claudel accedes to the knowledge of woman, with narrow-minded

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consequences); the Bible (old Claudel is dazzled, and some of his formulas describe the world is a secret of joy, of praise, and bliss). Decidedly, he considered himself, this baroque Claudel. Finally, it was Kafka who saw him best. It was in Prague; he wrote: "Consul Claudel. Brightness of his eyes, caught and reflected by his large face." What did he think about, that strange Consul? "My true country: jumble and muddle, twists and meanders." To be continued.

Philippe Sollers. *Le Monde des Livres,* Nov. 21, 2003: 5.

Clinton, Bill

Bill Clinton: An American Journey. Great Expectations. Nigel Hamilton. New York: Random House, 2003. 784 pp. $29.95.

"Hamilton 'must not think his readers have very long attention spans, because he works in short chapters and even gives us snappy chapter titles: here are three from the Genniflower years: 'Having Sex Day and Night,' 'Sex at an Ever-Higher Intensity,' and 'The White House, Not the Cathouse.' In truth, Mr. Hamilton's readers don't need long attention spans because he really has reduced the Clinton story to tabloid-length snippets, and has slanted his efforts whenever possible to the sort of material that would be appropriate on the cover of the National Enquirer. This sloppy book is a far cry from Hamilton's readable multivolume biography of Field Marshal Bernard Montgomery; in this instance he has failed in what might be thought the first duty of a biographer: to take his subject seriously."

Larry McMurtry. *NYRB,* Oct. 23, 2003: 40–41.

"The story of Bill Clinton's rise to power is one of the great narratives of modern American life, and in the handful of moments when Hamilton gets out of his own way, it is still possible to sense the inherent drama and tension of the tale. Mostly, however, this book is a shameful mess. There is doubtless a sizable audience of the already converted who will embrace Hamilton's screed, in an era whose remaining shreds of grace and decorum Clinton sometimes seemed to do his best to fray. But to present it as a serious work of presidential scholarship or popular biography is an act of cynical calculation from which even Bill Clinton—at his real or imagined worst—would surely shrink."

Todd S. Purdum. *NYTBR,* Oct. 19, 2003: 10.

Cody, Buffalo Bill

Buffalo Bill's Wild West: Celebrity, Memory, and Popular History. Joy S. Kasson. New York: Hill and Wang, 2000. 319 pp. $27.00.

"Kasson shows that Buffalo Bill's powerful brand of live 'memory showmanship' transformed the regional story of the trans-Mississippi West and the Indian Wars into a national story of reconciliation for a country bitterly

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fractured by memories of the Civil War. Kasson maintains that the Civil War was always a key consideration in Cody's successful marketing strategies. Although Cody himself had fought as part of the Seventh Kansas Regiment during the Civil War, his reenactments of the Indian Wars—for which the Civil War had provided an important blueprint in fighting 'total war'—were enthusiastically received on both sides of the Mason-Dixon Line. In short, through its displaced abjection of Native Americans, Cody's show made the army look good again (238)."

Janet M. Davis. *American Quarterly* 55.3 (Sept. 2003): 529–30.

Commynes, Philippe de

Philippe De Commynes: Mémoires. Introduction, edition, notes and index by Joel Blanchard. With the collaboration of Michel Quereil for the glossary. Paris: Livre de poche, Lettres gothiques, 2001. 896 pp. EUR12,15

"The Lettres gothiques series goes from strength to strength. Blanchard, the world's leading expert on Commynes, here provides a scholarly edition which combines a remarkably economical format (previous editions have all run to several volumes) with a generous supply of ancillary material. His full and authoritative Introduction guides the reader into the complex world of late fifteenth-century diplomacy which Commynes was the first to describe and may have helped to create. Judiciously situating Commynes between the didacticism of most medieval historiography and the pragmatism of a Machiavelli, Blanchard identifies his writing stance as a kind of secularized Augustinianism in which, while the transcendent is acknowledged, it is also placed beyond reach. . . . Unlike most of the Lettres gothiques series there is no facing translation—to provide one would have necessitated a second volume—but with the help of these notes and the short glossary the text of the *Mémoires* is not hard to access. Anyone wanting to locate a particular passage will be especially appreciative of Blanchard's index. Nearly two hundred pages in length, it provides detailed analytical coverage of all the mentions of persons, places and themes. The chapter index also provides a summary of the contents of each chapter. This is a volume in which a lifetime of erudition has been distilled into an outstandingly economical and user-friendly form."

Sarah Kay. *French Studies* 57.3 (2003): 368.

Condé, Maryse

Maryse Condé: une nomade inconvenante. Mélanges offerts à Maryse Condé. Madeleine Cottenet-Hage and Lydie Moudileno. Paris: Ibis Rouge Editions, 2002. 250 pp. EUR22.

Maryse Condé: A Deranged Nomad is a vast collection of literary, creative and analytical texts written by or on Maryse Condé. From a biographical standpoint, this volume gives a vivid portrait of Maryse Condé as a person, as a

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professional, as well as a major intellectual of the post-colonial era. In this portrait, Condé fully appears as someone defined by her openness to the world and her awareness of diaspora. Unsurprisingly, many of Condé's collaborators mentioned in this volume (Jacques Chevrier, René Depestre, Gayatri Spivak, Antoine Compagnon, James Arnold, Ernest Pépin, Caryl Phillips, Myriam Warner Vieyra, Richard Philcox, Régis Antoine) are exactly like the characters of Condé's novels; they come from Guadeloupe and Haiti, Congo, Cameroun, Senegal, India, France, the US, Mascareignes, etc. Like Maryse Condé, they all reflect a personal and professional dedication to being fundamentally international.

Francesca Torchi. *Studi Francesi,* Jan.-Apr. 2003: 214–15.

Coughlin, David. See **Raffi, Kodikian.**

Cunard, Samuel. See **Brunel, Isambard.**

Davis, Sammy, Jr.

In Black and White: The Life of Sammy Davis Jr. Wil Haygood. New York: Knopf, 2003. 518 pp. $26.95.

Gonna Do Great Things: The Life of Sammy Davis Jr. Gary Fishgall. New York: Scribner, 2003. 430 pp. $26.00.

"Two new biographies . . . do their subject a great service by casting light on his early glory as a singer, dancer, actor, musician and impressionist. . . . Haygood . . . does even more by portraying Davis' Herculean achievements and epic decline in intimate detail while putting them in historical and social context. . . . Fishgall . . . lays out the facts of Davis' life in a breezy fashion. Of the two books, Fishgall's provides the greater wealth of raw information; however, it leaves the reader to make sense of it all. As a biographer, Fishgall presents his findings in black and white; Haygood aims to do great things. . . . Both new biographies have much to commend them: Haygood's breadth, vivid portraiture and novelistic scenes; Fishgall's no-nonsense detail and readability. . . . Still, neither book really succeeds at cutting through Davis' tarnished razzmatazz to illuminate the inner Sammy."

David Hajdu. *LATBR,* Nov. 23, 2003: 3–4.

De Acosta, Mercedes

"That Furious Lesbian": The Story of Mercedes de Acosta. Robert A. Schanke. Carbondale: Southern Illinois UP, 2003. 210 pp. $45.00.

"Schanke, a theater historian and biographer, is far more interested in detailing the many sexual escapades of the famous women he portrays than in assessing the cultural significance of their lesbianism."

Laura Cieslikowski. *NYTBR,* Aug. 24, 2003: 16.

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Diamant, Dora

Kafka's Last Love: The Mystery of Dora Diamant. Kathi Diamant. London: Secker and Warburg, 2003. 462 pp. £16.99.

Diamant's life "reflects some of the most significant social and political developments of the early twentieth century." Kathi Diamant "presents a sympathetic portrait of Dora which provides the reader with a wealth of personal detail gleaned from archives, interviews, and recently discovered personal papers," and "has succeeded in uncovering in great detail the fascinating personal history of a life played out against the extremes of . . . history."

Carol Tully. *TLS,* Oct. 24, 2003: 29.

Duff, Diana

Leaves from the Fig Tree (from Ireland to Africa). Diana Duff. Cape Town: Double Storey, 2003. 304 pp. R110.

Diana Duff recounts her childhood in Ireland, on the estate of her grandparents, and her moves to Kenya when she was 18, and then, once married, to Dar es Salaam and then to apartheid Johannesburg in the 1960s. She recalls much of her past with clarity, vivid detail and with passion. This is an absorbing memoir that has the richness and depth of a life lived to the full.

Robyn Bentley. *The Herald.*

Diana Duff's heart-warming tale takes in the anachronistic eccentricities of Ireland, the vastness and beauty of Kenya and the devastation of apartheid South Africa over more than 60 years. Duff writes brilliantly of the Kenyan conflict between the Mau Mau and the British. One of the touching stories in this book is that of six-year-old Nico, Duff's domestic assistant's child, a black child in apartheid South Africa who somehow manages to attend school with white children. However, I did have problems with early parts of the book: she includes a lot of historically inaccurate, misleading sepia-hued nonsense about the "Oirish." But once you get to the parts about sun-drenched Kenya and stunning South Africa, you'll not put this book down.

Peter Cardwell. *Cape Argus,* Oct. 10, 2003: 15.

Du Preez, Max

Pale Native: Memories of a Renegade Reporter. Cape Town: Zebra Press, 2003. 286 pp. R204.

The memoir of South African reporter Max Du Preez is not only about his identity and his complicated relationship to his Afrikaner "tribe" whom he claims to hate and love and not understand. It is also about his achievements, for instance his editorship of the anti-apartheid Afrikaans newspaper, *Vrye Weekblad,* and his investigative work for State television, the SABC. There are no compromises for the journalist who was once loved by the Mandela

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government, but later considered a menace by that of Thabo Mbeki. His account of his accomplishments and conflicts is compelling; less interesting is his fixation on the superficial differences between blacks and whites and his reiteration of events that often relies on the inclusion of tracts of previously published columns by Du Preez and about Du Preez.

Tanya Jonker-Bryce. *Daily Dispatch,* Oct. 10, 2003: 14.

Durr, Virginia Foster

Freedom Writer: Virginia Foster Durr, Letters from the Civil Rights Years. Ed. Patricia Sullivan. New York: Routledge, 2003. 416 pp. $29.95.

"Virginia's letters to friends like Eleanor Roosevelt, C. Vann Woodward and Lady Bird Johnson, ably assembled and annotated by Sullivan, who teaches history and African-American studies at the University of South Carolina, crackle with intelligence and humor. She saw voting and the distribution of wealth, rather than integration, as crucial to the black community (while she admired Martin Luther King Jr. as a leader, she disliked his 'mysticism')."

Elsa Dixler. *NYTBR,* Oct. 19, 2003: 32.

Duse, Eleonara

Eleonora Duse: A Biography. Helen Sheehy. New York: Knopf, 2003. 380 pp. $32.50.

"'Eleonora Duse' is always riveting, frequently funny, sometimes touching, and at the end it is moving too."

Benedict Nightengale. *NYTBR,* Sept. 7, 2003: 11.

Edison, Thomas A.

Edison and the Electric Chair: A Story of Light and Death. Mark Essig. New York: Walker, 2003. 288 pp. $26.00.

"Although Edison was truly concerned with human suffering in executions, he was more concerned with his own financial interests; in what Essig aptly describes as 'one of the strangest hustles in the history of American business,' Edison backed the invention and use of the electric chair to expand his business empire."

John D. Thomas. *NYTBR,* Nov. 2, 2003: 28.

Eisenhower, Dwight D.

General Ike: A Personal Reminiscence. John S. D. Eisenhower. New York: Free Press, 2003. 277 pp. $27.00.

"Not surprisingly, this is a loving portrait of Ike. To judge from this volume, John thinks that his father's biggest flaw was that he didn't toot his own horn enough."

Max Boot. *NYTBR,* Sept. 7, 2003: 27.

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Emerson, Ralph Waldo

Emerson. Lawrence Buell. Cambridge: Belknap/Harvard UP, 2003. 397 pp. $29.95.

"In fact, Buell's 'Emerson' lucidly clarifies his subject's central ideas without grinding their contradictions to mush. For Buell, Emerson is the exhilarated prophet of self-reliance who claims that the individual is a stable center in a world of flux and at the same time the man who counsels something like passive self-denial and abnegation."

Brenda Wineapple. *NYTBR,* Aug. 10, 2003: 15.

Emmett, Robert

Robert Emmett: The Making of a Legend. Marianne Elliot. Dublin: Prufle, 2003. 292 pp. £20.00.

"Her aim is not to debunk the mythology surrounding Emmett, but to trace its evolution through the oral traditions, ballads and popular histories. Marianne Elliott illuminates the mixture of pragmatic conformity and rebellious defiance that characterized Irish nationalism."

Ian McBride. *TLS,* Oct. 24, 2003: 10–11.

Ernaux, Annie

Annie Ernaux: The Return to Origins. Siobán McIlvanney. Modern French Writers 6. Liverpool: Liverpool UP, 2001. 239 pp. £18.95.

"It takes courage to venture an overview of the work of an author who continues to bring out new books, as Annie Ernaux does, at a steady rate. In the case of Ernaux, moreover, the material in question is quite heterogeneous, ranging from early novels, to ethnobiographical texts, to personal journals of a very intimate nature. While it may be difficult to categorize such a corpus, one constant is what Siobhán McIlvanney terms its 'auto/biographical' subject matter (3), and it is in that sense that a 'return to origins forms the leitmotif of Ernaux's writing' (13). In her approach, McIlvanney espouses 'a broadly feminist hermeneutics,' drawing frequently on the ideas of Beauvoir and Bourdieu, both of whom emphasize the 'formative influence of environment on subjectivity' (14). This study is organized in an interesting way: in a given chapter, McIlvanney treats two (or in one case, three) works, on the premise that 'each of Ernaux's texts has a potential sister text with which it either shares common ground or complements well' (15). . . . The real value of this study lies not in its overall organization, in any case, but rather in McIlvanney's close reading of individual works, which is sensitive, perceptive, and always well grounded in existing criticism."

John T. Booker. *French Review* 77.1 (Oct. 2003): 161–62.

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Farmer, Paul

Mountains Beyond Mountains: Healing the World, The Quest of Dr. Paul Farmer. Tracy Kidder. New York: Random House, 2003. 317 pp. $25.95.

'Mountains Beyond Mountains' is about one physician's quest to relieve suffering in just the kind of places we do not like to think about. In a stylistic departure from most of Kidder's previous books, he writes in the first person, offering himself as a character and even as a foil, so that his own reactions of admiration, skepticism, exasperation and awe provide a second lens by which to see Dr. Paul Farmer."

Anraham Verghese. *NYTBR,* Sept. 14, 2003: 11.

Faulkner, William

On William Faulkner. Eudora Welty. Jackson: UP of Mississippi, 2003. 96 pp. $25.00.

Throughout her writings on William Faulkner, Eudora Welty maintains a deferential tone, content to appreciate or navigate rather than analyze deeply, and there emerges a conception of Faulkner as godlike and 'unanalyzable.' 'On William Faulkner' collects Welty's various writings on Faulkner—reviews, lectures, letters, even the obituary Welty wrote for The Associated Press and a caricature she drew of him, years before they met."

Christina Cho. *NYTBR,* Oct. 19, 2003: 32.

Fitzgerald, Zelda

Zelda Fitzgerald: Her Voice in Paradise. Sally Cline. New York: Arcade, 2002. 492 pp. $27.95.

Biographer Sally Cline gives readers another look at the infamous Zelda by examining the "voices" that influenced her, until the end of the biography when Cline discusses Zelda's own voice, the "voice of aspiration." "What emerges is a scrupulously researched account of a woman who was always in the limelight yet was ill-equipped either to deal with it or to do without it, a complex mixture of Southern Belle, Jazz Age wild child, wife, mother, and seriously ambitious artist." Cline argues that "what Scott's biographers refer to in his work as 'inspired by' Zelda's letters and remarks" was actually direct borrowing. Of all of her arts, dancing, writing, and painting, Cline believes that Zelda found expression more completely through her painting. "Cline makes the case that Zelda's illness was at least in part a response to feeling invisible and trapped, and that her art constituted a viable attempt to break free of the roles in which she was cast."

Nancy Gray. *Women's Review of Books* 21.1 (Oct. 2003): 1.

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Fitzroy, Robert

Evolution's Captain: The Dark Fate of the Man Who Sailed Charles Darwin Around the World. Peter Nichols. New York: HarperCollins, 2003. 336 pp. $24.95.

"This is a powerful story played out against a beguiling landscape, though Nichols is much better on concrete detail than on topographical description. Similarly, he is happier paddling about in maritime history than in conjuring the inner world of his subjects. Still, he manages to convey just how heretical the theory of evolution was when it was first promulgated."

Sara Wheeler. *NYTBR*, Oct. 19, 2003: 19.

Foote, Mary Hallock

Mary Hallock Foote: Author-Illustrator of the American West. Darlis A. Miller. Norman: U of Oklahoma P, 2002. 297 pp. $29.95.

"This thoughtful and straightforward biography documents the story of Mary Hallock Foote's frontier life and career as an author and illustrator of the American West. . . . Darlis A. Miller provides a comprehensive analysis of Foote's reputation as a commercial illustrator for America's finest magazines —Scribner's, the Century, and the Atlantic Monthly—and also for the reprinted works of noted American authors, including Brett Harte, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and Henry W. Longfellow. Miller supplies a detailed assessment of Foote's commitment to her western literary career, which ultimately resulted in the publication of twelve novels, four collections of short stories, and an autobiography."

Karen S. Langlois. *Pacific Historical Review* 72.4 (Nov. 2003): 643–44.

Frank, Leo. See **Phagan, Mary.**

Franklin, Benjamin

Benjamin Franklin: An American Life. Walter Isaacson. New York: Simon and Schuster, 2003. 590 pp. $30.00.

"During the past few years we have had several Franklin biographies, of which Walter Isaacson's is the most recent and the finest. . . . Isaacson treats Franklin almost as if he were one of our contemporaries, an interesting American of great talent and sensible values whom we ought to get to know. . . . In his final chapter Isaacson even sets up a moral ledger, as Franklin the bookkeeper might have done. He lists the pros and cons of Franklin's life on either side and concludes that the pros outweigh the cons. . . . Because Isaacson's biography is admiring of Franklin and is at the same time very readable, it will probably supplant [Carl] Van Doren's as the standard single-volume biography of Franklin."

Gordon S. Wood. *NYRB*, Dec. 4, 2003: 22–23.

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Gautier, Theophile

Théophile Gautier: militant du romantisme. Martine Lavaud. Romantisme et modernités 45. Paris: Champion, 2001. 638 pp.

"In the acknowledgements to this study, Martine Lavaud tells us that her book was originally 'une these de Nouveau Doctorat.' . . . This example is of the first rank. Its organizing idea is the idea of militancy. In itself this is not new. As Lavaud points out, René Jasinski produced a linear narrative of Gautier's career showing how the youthful rebel became increasingly reconciled with the established order, particularly during the Second Empire. Jasinski's view has remained influential but Lavaud reveals its limitations. She draws on Gautier's novels, poetry, journalism and travel writing in order to show the richer resonances that accompany the idea of militancy. She casts aside simplistic notions of the abandonment of hope and the renunciation of ideals. . . . This book covers a remarkable amount of ground. We learn about Gautier's views on photography, his exploration of the theme of the Orient, his judgements on Leconte de Lisle and Banville, his anti-Semitism. I found especially interesting the investigation of an article of 1848, 'La Republique de l'avenir'. Lavaud argues persuasively that Gautier's aesthetic 'n'est nullement réductible a la formule de l'art pour l'art appréhendée comme un exercice formel coupé du monde' (p. 417). . . . What unites the different parts of this book is Lavaud's preoccupation with Gautier's treatment of the grotesque. Gautier emerges as a transgressive, demythologizing figure, much more than just the scourge of bourgeois philistinism. Lavaud's study reinvigorates our understanding of one of the central figures of French Romanticism."

Ceri Crossley. *French Studies* 57.3 (2003): 407–408.

Gellhorn, Martha

Gellhorn: A Twentieth-Century Life. Caroline Moorehead. New York: Henry Holt, 2003. 464 pp. $27.50; £20.00.

"Moorehead's greatest flaw . . . is her failure to illuminate Gellhorn's work. . . . 'Gellhorn' tells us some important things about the 20th century, whose energy smashed the 'lovely, easy lively hopes' of millions. But after finishing this biography, readers should seek out the source—Gellhorn's work—which tells us even more."

Susie Linfield. *LATBR,* Oct. 5, 2003: 10.

"From her early days as a correspondent in the Spanish Civil War to her coverage, at the age of eighty-five, of murdered Brazilian street children, [this book shows] Martha Gellhorn was a defender of the underdog."

The New Yorker, Oct. 6, 2003: 118.

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"In Moorehead's view, Gellhorn spent her life suppressing aspects of the truth to promote a greater good. . . . Moorehead is more interested in her life than in her creative" works.

David Caute. *TLS*, Nov. 7, 2003: 4–5.

Gershwin, George

George Gershwin: A New Biography. Willam G. Hyland. Westport, CT: Prager, 2003. 312 pp. $39.95.

"What has yet to be written is a full-length narrative biography by a trained musician that synthesizes all this important material into a readable whole. William G. Hyland's 'George Gershwin' isn't that, but it isn't bad. A retired foreign service official who now writes books about American popular song, Hyland knows something about music (he played trumpet in the Army), and his love of Gershwin's music has inspired him to produce a compact, fully annotated biography that makes generous use of an impressive assortment of primary and secondary sources, including the Gershwin collection at the Library of Congress."

Terry Teachout. *NYTBR*, Nov. 2, 2003: 28.

Gorky, Arshile

Arshile Gorky: His Life and Work. Hayden Herrera. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2003. 767 pp. $45.00

"Hayden Herrera is the author of a lively and consequential biography of Frida Kahlo. Her new book, 'Arshile Gorky: His Life and Work,' gives us Gorky whole. Herrera is Mougouch's [Gorky's widow] goddaughter. And her monumental, superbly crafted book, thirty-some years in the making, supplants two recent Gorky biographies by authors who also had personal reasons for writing."

Peter Schjeldahl. *The New Yorker*, Sept. 8, 2003: 94–99.

"Herrera is able to capture the grandeur and expansiveness of his personality. Gorky was a master at constructing myths about himself, and Herrera describes those myths and recognizes their power without buying into them. She is also a capable art historian, the author of volumes on Frida Kahlo and Matisse, and this book gives rigorous and insightful, if sometimes rather literal, readings of Gorky's work."

Andrew Solomon. *NYTBR*, Sept. 28, 2003: 23.

Goya, Francisco de

Goya. Robert Hughes. New York: Knopf, 2003. 448 pp. $40.00.

"During the past two years, the novelists Julia Blackburn and Evan S. Connell have written books about Goya's life. The Goya of the Desastrres is the presiding spirit in Susan Sontag's study of visual representations of atrocity

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in wartime. . . . Now we have Robert Hughes's intensely written and powerfully imagined critical biography, a book that gives the impression of crowding the competition off the shelf. . . . Hughes knows that the most important events in an artist's life involve the making of art; he doesn't try to fill in the blanks of Goya's early life with the sediment of legend and hearsay that was later to accumulate. . . . If two disasters give shape to Hughes's narrative of Goya's life [a severe illness that left him deaf, and Napoleon's invasion of Spain], part of the uncanny power of his book arises from parallel disruptions, one private and one public, in Hughes's own life [an almost fatal car crash, and the Vietnam War], which he relates directly to his understanding of Goya's life and art."

Christopher Benfey. *NYRB,* Dec. 4, 2003: 6–11.

AND *Goya.* Werner Hoffmann. Trans. David H. Wilson. New York: London: Thames & Hudson, 2003. 336 pp. $75.00.

"The vivacity, compelling strangeness and sheer acuity of the artist's depictions of human unease are analyzed in Werner Hofmann's gorgeous 'Goya'. . . . Hofmann's book is a celebration of the artist's energy and immediacy, and it tracts the impact of his religious and spiritual significance through his epoch's philosophical development. . . . Goya is not an artist to tackle lightly; he demands not simply insightful scholarship but some more profound sense of empathy. This is where Robert Hughes has triumphed with his superb new biography, 'Goya'—arguably it's the author's masterpiece—and he seems to step from behind the shadow of his subject to offer a greater theme."

Michael Bracewell. *LATBR,* Nov. 9, 2003: 8–9.

Guiness, Alec

Alec Guiness: The Authorized Biography. Piers Paul Read. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2003. 632 pp. £20.00.

"This authorised biography now reveals frailties . . . along with speculations about Guiness's sexuality. Here the dark horse that was Alec Guiness emerges as a less enigmatic creature, if not yet a dear old dobbin."

E. S. Turner. *TLS,* Nov. 21, 2003: 36.

Hawthorne, Nathaniel

Hawthorne: A Life. Brenda Wineapple. New York: Knopf, 2003. 509 pp. $30.00.

"Wineapple's take is notable for its plain acceptance of Hawthorne's contradictions: a student of hypocrisy, he was a resolute Yankee who hated his patrimony."

The New Yorker, Oct. 6, 2003: 118.

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"Brenda Wineapple, the author of biographies of Janet Flanner and Gertrude and Leo Stein, is the latest writer to tackle Hawthorne's life and try to distill his shadowy essence. If the attempt is in any way unsatisfactory, it is probably because of something unsatisfactory in the subject's character; Hawthorne withdraws from the biography as successfully as he did from his family and friends. But Wineapple is a good storyteller and has created a vivid account of a highly interesting life; she has also managed to communicate, if not to resolve, the man's puzzling contradictions.

Brooke Allen. *NYTBR*, Oct. 5, 2003: 16.

"The Nathaniel Hawthorne who comes to life in the pages of Brenda Wineapple's fine biography is a model of heroic persistence. He was haunted by the dark history of his forebears. . . . Wineapple . . . makes generous use of a great cache of family letters that detail the tangle and tussle of wills that Hawthorne had entered as son, brother, lover, and husband, all the while seeking the freedom of spirit he needed to exercise his genius. At times, it must be admitted, Hawthorne is overshadowed by collateral figures and by the affairs and opinions of both his own family and his formidable Peabody in-laws. Much to her credit, Wineapple avoids formulas in her sensitive and even-handed reading of Hawthorne's character. She renders him in shifting lights and shifting circumstances as remote and congenial, taciturn and gregarious, hag-ridden and carefree, but always in the service of his writing."

Justin Kaplan. *WP*, Nov. 3–9, 2003: 33.

Highsmith, Patricia

Beautiful Shadow: A Life of Patricia Highsmith. Andrew Wilson. New York: Bloomsbury, 2003. 534 pp. $32.50.

Highsmith: A Romance of the 1950s. Marijane Meaker. San Francisco: Cleis, 2003. 207 pp. $14.95.

"In 'Beautiful Shadow,' Andrew Wilson achieves the detachment required to document Highsmith's bizarre personal habits (carrying a purse full of snails, obsessing over human waste disposal) while still appreciating the intellectual and emotional insights she had to give. . . . Marijane Meaker is best known for young-adult novels, written as M. E. Kerr, but also for thrillers ('Come Destroy Me') and steamy lesbian romances, and a confessional style animates 'Highsmith,' her sincere account of their relationship, which took place between 1959 and 1961."

Elise Harris. *NYTBR*, Aug. 31, 2003: 10.

Hobsbawm, Eric

Interesting Times: A Twentieth-Century Life. Eric Hobsbawm. New York: Pantheon, 2002. 448 pp. $30.00.

"At the age of eighty-six, Eric Hobsbawm is the best-known historian in the

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world. . . His fame is well deserved. . . . Hobsbawm doesn't just know more than other historians. He writes better, too. . . . The early pages of his autobiography are perhaps the finest Hobsbawm has ever written. . . . His memoirs are refreshingly reticent about immediate family and loves; they are filled instead with the men and women who composed his public world. They record a long and fruitful twentieth-century life. But something is missing. Those, even in Britain. He stayed a Communist—there have been quite a lot of Eric Hobsbawm was not just a Communist, for sixty years. . . . And unlike almost every other intellectual to fall under the Communist spell, Hobsbawm evinces no regrets. . . . Hobsbawm is the most naturally gifted historian of our time; but rested and untroubled, he has somehow slept through the terror and shame of the age."

Tony Judt. *NYRB*, Nov. 20, 2003: 43–45.

Huxley, Elspeth

Elspeth Huxley: A Biography. C. S. Nicholls. New York: Thomas Dunne/St. Martin's, 2003. 528 pp. $35.00.

"Nicholl's sympathy for her subject leads her to play down the concerns of Huxley's critics but, to her credit, she refuses to separate Huxley's personal story from the history of colonial rule in Africa."

Laura Ciolkowski. *NYTBR*, Oct. 5, 2003: 24.

Hyde, James

After the Ball: Gilded Age Secrets, Boardroom Betrayals, and the Party that Ignited the Great Wall Street Scandal of 1905. Patricia Beard. New York: HarperCollins, 2003. 402 pp. $25.95.

"In the end, despite Beard's best efforts, Hyde comes across as spoiled and rapid, an overdressed, insolent child whose only talents appeared to be riding horses, spending money and making enemies. Of such men, great histories are seldom written.

David Nasaw. *NYTBR*, Sept. 22, 2003: 13.

Jackson, Helen Hunt

Helen Hunt Jackson: A Literary Life. Kate Phillips. Berkeley: U of California P, 2003. 370 pp. $34.95.

"Oddly no advocate of women's rights, Jackson nonetheless keenly understood the disenfranchisement. Hence, Phillips can validate Ramona [Hunt's famous heroine] herself as a prototype for those future 'disappointed, deracinated heroes' of Nathaniel West, Thomas Pynchon and Joan Didion."

Renée Tursi. *NYTBR*, Sept. 21, 2003: 28.

"The rich career of this 19th-century American woman—educated, esteemed,

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savvy, published, geographically mobile, and financially independent—has been almost entirely overlooked—until, that is, the publication of Kate Phillips's timely and welcome new biography. Whatever scholarly attention has been turned to Jackson in the past two decades has addressed her activism and writings on Indian issues, so Phillips wisely confines her discussion of these to a small portion of this dense book." Phillips focuses on Jackson's earlier life and uses extensive primary and secondary research. "This will easily be the definitive biography of Helen Hunt Jackson for the foreseeable future. It will teach us volumes both about a fascinating and influential woman writer and about the times in which she lived."

Siobhan Senier. *Women's Review of Books* 21.1 (Oct. 2003): 15.

Jaffer, Zubeida

Our Generation. Zubeida Jaffer. Cape Town: Kwela Books, 2003. 164 pp. R125.

When the former *Cape Times* journalist was 22, she was detained under the apartheid government's draconian security laws, detained and drugged. Five years later she was detained again, but this time she was pregnant, and this was exploited by the security policeman who told her that unless she talked she would have to drink a chemical concoction which would kill her baby. Jaffer bravely deals with her personal struggle against apartheid: the struggles of motherhood; marriage to an activist and then a painful divorce; her relationship with her parents; her Muslim faith; and then her collapse with depression.

Barry Streek. *Cape Times,* Aug. 15, 2003: 9.

Jaffer's book is a useful corrective to widespread cynicism about anti-apartheid activists arising from the new—seemingly daily—allegations in South Africa about people using what are called "struggle credentials" to enrich themselves illegitimately. In a low-key tone, Jaffer describes the selfless struggle of many ordinary people; they paid a heavy price and were left with many scars. The power of Jaffer's book lies in its honest confrontation of intimate choices and fears.

Raymond Suttner. *The Sunday Independent,* Sept. 7, 2003: 18.

Jaspers, Karl

Karl Jaspers. Jean-Claude Gens. Paris: Bayard, "Biographies," 2003. 448 pp. EUR34.

Victim of an illness which was not to have let him live beyond thirty, Jaspers managed, through unrelenting discipline, to live and work until eighty-six. His intellectual itinerary is no less impressive. Medical doctor, then psychiatrist, then philosopher, this thinker with a universal vocation was in his time one of the few to be interested in the Far East in general and in buddhism

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in particular. Banned from the university by the nazis (his wife was a Jew), he became a major political figure in post-war Germany. But, critical of his country, he exiled himself to Switzerland. His first biography in French enables us to discover the various facets of a man of exception.

R.(oger)–P.(ol) D.(roit). *Le Monde des Livres,* Nov. 21, 2003: 4.

Jewell, Kitty. *See* **Lobengula, Peter.**

John Paul II

John Paul II. Bernard Lecomte. Paris: Gallimard, "Biographies," 2003. 637 pp. EUR28.

"Not the first biography of the pope, not the most original, but the most complete. Not subservient, not authorized, but full of anecdotes and hitherto unpublished stories. The work of an investigator who knows Eastern Europe very well and understood early that Karol Wojtyla (a man who might have been a philosopher or dramatist as well), was of the same calibre of a Solzhenitsyn or a Sakharov. Lecomte does not omit to mention the irritating views of John Paul II (dogmatism, narrow moralism, Roman centralization) or actual failures (with Islam, orthodox Russia, communist China). But he rightly insists on the immense hope he aroused behind the iron curtain, in the poorer continents, among the oppressed multitudes, among the populations at war, among all those longing for bread and peace.

Henri Tincq. *Le Monde des Livres,* Oct. 10, 2003: 7.

Kildare, Earl of

Surviving the Tudors: The "Wizard" Earl of Kildare and English Rule in Ireland, 1537–1586. Vincent P. Carey: Portland OR: Four Courts Press, 2002. 240 pp. $55.00.

"Carey has a firm command of the sources and of the historiographical issues raised by Kildare's career. . . . The strength of the book is Carey's ability to convey the multiple masks Kildare had to wear and the dilemmas of the sixteenth-century Irish magnates."

William Palmer. *Albion* 35.2 (Summer 2003): 278–79.

Kraus, Karl

Karl Kraus: Die Biographie. Friedrich Rothe. Munich: Piper, 2003. 423 pp. EUR29,90.

"The focus on Berlin is perhaps the key to Rothe's otherwise unarticulated conception of the life" of the Viennese satirist. "Kraus the reluctant modernist and unlikely liberal is more easily explained in the context of the German metropolis. . . . What is missing in Rothe's biography is ultimately, despite the substantial lacunae documented here, less troubling than what is

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included. Kraus's texts are occasionally misquoted, provided with incorrect titles, and cited with botched references. . . . More than once, the satirist's irony is simply misunderstood."

Lev A. Lensing. *TLS,* Oct. 10, 2003: 6–7.

Laclos, Pierre Ambroise François Choderlos de

Choderlos de Laclos. Jean-Paul Bertaud. Paris: Fayard, 2003. 570 pp. EUR32.

Laclos was a regular soldier. Thus it is no surprise if the amorous game he depicts is closer to a corrida than to a game of whist, to take up Roger Vaillant's image. The surprise lies in the singularity of Laclos's life, which was in polar opposition to the blackness of the *Liaisons.* Laclos favored equality between sexes and freedom for women. The letters he exchanged with his (very young) wife were a rare vindication of exclusive love. In short, it was as if, in his hellish laboratory, the author had been in quest of happiness. A very singular case, of the author of a single book, whose life reflects in no way the lives of his characters. The analysis of the genesis of the *Liaisons* is sharp and shrewd.

R.(ené) de C.(eccatti). *Le Monde des Livres,* Nov. 21, 2003: 5.

"This overlong, uneven biography, whose subject is regularly swamped by the voices of history, has no answer to the essential riddle: how could a man so honest, idealistic, and uxorious be capable of creating two such glorious monsters of depravity as Valmont and Merteuil."

David Coward. *TLS,* Nov. 7, 2003: 40.

Lévi-Strauss, Claude

Claude Lévi-Strauss. Denis Bertholet. Paris: Plon, 2003. 466 pp. EUR25.

No revelations here, no shattering interpretations, just the classical accompaniment of life and intellectual itinerary, both exemplary. An interesting notation: Bertholet finds that Lévi-Strauss's radical pessimism, inherited from Montaigne, is tempered by an observation, drawn from *Histoire de Lynx* (1991): "without needing to justify them in any way, man finds tangible satisfactions in living as if life made sense."

P.(atrick) K.(échichian). *Le Monde des Livres,* Nov. 28, 2003: 8.

Lewis, Meriwether, and Clark, George Rodgers

The Lewis and Clark Journals: An American Epic of Discovery. Ed. Gary E. Moulton. Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 2003. 413 pp. $29.95.

"This, the capstone volume of the University of Nebraska's reissue of *The Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition* (13 vols., 1983–2001), stands as an appropriate summing up of the heroic and stalwart accomplishments of the Corps of Discovery, legions of scholars, and a generation of staff in Lincoln

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who have worked on the project since 1979. Editor Gary Moulton has combed thousands of pages of text in his own new thirteen-volume edition for the most significant entries. His rationale: to provide a one-volume abridgement. . . . The result is an attractive, affordable, and well-produced book, which ought to satisfy those seeking a one-volume treatment in first edition.

William R. Swagerty. *Pacific Historical Review* 72.4 (Nov. 2003): 626–27.

Ligne, Prince Charles-Joseph de

Fragments de l'histoire de ma vie. Prince Charles-Joseph de Ligne. Annotated by Jeroom Vercruysse. Paris: Honoré Champion, 2001. 624 pp. EUR59,45.

This publication is highly valuable inasmuch as it contains the numerous biographical and autobiographical manuscripts as well as prefaces which led to the final version of De Ligne's *Fragments of the Story of my Life.* This volume therefore greatly clarifies the genesis of these *Fragments* written by Prince Charles-Joseph de Ligne—an aristocratic man of letters, born in 1735 in Brussels into a princely family, who lived only with his pen after 1794, who traveled extensively, wrote novels, who was a contemporary of eighteenth-century salons, of the Marquis de Sade, Casanova (whom he knew), as well as Bonaparte and Chateaubriand, and who died in 1814. The titles of some of his manuscripts are particularly enlightening: *Excerpts of Some Sort of Journal,* which reminded me what I am adding here and what I would have forgotten otherwise (1735 to 1807). Other titles remind one of Montaigne (*Journal of my Trip to Edelstetten*) or of Stendhal (*One of my Prefaces for my Posthumous Readers*).

Maria Immacolata Spagna. *Studi Francesi,* Jan.-Apr. 2003: 175–76.

Lobengula, Peter, and Kitty Jewell

Kitty and the Prince. Ben Shepherd. Johannesburg and Cape Town: Jonathan Ball, 2003. x + 278 pp. R152.

Kitty Jewell and Prince Peter Lobengula, respectively the middle-class daughter of a mining engineer and a man who claimed to be the son of the Matabele king, are the central figures in this book. Lobengula was in the cast of the show *Savage South Africa*: this was a melodrama, such as was popular a century ago, based on historical events, but combining the horrors of the freak show with spectacular action. The story of the doomed marriage of Lobengula and Jewell is not the whole tale. The main fascination of this account lies in its exploration of popular entertainment and press hysteria around 100 years ago. While Shepherd does not solve all of the mysteries, including exactly who his protagonists were, he has written an interesting piece of social history.

Margaret von Klemperer. *The Natal Witness,* July 1, 2003: 11.

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The man who claimed to be Prince Peter Lobengula was part of *Savage South Africa,* the spectacular, if highly exploitative, show which Frank Fillis brought to Victorian England. In this account of the thwarted love affair between Lobengula and Cornish belle Kitty Jewell, historian Ben Shepherd traces the social responses to miscegenation.

Loren Anthony. *Sunday Times,* Sept., 21, 2003: 13.

Mallet-Joris, Françoise

Françoise Mallet-Joris. Susan Petit. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2001. 158 pp. EUR25.

"Devoted to literature since her adolescence, Belgian-born Françoise Mallet-Joris is a prolific author of novels, poetry, biographies, short stories, novellas, autobiographies, children's books, and texts accompanied by images. She is also a translator, essayist, editor of others' work, and lyricist. Recognized by a large readership as a major French-speaking writer, she has been awarded, during her long career, a number of prestigious literary prizes and honors. Yet, despite her wide-ranging work and international acclamation, only one book-length study on her œuvre has appeared (Becker's, in 1985). An up-to-date appraisal and comprehensive analysis has long been overdue, and Susan Petit's monograph comes at an opportune time to stimulate such research. Petit, who has written several articles on Mallet-Joris, presents the author's life and work up to the publication of *La Double Confidence* in 2000. The short introduction focuses on key biographical elements that provide insight into the feminine consciousness, mystical quest, sexual identity, and family relationships that have nurtured the author's creativity. In the subsequent six chapters, Petit concentrates her study on the literary genres Mallet-Joris practiced the most. . . . The chapter titled 'Biography and Autobiography' offers a different perspective on Mallet-Joris's creativity. Petit discusses how the parallel practice of these two genres with fiction, over a twenty-year period, has help [sic] to make her a more polished novelist as she expanded the scope of her themes and characters. By writing biographies, she 'chose subjects with whom she felt affinities. Through her autobiographical books, she explored her life as a writer, a member of the family, and a Catholic' (45). . . . Susan Petit's *Françoise Mallet-Joris* is an important resource that should stimulate scholars to further their studies on such a thought-provoking author."

Marie-Agnes Sourieau. *French Review* 77.1 (Oct. 2003): 160–61.

Mansfield, Mike

Senator Mansfield: The Extraordinary Life of a Great American Statesman and Diplomat. Don Oberdorfer. Washington: Smithsonian, 2003. 593 pp. $32.95.

"This is a thorough biography of a public man who served longer as majority leader than any other. It's perhaps a disservice to dwell so on Vietnam.

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Oberdorfer recognizes Mansfield's role in the war as a core of the story. a timely topic."

John Aloysius Farrell. *NYTBR,* Oct. 12, 2003: 15.

Marivaux, Pierre de

Journaux de Marivaux. Jean-Paul Sermain and Chantal Wionet. Neuilly: Atlande, 2001. 220 pp. F98,39.

In *Journaux de Marivaux,* the journalistic vocation of eighteenth-century novelist, dramatist, and journalist Marivaux is examined in detail. The meaning of the word *journal* during Marivaux's days is clarified: before the French Revolution, a journal was not always a regular publication and the production of *feuilles* did not originate from the collaboration of journalists, but from an author's pen. A journal was not a diary either, although Marivaux's *journaux* do announce the future *journal intime* (diaries) and their intimate relationship established with the reader. As Marivaux sided with the Moderns during the famous Querelles des Anciens et des Modernes, his *journaux* illustrate his defense of a free and fragmentary style of writing, similar to Montaigne's and opposed to Boileau's. Jean-Paul Sermain, who directs this rich, concise and well-documented publication, is a major specialist on Marivaux. His volume is an excellent tool for erudites interested in studying the importance of *journaux* in Marivaux's vast production of novels and dramas.

Aurelio Principato. *Studi Francesi,* Jan.-Apr. 2003: 169–70.

Marquez, Gabriel Garcia

Vivre pour la raconter [Vivir para contarla]. Gabriel Garcia Marquez. Translated from Spanish (Colombia) by Annie Morvan. Paris: Grasset, 2003. 608 pp. EUR22.

In succumbing to the pruritus, strange for a world reknowned novelist, of writing his autobiography, Garcia Marquez uses his own books abundantly and comes back on his literary vocation. Everything is brought into play so that the mythic figure of the precocious writer, the individual guided by his own destiny, should come out. Yet, the evocative power of this narrative is inferior to that of his fiction.

Raphaelle Rérolle. *Le Monde des Livres,* Oct. 17, 2003: 1.

Glory has domesticated neither his genius nor his eyebrows. It has not corrected his errors (his friendship with Castro). It has not abated his ardor to imagine and to write. In these memoirs we discover an unsuspected Garcia Marquez, walking down the corridors of his inner labyrinths. That man will surprise us.

Didier Jacob. *Le Nouvel Observateur,* Oct. 9, 2003: 110–12.

(Profiles of Garcia Marquez by Milan Kundera, Alvaro Mutis, and Fidel Castro appear in the same issue: 114–16.)

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Maupassant, Guy de

Maupassant. Nadine Satiat. Paris: Flammarion, "Grandes Biographies," 2003. 712 pp. EUR29.

"Breton bull" or "sad bull," as Flaubert and Taine respectively called him. Maupassant was a bull indeed, an indefatigable fornicator. He died of syphilis. He was a misogynist, afraid of women, and finally of love. In many other domains, he showed he had his share of tenderness and compassion, but he never ran the risk of abandoning himself to sexless love. Hence his nihilism and his obsession with death. Admirably documented, Nadine Satiat's biography is a reference book.

Pierre Kyria. *Le Monde des Livres,* Nov. 21, 2003: 5

McKinley, William

William McKinley. Kevin Phillips. American Presidents Series. New York: Times Books/Holt, 2003. 208 pp. $20.00.

"Rather than a narrative of McKinley's life, this is a study of his strategies and successes, a subtle and relevant political parable."

Warren Goldstein. *NYTBR,* Oct. 26, 2003: 21

Mead, Margaret, and Ruth Benedict

Intertwined Lives: Margaret Mead, Ruth Benedict, and Their Circle. Lois W. Banner. New York: Knopf, 2003. 540 pp. $30.00.

"Very few relationships can transcend every obstacle—political, professional and sexual—to become that rare, beautiful thing: a genuine, loving, long-lasting spiritual connection. Such was the 25-year bond between anthropologists Margaret Mead and Ruth Benedict, lifelong friends and longtime lovers. Although they experienced professional disagreements and jealousy sparked by the free-love movement, their deep affection for each other endured and enabled each to come to terms with her sexuality and her place as a woman in American society. Benedict had entered Columbia University's graduate program in anthropology in 1921, under the direction of Franz Boas. In the fall of 1922, when Mead enrolled in Boas's introductory course, Benedict was his teaching assistant. 'Thus began one of the most famous relationships between two women in history,' writes Lois Banner. In *Intertwined Lives,* Banner successfully weaves the details of how the women's relationship flourished despite the nearly 15-year age difference, and how they interacted with the group of intellectuals, friends, and lovers who formed their circle."

Christopher Carbone. *WP,* Nov. 10–16, 2003: 33.

Mercator, Gerardus

Mercator: The Man Who Mapped the Planet. Nicholas Crane. New York: Holt, 2003. 432 pp. $26.00.

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Nicholas Crane has written not only a thorough, deeply researched biography but an intricate history of the European lowlands."

Tyler D. Johnson. *NYTBR,* Aug. 10, 2003: 20.

Michaux, Henri

Henri Michaux. Jean-Pierre Martin. Paris: Gallimard, 2003. 744 pp. EUR31,50.

"Thanks to faultless information, coupled with a true intuition, Martin writes the first biography of the author of *Epreuves exorcismes* in which Michaux appears less cloistered than in his legend. The work is exemplary (even if at times Martin steps in personally). It has the merit of unifying all the data even if the absence of a bibliography must be regretted).

P.(atrick) K.(échichian). *Le Monde des Livres,* Nov. 21, 2003: 4.

Miller, Arthur

Arthur Miller: His Life and Work. Martin Gottfried. Cambridge: Da Capo, 2003. 480 pp. $30.00.

"While Miller's own interest in psychology doubtless encourages such biographical scrutiny, the dutiful Ping-Ponging between life and writings [in Gottfried's biography] unfortunately amplifies the sense of the playwright's self-involvement and mutes the sense of his achievement."

The New Yorker, Oct. 6, 2003. 118.

"A biography of a living person is a tricky undertaking under any circumstances. When the subject is unwilling to discuss his own life and times, the biographer is apt to fall back on speculation. Gottfried is similarly impertinent about Miller's love life, once turbulent but eventually, it seems, contentedly placid (his marriage to Inge Morath lasted 40 years, until her death in 2002). The 10-year liaison with Monroe, whom Miller married in 1956 and which involved two miscarried pregnancies, was 'for him . . . only an intermittent love affair.' Miller has, of course, given his own version of these events in his autobiography, 'Timebends' (1987), but Gottfried frequently takes issue with it. Most of his objections are trivia."

James Campbell. *NYTBR,* Oct. 19, 2003: 20.

Milton, John

John Milton (1608–1674). Armand Himy. Paris: Fayard, 2003. 654 pp. EUR35.

"Himy's exciting study somewhat modifies Milton's traditional image as an austere, vindictive, forbidding person. It would appear the reality was different. Milton was not an ascetic, and the sensuousness present throughout his work is the trace of some of his ways of life. He denounced hypocrites. As an

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answer to the attacks he was subjected to, he persuaded himself he was persecuted, and established his own image as that of an elect. His work is autovindication, autoanalysis, autobiography. Propagandist of the puritan revolution, advocate of tolerance and freedom, of the legalization of divorce, he was ahead of his time. The key to that paradoxical man was his will to be "to himself his own poem," to create himself as he created his work, to be faithful to himself, in spite of spectacular reversals of opinions.

Christine Jordis. *Le Monde des Livres,* Nov. 21, 2003: 4.

Mirbeau, Octave

Correspondance générale. Octave Mirbeau. Edition established, presented and annotated by Pierre Michel with the help of Jean-François Nivet. Paris: L'Age d'Homme, 2003. 930 pp. EUR54.

Famous in his days Octave Mirbeau (1850–1917) gradually disappeared from the literary scene. Then Pierre Michel ressuscitated him (a biography, *Cahiers Octave Mirbeau,* a monumental bibliography, and now his correspondence : first vol., 595 letters covering the years 1868–1888). Among the correspondants: Zola, Monet, Rodin, Heredia, Maupassant, Mallarmé, Edmond de Goncourt. These letters show that Mirbeau, far from having been the young reactionary writer of the legend, was a revolutionary: he began his career as a ghost writer, then became an anarchist. There was a wrong note in his life: antisemitism, which he corrected later by fighting for the revision of Dreyfus's trial. This volume, to which was awarded the Sévigné Prize for 2003, is admirable (critical apparatus, preface, biographical intro, notes).

Philippe Oriol. *Le Monde des Livres,* Nov. 14, 2003: 3.

Moes, Wladyslaw

The Real Tadzio: Thomas Mann, "Death In Venice" and the Boy Who Inspired It. Gilbert Adair. New York: Carroll and Graf, 2003. 112 pp. $10.00.

"As he frolicked on the beach on the Lido of Venice in 1911, the 11-year-old Wladyslaw Moes had no idea he was becoming the object of an obsession—literal and literary. Thomas Mann, also on vacation, was secretly enraptured with the boy and published 'Death in Venice' in 1912. In 'The Real Tadzio,' the novelist Gilbert Adair supplies the living being who was converted into a literary character."

Roxana Popescu. *NYTBR,* Sept. 21, 2003: 28.

More, Hannah

Hannah More: The First Victorian. Anne Stott. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2003. 384 pp. £25.

"Anne Stott's thoroughly researched and well-written biography presents

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English Romantic writer and reformer] More's case in all its indigestible

Claire Harman. *TLS,* Oct. 3, 2003: 10.

Morse, Samuel F. B.

Lightning Man: The Accursed Life of Samuel F. B. Morse. Kenneth Silverman. New York: Knopf, 2003. 504 pp. $35.00.

"Silverman's excellent biography of . . . Morse is a captivating tale of an accomplished portrait painter turned inventor of the telegraph. . . . 'Lightning Man' is already a long book, but it is one of those long books that a reader wishes were still longer."

Henry Petroski. *LATBR,* Oct. 26, 2003: 7.

Mugabe, Robert

Brothers under the Skin: Travels in Tryanny. Christopher Hope. London: Macmillan, 2003. 279 pp. R163.

Brothers under the Skin is supposed to be a journey through and a meditation on tyrannies around the world, including Mugabe's. The underlying premise is that all dictatorships have similar traits. As Christopher Hope describes his many sojourns in Zimbabwe, he recounts his impressions of the Soviet Union, East Germany, the former Yugoslavia, and Vietnam, stressing their similarity to Mugabe's reign of terror. Sadly, what promises to be highly edifying juxtaposition from an obviously knowledgeable and talented writer ends up as a mishmash, albeit one with some value.

Sousa Jamba. *Mail & Guardian, Friday,* Sept. 19–25, 2003: iv.

Murdoch, Iris

Iris Murdoch As I Knew Her. A. N. Wilson. London: Hutchinson, 2003. 275 pp. £18.99.

This work is "intended in some degree to be a corrective to the forerunners, though its overall waywardness scarcely suggests a dispassionate attempt at establishing a balanced perspective." The book is "essentially an essay in autobiography."

Jonathan Keates. *TLS,* Oct. 3, 2003: 11.

Murray, James

The Meaning of Everything: The Story of the Oxford English Dictionary. Simon Winchester. New York: Oxford UP, 2003. 260 pp. $25.00.

"Simon Winchester's book 'The Meaning of Everything' tells the story of the Oxford English Dictionary. It is teeming with knowledge and alive with insights. Winchester handles humor and awe with modesty and cunning.

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His devotion to the story is the more eloquent for the cool-handedness of its telling. His prose is supremely readable, admirable in its lucid handling of lexicographical mire."

William F. Buckley, Jr. *NYTBR*, Oct. 12, 2003: 14.

Musset, Alfred de

Musset et Rousseau. Frank Lestringant. Annales de la Société Jean-Jacques Rousseau, 431: 205–240. Genève: Droz, 2001. 35 pp. SF30.

The obvious connection between Jean-Jacques Rousseau and nineteenth-century French poet and dramatist Alfred de Musset has been neglected. Critics have preferred investigating Musset's relationship with eighteenth-century libertine novelists or dramatists. Obviously, this volume on Musset and Rousseau fills in a gap. From a biographical standpoint, it is highly informative: we learn for instance that Alfred de Musset's father was Rousseau's first biographer and the curator of his Complete Works. All the autobiographical references made to Rousseau's Nouvelle *Héloise* in Musset's earlier works are documented. A parallel is drawn between Rousseau's *Confessions* and Musset's autobiographical writing inasmuch as both authors were marked by two major events: the death of the father and the relationship with an older woman divided between two men (Mme de Warrens/Claude Anet, and Rousseau or George Sand/Pietro Pagello & Musset). Moreover, in Musset's *Confessions d'un enfant du siècle,* George Sand seems to appear as a reminiscence of Mme d'Houdetot. In Rousseau's *Confessions,* Mme d'Houdetot is dressed as a man (like Sand) in rustic Montmorency.

Valentina Ponzetto. *Studi Francesi,* Jan.-Apr. 2003: 191–92.

Mussolini, Benito

Mussolini: A New Life. Nicholas Farrell. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson. 2003. 533 pp. £25.00.

This "work of impassioned revisionism" relies on right-wing sources. "Farrell's highly sympathetic view of Mussolini may not be familiar to English readers, but it follows fairly religiously the revisionist line developed in Italy over the past thirty-five years. . . . One of the least convincing aspects of Farrell's biography is his contention that Mussolini was essentially a man of peace with limited foreign policy objectives who was forced to make a wholly unwelcome alliance with Hitler as a result of British crassness and hypocrisy."

Christopher Duggan. *TLS,* Sept. 26, 2003: 28.

Neibuhr, Reinhold

The Serenity Prayer: Faith and Politics in Times of Peace and War. Elisabeth Sifton. New York: Norton, 2003. 367 pp. $26.95.

"Sifton, Niebuhr's daughter, sets out to correct misreadings of 'Pa's' prayer

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and to bring to life the extraordinary intellectual community of friends (such as Paul Tillich, Dietrich Bonhoeffer, and Felix Frankfurter) who surrounded Niebuhr at Union Theological Seminary and his summer home in Massachusetts. Sifton's account is not free of a certain Episcopalian hauteur (she recognizes the shortcomings of more uncouth Protestant denominations), but she gives her portrait of the time a resonance appropriate to our own."

The New Yorker, Oct. 13, 2003: 109.

"Elisabeth Sifton, the daughter of Heath's most renowned summer resident, who was also 20th-century America's most thoughtful theologian, Reinhold Niebuhr, goes ahead and toots her father's horn—and Heath's—in 'The Serenity Prayer.' But the tune of her keen ruminations on her childhood Heath, and on the circle of socially activist soul mates who broke bread and sweat with her father 60 years ago, can't help shifting into a minor key."

Ann Hulbert. *NYTBR,* Nov. 2, 2003: 12.

Nelson, Horatio

The Nelson Touch: The Life and Legend of Horatio Nelson. Terry Coleman. New York: Oxford UP, 2002. 424 pp. $35.00.

"This fascinating scholarly book is a most comprehensive and critical biography of Horatio Nelson. . . . [T]his is first rate historical research and a most readable book flowing enjoyably and providing an opulence of details, anecdotes, and new facts about Nelson. . . . The result is a most realistic analysis of Nelson's life and time, which leaves the reader with a balanced and renewed acquaintanceship with the hero."

Oded Lowenheim. *Albion* 35.2 (Summer 2003): 315–16.

Nuttall, Michael

Number Two to Tutu. Michael Nuttall. Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications, 2003. 178 pp. R90.00

This is a story of camaraderie in bad and good times between two of South Africa's best-known and best-loved Anglicans, Emeritus-Achbishop Desmond Tutu and Michael Nuttall, the former Bishop of Natal and then Dean in the Church of the Province of South Africa—a post that made him effectively the Archbishop's deputy. Working together during the harrowing 1980s and beyond, the two were offered the opportunity to assist with the great changes that were to come to South Africa under F.W. de Klerk's presidency. However, the great issues of the day are not what this book is about: it's about love, friendship, professionalism, and the hard and busy work of the priestly calling. This explains, perhaps, why it is not a dry and wooden text.

Peter Christopher. *Grocott's Mail,* Nov. 2003: 5.

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Ogden, Peter Skene

Contested Empire: Peter Skene Ogden and the Snake River Expeditions. John Phillip Reid. Norman: U of Oklahoma P, 2002. 258 pp. $29.95.

"As leader of Hudson's Bay Company's Snake Country brigades between 1824 and 1830, Peter Skene Ogden was instrumental in denuding the region south of the Columbia River of all beaver to preclude competition from American trappers. By creating a 'fur desert', the Hudson's Bay Company hoped to make Oregon Country less appealing to Americans in light of the Joint Occupation Treaty of 1820. . . . With impeccable scholarship based on meticulous research—two of his stellar hallmarks as a legal historian—Reid provides one of the best summations of Ogden's six Snake Country expeditions, including his foray in 1830 to California. . . . It is destined to be a classic in fur trade literature, for it provides the first fundamental insight into an element long neglected—the role of law on the fur trade frontier."

Doyce B. Nunis, Jr. *Pacific Historical Review* 72.4 (Nov. 2003): 627–28.

O'Hara, John

The Art of Burning Bridges: A Life of John O'Hara. Geoffrey Wolff. New York: Knopf, 2003. 373 pp. $30.00.

"Wolff as a biographer is drawn to personality puzzles: his father and Harry Crosby [Wolff's previous subjects] were gifted men who went bad; O'Hara poses a reverse puzzle. How did a man so coarse and dislikable and, in social matters, so self-defeatingly defensive and overeager manage to write so well, with such empathy and delicacy?"

John Updike. *The New Yorker,* Sept. 22, 2003: 184–95.

"The result is a biography that is both satisfying and pleasingly unconventional, and one that O'Hara would probably have hated. He would have wanted the full scholarly treatment, like Matthew J. Bruccoli's 1975 data dump, 'The O'Hara Concern.' But 'The Art of Burning Bridges' is from beginning to end not a scholar's book but one by a fellow writer: it's conversational and opinionated—even autobiographical at times, with Wolff recounting his own experiences with rejection ('that particular pain, a stab of shame that something tended and tendered has been repulsed'), with editors and editing, with the indignities of writing for Hollywood."

Charles McGrath. *NYTBR,* Aug. 24, 2003: 12.

Orwell, George

Inside George Orwell: A Biography. Gordon Bowker. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003. 496 pp. $35.00.

Orwell: The Life. D. J. Taylor. New York: John Macrae/Henry Holt, 2003. 468 pp. $30.00.

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"In this year of Orwell's centenary two fat new Lives have appeared, both claiming to have uncovered new biographical information. . . . D. J. Taylor's *Orwell: The Life* and Gordon Bowker's *Inside George Orwell* are substantial, the achievements, but the fact is there is little new to be said about Orwell."

John Banville. *NYRB,* Nov. 6, 2003: 62–65.

AND Orwell. Scott Lucas. London: Trafalgar Square, 2003. 180 pp. $14.95.

"[Lucas] tells us much more about the Orwellians than about Orwell. . . . Bowker . . . gives us a proper biography. It is, perhaps, too proper. . . . Bowker makes elegant use of the evidence and is both acute and delicate in his psychological observations. . . . The work by D. J. Taylor . . . is rewardingly dense. . . . Taylor sets Orwell in his place and time, with his family and friends, books and schools. . . . Taylor provides a subtle account of Orwell's struggle to create his literary persona in a crowd of British writers coping with two wars and cultural and social convulsion."

Norman Birnbaum. *LATBR,* Nov. 9, 2003: 11–12.

Pankhurst, Sylvia

Sylvia Pankhurst: A Crusading Life, 1882–1960. Shirley Harrison. London: Aurum, 2003. 291 pp. £20.00.

"Since Harrison endorses, rather than questions, Sylvia's self-representation, she does not tease out the inner contradictions in her subject's remarkable life." Harrison "offers a portrait that borders on hagiography."

Jane Purvis. *TLS,* Nov. 28, 2003: 29.

Parker, Tom

The Colonel: The Extraordinary Story of Colonel Tom Parker and Elvis Presley. Alanna Nash. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2003. 394 pp. $25.00.

"In 'The Colonel,' Alanna Nash gives a sophisticated and nuanced portrait of Parker as more than the avaricious stick figure who has most often been a target for cheap opprobrium. What is puzzling is why an otherwise thought-provoking and thoroughly professional piece of work about a tragic and almost wholly unlikable man elects to traffic in its own scurrilous brand of mythmaking. The book is shot through with rank speculation—including the suggestion, offered on evidence that barely qualifies as coincidence, that Parker was a murderer."

Fred Goodman. *NYTBR,* Aug. 24, 2003: 11.

Patch, Sam

Sam Patch, the Famous Jumper. Paul E. Johnson. New York: Hill & Wang, 2003. 240 pp. $23.00.

"Sam Patch may have been the first precursor to MTV's 'Jackass.' For a few

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years ending in 1829, he gained national celebrity by jumping hundreds of feet over waterfalls in Paterson, N.J., Niagara Falls and Rochester. Patch pioneered a new kind of fame. He was not well born. He did not earn renown for public or military service. Instead, he did stupid stunts that drew crowds, and he earned a living from his fame. 'Sam burst into public consciousness as the Jersey Jumper, the man who leaped waterfalls in the newspapers,' Paul E. Johnson writes in his delightful, crisply written 'Sam Patch, the Famous Jumper.'"

David D. Kirkpatrick. *NYTBR*, Oct. 19, 2003: 32.

Paxton, Joseph

A Thing in Disguise: The Visionary Life of Joseph Paxton. Kate Colquhoun. London: Fourth Estate, 2003. 307 pp. £18.99.

This biography of the Victorian architect "is an admirable book: lively, detailed and concise, but it gives small sense of Paxton the individual, if indeed there is any such sense to be had. . . . The most engaging passages of the book are those which detail the 'early passion for all things horticultural.'"

Matthew Reynolds. *TLS*, Sept. 19, 2003: 7.

Pearl, Daniel

Who Killed Daniel Pearl? Bernard-Henri Lévy. Trans. James X. Mitchell. Hoboken, NJ: Melville House, 2003. 454 pp. $25.95.

A Mighty Heart: The Brave Life and Death of My Husband, Danny Pearl. Mariane Pearl, with Sarah Crichton. New York: Scribner, 2003. 278 pp. $25.00.

"One is a book of love, a simply written but very moving tribute to a murdered husband by a bereaved and grieving wife. The other is a book of hate, a passionate denunciation of a city and a country by a man who regards Karachi as a living hell, and Pakistan as a country of pure evil. Both books are of great interest; though the second is unsound on matters of fact and riddled with errors. Mariane Pearl, Daniel Pearl's widow, is clearly a remarkable woman . . . the tragic story she has to tell in her narrative . . . is heart-rending, and she tells it simply and effectively. . . . As a work of autobiography, her book is also remarkably controlled." Lévy's book "is a more amibitious work, with pretensions to both original investigative journalism and novelistic prose; but it is deeply flawed, riddled with major factual errors, and in every way a lesser book than Mariane Pearl's."

William Dalrymple. *NYRB*, Dec. 4, 2003: 53–56.

"While Lévy's book is the product of a French intellectual—the author of a study of Jean-Paul Sartre among other works—and Mariane Pearl's 'A Mighty Heart: The Brave Life and Death of my Husband, Danny Pearl,'

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written with Sarah Crichton, is that of a grieving widow, both writers have worked as foreign correspondents, with significant experience in South Asia. It is their professional knowledge that imbues their books with an uncanny profundity about what Pearl experienced the last weeks of his life."

Robert D. Kaplan. *NYTBR*, Sept. 22, 2003: 18.

Phagan, Mary

And the Dead Shall Rise: The Murder of Mary Phagan and the Lynching of Leo Frank. Steve Oney. New York: Pantheon, 2003. 742 pp. $35.00.

Seventeen years in the making, 'And the Dead Shall Rise' provides a feint-by-feint, blow-by-blow account of pretrial and post-trial maneuvering and subterfuge. Most readers might have appreciated Oney's overview of—and judgments about—the often bewildering morass of multiplying, contradictory testimony and evidence. Much of the trial evidence against Frank was circumstantial, and some testimony very likely was coerced. Most damning of all was the confession—actually, three successive affidavits, each more detailed and produced under police interrogation—of a black sweeper at the factory, Jim Conley, who claimed to have assisted Frank in disposing of the girl's body. Despite his many arrests for drunk and disorderly conduct, and two stretches on a chain gang, Conley proved surprisingly unshakable on the witness stand."

Allen Boyer. *NYTBR*, Oct. 5, 2003: 24.

Pius XII

Pie XII: diplomate et pasteur. Philippe Chenaux. Paris: Cerf, 2003. 462 pp. EUR28.

Le Vatican contre les Juifs. Le rôle de la papauté dans l'émergence de l'antisémitisme moderne [The Popes against the Jews]. David Kertzer. Translated from English (US) by Bella Arman. Paris: Robert Laffont, 2003. 398 pp. EUR23.

Since 1963 (creation of *Der Stellvertreter–The Vicar*), Pius XII's behavior in front of the Shoah has been a recurrent topic. Chenaux, who benefited from the recent opening of some Vatican archives, wanted to avoid an excessive personalization of this explosive dossier. So his life of Pius XII is coated with a monograph of Vatican life in the first half of the XXth c. But it is a fact that the pope was informed of the Jewish tragedy and remained virtually mute on the subject (while outspoken on so many others). On the other hand, he was a germanophile; he was afraid of a possible bolshevization of Europe; perhaps he judged that by his tragic choice he protected his flock. Through the double structure of the book, we see that together with the pope, Vatican and Church are summoned to account to History for their actions, or in this case, for their non-action. On a broader plane, David

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Kertzer brings to light the responsibility of successive popes in the dehumanization of the Jews.

Laurent Douzou. *Le Monde des Livres,* Oct. 10, 2003: 6.

Plato and Other Socratics

The People of Plato: A Prosopography of Plato and Other Socratics. Debra Nails. Indianapolis: Hackett, 2002. 414 pp. $75.00.

Debra Nails, associate professor of philosophy at Michigan State University, sets out to provide a "concise guide to the persons represented in the Platonic dialogues" (xxxvii). This work also includes persons from other Socratic writings who may not appear in or relate directly to Plato (or the Platonic dialogues) but nonetheless provide useful information for the stated goal. Though not touted as such, the book appears intended as a companion for *Plato, Complete Works,* ed. John Cooper (Hackett 1997). . . . Prof. Nails will introduce a scholar of Plato, veteran and novice alike, to the complex and technical world of prosopography, defined as "individuals and their relations with reference to contemporary historical events." She also sensitizes readers to the rich tapestry of historical characters in Plato's dramas. All students and teachers of Plato should possess this book.

Christopher Planeaux. *BMCR,* Oct. 9, 2003.

Pocahontas. See **Smith, John.**

Presley, Elvis. See **Parker, Tom.**

Prévost d'Exiles, Antoine-Fraçois, Abbé

L'Abbé Prévost au tournant du siècle. Ed. Richard A. Francis and Juan Mainil. SVEC 2000. Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2000. 390 pp. F55.

"A conference, 'L'Abbe Prévost et son monde,' was held at the University of Nottingham in 1997 to commemorate the tricentennial of Prévost's birth. The thirty-three papers from the conference published here are divided into three major groups: the biographical and historical background of Prévost's works, literary analyses of aspects of his novels, journalistic works, and translations of Richardson, and explorations of newly discovered literary sources of his novels and of the influence these and his other writings had on later writers. All these studies reflect the highest level of scholarship. . . . Much of what is said is a restatement of ideas long familiar to students of Prévost, i.e. that his attitude is complex and ambiguous or that his protagonists are imperfect human beings. There is, nonetheless, a refreshing variety of approaches to Prévost's work rather than the ideological uniformity sometimes found in collected conference papers.

James D. Gill. *French Review* 77.1 (Oct. 2003): 151–52.

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Prokofiev, Sergei

Prokofiev, A Biography: From Russia to the West, 1891–1935. David Nice. New Haven: Yale UP, 2003. 390 pp. £25.00.

"It is a confidently written book, densely documented and in factual terms unchallengeably authoritative, the fruit of an imposing amount of reading, listening and reflection."

G. S. Smith. *TLS,* Nov. 28, 2003: 6–7.

Proust, Marcel

Marcel Proust: A Life. William C. Carter. New Haven: Yale UP, 2002. xiv + 946 pp. £12.95.

"The adolescent Proust's response to the prompt in an English questionnaire, 'For what fault have you most toleration?', could be read with hindsight as a form of pre-emptive self-justification: 'Pour la vie privée des faiblesses.' Certainly Bernard Grasset, who was the first to publish *Du Coté de Chez Swann,* was probably not alone when he referred to Proust in a letter of May 1917 as 'l'homme le plus compliqué de Paris' (p. 629). But if the challenge presented by this particular biographical subject is daunting, William C. Carter's account documents with patience, stamina and insight the story of an unrelentingly intense, often chaotic private life in which Proust's will to see his novel completed and in print is depicted as a powerful *servitude volontaire.* Carter's 'Life' reflects meticulously the often-banal contingent realities surrounding the work of composition—the odd hours, the eccentric organization, the fraught correspondence. . . . Carter provides a gripping account of the drama that preceded the publication of the first volume of the *Recherche:* the rejections by Fasquelle, the NRF and Ollendorf, followed by the deal with Grasset that was wrapped up in a matter of days and accommodated Proust's stipulation that the volume should not be 'reserved for people who spend ten francs on a book and are generally stupider than those who buy them for three, so insist on three fifty' (p. 354). . . . Significantly, Carter, while delivering richly on what could be termed the 'biographical past', acknowledges the persisting challenges posed by Proust's texts through the image retained by Cocteau of the dead writer: 'That pile of paper on his left was still alive, like watches ticking on the wrists of dead soldiers' (p. 809)."

Edward Hughes. *French Studies* 57.3 (2003): 413–14.

Proust: The Body and Literary Form. Michael R. Finn. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1999. 210 pp.

"*Proust: The Body and Literary Form* situates Proust within the context of nineteenth-century neurasthenia, the 'chronic fatigue syndrome' (1) of the age, and argues that neurasthenia and hysteria are not merely 'surface features' of certain characters in Proust's novel but actually 'condition the motion of style, and organize and structure both the aesthetic debate in the

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novel and the life messages it conveys' (1). Michael R. Finn shows convincingly how Proust gradually becomes aware of how he could use his own physical and psychological afflictions to advantage in the name of art. . . . Finn's study—which places Proust's work within the context of writers who suffered from 'nervous disorders, hysteria, degenerate sexuality' (27) and related dysfunctions—takes us back to the early consciousness of the nature of these maladies in the late nineteenth century. He shows how between 1907 and 1909 Proust came to realize that his novel could not have its roots in reason-based 'transitive writing' (142)—that is, writing that has 'an external object in mind,' like criticism, journalism, or letter writing—but must be rooted in the kind of 'intuition' that 'must precede intellectual efforts' to recover the past (49). In fact, as Finn shows convincingly, some of Proust's letters turn out to be what he calls 'a staging area,' or a kind of first draft, for a scene that will later be depicted in *A la recherche*. Finally, Finn investigates the contemporary concept of 'closure' in Proust's novel and weighs it against the elements of 'openness and incompletion' that are also inherent in it. These make for fascinating pages, ... This densely written, intelligently argued, and quite readable study has the merit of bringing together much that has been written about Proust by various commentators and putting it together from a fresh perspective."

David O'Connell. *Romance Quarterly* 50.3 (Summer 2003) 227–28.

Pushkin

Pushkin: A Biography. T. J. Binyon. New York: Knopf, 2003. 732 pp. $35.00.

"Binyon chooses to write about what is accessible, Pushkin as a social being. This is also where Binyon excels. . . . [T]he world in which Binyon's Pushkin moves sparkles with concrete historical detail and vividly realized personalities, testimony not only to Binyon's much more assiduous culling of Soviet sources and contemporary documents but also to his admirable memory and ability to swirl detail into a lively, novelistic tapestry. . . . Yet in this time, as in his own incessantly watched lifetime, 'the real Pushkin' got away."

Monika Greenleaf. *LATBR*, Oct. 26, 2003: 13.

Raffi, Kodikian

Journal of the Dead: A Story of Friendship and Murder in the New Mexico Desert. Jason Kerston. New York: HarperCollins, 2003. 236 pp. $24.95.

"'Journal of the Dead' is the first book by Jason Kerston, who tells the story of [David] Coughlin and Kodikian [Kodikian killed his friend Coughlin] with quiet authority, lending unexpected dignity to the whole affair. The result is a ruminative, wholly absorbing book."

Bruce Barcott. *NYTBR*, Sept. 7, 2003: 11.

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Rapin, Nicolas

Un poitevin poète, humaniste et soldat à l'époque des guerres de religion. Nicolas Rapin (1539–1608). La carrière, les milieux, l'œuvre. Jean Brunel. Paris: Champion (Bibliothèque littéraire de la Renaissance, série 3, tome LI, 2002. 1678 pp. EUR210.

Nicolas Rapin's thrilling life was unknown to the public before the publication of *A Poet, A Humanist, A Soldier from Poitou during the religious wars. Nicolas Rapin (1539–1608): His Career, His Milieu, His Writings.* This massive biography obviously fills in a gap: it gives a detailed account of Rapin's personal library, of his correspondence and writings, of his role as the mayor of Fontenay-le-Comte, of his participation in the religious wars, and of his close connection with major figures of the time: J.-A. de Thou, A. d'Aubigné, É. Pasquier, the Pithou, the Dupuy brothers. This volume is rich in information on Rapin's personality, but also in the history of his time pertaining to musicology, orthography, or the French region of Poitou.

Michele Mastroianni. *Studi Francesi,* Jan.-Apr. 2003: 151–52.

Rodney, Lester

Press Box Red: The Story of Lester Rodney, the Communist Who Helped Break the Color Line in American Sports. Irwin Silber. Philadelphia: Temple UP, 2003. 236 pp. $19.95.

"Up to now, Rodney has been no more than a footnote in books about [Jackie] Robinson. . . . 'Press Box Red' fills a notable gap in American history. . . . [It] is a terrific read. Silber intersperses a narrative of Rodney's life and work with long reminiscences from the feisty lefty himself, who still follows sports."

Allen Barra. *LATBR,* Oct. 19, 2003: 7.

Roosevelt, Franklin Delano

That Man: An Insider's Portrait of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Robert H. Jackson. Ed. John Q. Barrett. New York: Oxford UP, 2003. 269 pp. $30.00.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Roy Jenkins. Assisted by Richard E. Neustadt. New York: Times Books/Henry Holt, 2003. $20.00.

"It turns out that Robert H. Jackson, who served as Roosevelt's attorney general before being appointed a justice of the Supreme Court and, in 1945–46, senior American prosecutor at Nuremberg, was working on an F.D.R. memoir of his own when he died in 1954. The unfinished manuscript, which Jackson titled 'That Man,' passed to his son and spent the next half-century in a Manhattan closet. In 1999, when Jackson's son died, his family discovered the draft and enlisted a law professor and Jackson scholar, John Q. Barrett, to prepare it for publication. The result is a lively, revealing and

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suddenly relevant book. . . . Jenkins, like Jackson, died of a heart attack before completing a book on Roosevelt. (Jenkins left his manuscript in expert hands: the book was edited by Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., and its final chapter was concluded by Richard E. Neustadt, professor emeritus of government at Harvard.) Breezy and brief, 'Franklin Delano Roosevelt' is a small-scale biography of an outsize personality, and succeeds brilliantly. The joy that Jenkins takes in Roosevelt, and the reformers and rogues that surround him, is manifest, and difficult not to share."

Jeff Shesol. *NYTBR*, Nov. 2, 2003: 14.

Rosenberg, Julius and Ethel

Execution in the Family: One Son's Journey. Robert Meerpol. New York: St. Martin's, 2003. 273 pp. $25.95.

"Could it be, Meerpol wondered, that his parents were guilty of something? In his early 40's he experiences a long period of paralyzing anxiety. He attributes this condition to his dislike of his job at a business law firm. But in fact, he tells us, he did not recover until the day he saw an exhibition of artwork that had been inspired by the Rosenberg case. He was struck, then, by a saving thought: Whatever Julius and Ethel Rosenberg might have done, they were heroes. With their very lives at stake, they had refused to give in to government pressure to confess and to implicate others. They had stood by their beliefs. They had resisted."

Dorothy Gallagher. *NYTBR*, Sept. 22, 2003: 16.

Rothstein, Arnold

Rothstein: The Life, Times, and Murder of the Criminal Genius Who Fixed the 1919 World Series. David Pietrusza. New York: Carroll & Graf, 2003. 485 pp. $27.00.

"David Pietrusza [is] the co-editor of the authoritative *Total Baseball*. . . . Immortalized as the vulgar Meyer Wolfsheim—always seeking 'gonnegtions'—by F. Scott Fitzgerald's anti-Semitic portrait in *The Great Gatsby*, Rothstein was in fact, according to Pietrusza, dapper, graceful, and charming, a nonsmoking teetotaler. He was also egotistical and cruel, a man . . . in love with the business of making money. . . . Known as the 'big bankroll' and more commonly as 'A.R.', Rothstein also served as the model for Nathan Detroit, operator of the floating crap game in Damon Runyan's *Guys and Dolls*. . . . Pietrusza plunges us into early 20th-century New York City's remarkable, Broadway-centered underworld, in which gangsters and gamblers, newspapermen and songwriters, showgirls and pimps, crooked cops and lawyers and theatrical producers rubbed shoulders. The rebellious second son of an Orthodox Jewish cotton goods dealer known as 'Abe the Just,' Rothstein began stealing and gambling (often losing) at a young age. . . .

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Rothstein earned his niche in American History for having been the money, and perhaps the brains, behind the thrown 1919 World Series. The story of the 'Black Sox' scandal is extremely complicated, involving two groups of gamblers, players in over their heads, disappearing confessions, and a labyrinth of fixes, doublecrosses, cover-ups, and a con so big, so audacious,' Pietrusza writes, 'it nearly ruined professional baseball.' The author provides a thoroughly plausible, ingenious reinterpretation of the affair that places Rothstein at the center of the fix. . . . Pietrusza draws together what is known about Rothstein's murder, which took place Nov. 4, 1928. . . . For an epilogue, he gives us a 30-page roundup of the later lives of 'the supporting cast'—a true rogue's gallery. . . . This book presents problems, especially for historians. On the one hand, Pietrusza tells a good story, has clearly done immense research, and scrupulously lists sources for quotations, events and numerous capsule biographies of small- and big-time crooks. On the other hand, his sources do not always inspire equal levels of confidence. . . . [But] when the author has something important to say . . . he carefully discriminates among competing accounts. . . . Pietrusza's material puts real flesh on the story of how the new machinery of mass entertainment—the yellow press, movies, radio, the recording industry—created and brought together the culture of celebrity, politics, big-time sports, stock market fortunes, and organized crime in the 1920s."

Warren Goldstein. *WP,* Nov. 24–30, 2003: 33.

Sand, George

Histoire de ma vie. George Sand. Presented and annotated by Damien Zanone. Paris: Garnier-Flammarion, 2001. Volumes I and II: 642 pp. and 602 pp. EUR9.98.

Damien Zanone, who directed this publication of Sand's autobiography (Story of my Life), used the manuscript reviewed by Sand herself, published by Calmann-Lévy in 1876, a manuscript which respects the anonymity of names; in this, Zanone's volume differs from the canonic version of *Story of my Life* annotated by Georges Lubin and published by Gallimard in the "Pléiade" Collection. Moreover, Damien Zanone's presentation of Sand's work, his annotations, and his choice of excerpts are directly conditioned by the recent critical works in the field of autobiography written by women. The originality of Sand's autobiographical writing therefore fully appears in her obstinate refusal to accept models of scripture crafted by her male predecessors: she refuses Rousseau's *Confessions,* his constant judgment of others, and his self obsession; she finds Chateaubriand's *Mémoires d'outre-tombe* unacceptable because of their aristocratic exclusivity. Instead, by including styles borrowed from oral forms and discursive digressions or dialogues, Sand offers a new lyricism based on her democratic idealism.

Martine Watrelot. *Stuff Francesi,* Jan.-Apr. 2003: 189.

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Sargent, John Singer

John Singer Sargent: Strapless. Deborah Davis. New York: Jeremy P. Tarcher/Penguin, 2003. 310 pp. $24.95.

"Padding out a slight story with a mass of detail, of which less might have been welcome, on Parisian architecture and the Franco-Prussian war, Davis writes enjoyably about the cult of beauty that contributed an annual $3 billion to the city's economy by the 1880's."

Miranda Seymour. *NYTBR,* Sept. 28, 2003: 19.

Sartre, Jean-Paul

Sartre et Beauvoir, du "je" au "nous." Catherine Poisson. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2002. 211 pp. $50.00.

In *Sartre and Beauvoir: From "I" to "We,"* Catherine Poisson shows the difficult passage from the use of the personal singular pronoun "I," typical of autobiography, to the plural pronoun "we," of what Poisson calls ambi-biography. The comparison made between Sartre and Beauvoir and other literary couples (Sand/Musset, Louis Aragon/Elsa Triolet) who embrace the use of "we" as a sign of literary symbiosis is particularly interesting.

Elena Angelelli. *Studi Francesi,* Jan.-Apr. 2003: 209.

Sextus Pompeius

Sextus Pompeius. Ed. Anton Powell and Kathryn Welch. Contributors: Alain M. Gowing, Hugh Lindsay, Benedict J. Lowe, Daniel Ogden, Shelley C. Stone, Charles Tesoriero, Lindsay Watson, and Powell and Welch. London: Duckworth/Classical Press of Wales, 2002. 285 pp. $59.50.

Pompey's younger son is to this day one of Rome's famous unknowns, not unlike his victorious opponent Marcus Agrippa and partly for the same reason: a public standing detrimental to the Myth of Octavianus Augustus, too prominent to be kept alive. But while Agrippa's share in the victories and power of the Princeps has been reasserted over the past decades, Sextus Pompeius is still confined to footnotes that usually treat him with severity: pirate, desperado, at best an outdated champion for family *dignitas* irretrievably lost. [But] the tide is turning at last, and various scholars' efforts to free themselves from the Triumviral perspective make themselves felt. The present collection of papers read at Hay-on-Wye, Wales, is so far the most notable condensation of this view. . . . Chances are that it will be found indispensable from now on. Its contributors tackle a blind spot in the transitional period from Republic to Empire, striving to make the best of the damaging unison of both evidence and modern *communis opinio.* . . . The vivid introduction by Anton Powell . . . offers a very convenient sketch of Sextus as a literary phenomenon and makes a good case for the conviction more or less shared by all the contributors: that the negative image of the

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protagonist is the result of general disinformation, desperately needed by Octavian to cover up the fact that Sextus paraded (and even possessed) many of the virtues which Caesar's heir claimed in later years. . . . The series of essays is opened by two papers of Powell's co-editor Kathryn Welch . . . who is preparing a biography on Sextus that will be eagerly welcomed.

Jörg Föndling. *BMCR,* Nov. 2, 2003.

Shakespeare, William

Shakespeare. Michael Wood. New York: Basic Books, 2003. 352 pp. $29.95.

"To accompany the TV series, the BBC published an impressive, admirably detailed book by Wood."

Robert Giroux. *LATBR,* Nov. 2, 2003: 8–9.

Sinatra, Frank

Mr. S: My Life with Frank Sinatra. George Jacobs and William Stadiem. New York: HarperEntertainment, 2003. 288 pp. $24.95.

"George Jacobs, Frank Sinatra's valet during the very good years 1953 to 1968, serves up a showbiz tell-all—straight, no chaser. In a hip patois worthy of a cool-jazz film noir, 'Mr. S,' written with William Stadiem, the author of 'Marilyn Monroe Confidential,' recounts the epic mismatch of Sinatra, the hard-drinking swinger-in-chief, and the flower child Mia Farrow."

Eric P. Nash. *NYTBR,* Sept. 21, 2003: 28.

Singer, Isaac Bashevis

Isaac B. Singer. Florence Noiville. Paris: Stock, "Biographies," 2003. 264 pp. EUR25.

The main sources of Singer's inspiration were the childhood years in Warsaw and women. The grafting of philosophy and universal literature on the Jewish formation was a source of tensions and contradictions, leading to a singular and indeed unique work. Strange to note that a century ago in Warsaw, yiddish-written papers had a circulation of hundreds of thousands and that when Singer was awarded the Nobel Prize (1978), that language had become "the language of nobody." Admired by his peers (Saul Bellow and Henry Miller, for instance), often disparaged by yiddishophone writers, Singer is the exemplary embodiment of that modern figure "the global stranger." This first biography in French is at once delicate and moving.

Emmanuel Moses. *Le Monde des Livres,* Nov. 21, 2003: 4.

Smith, John, and Pocahontas

Love and Hate in Jamestown: John Smith, Pocahontas, and the Heart of a New Nation. David A. Price. New York: Knopf, 2003. 305 pp. $25.95.

"Price focuses . . . on the human story of Jamestown, nearly mythic in its

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resonances, and he interprets it not with market economics but with political philosophy—in particular, the subfield devoted to negotiations with people who would prefer you dead. At the dawn of the 17th century, the English forswore the brutal tactics of the Spanish, who plundered and enslaved Indians. The Indians did not therefore love the English, however."

Caleb Crain. *NYTBR*, Oct. 19, 2003: 13.

Stern, Irma

Remembering Irma—Irma Stern: A Memoir with Letters. Mona Berman. Cape Town: Double Storey, 2003. 184 pp. R174.

This account of the woman who has been referred to as "the supreme South African painter," Irma Stern, is based on 30 years of intimate letters from Stern to author Mona Berman's parents, as well as the personal memories of the author. The book reveals part of Stern's life few people knew about, from the depths of despair to the heights of her triumph as an artist. What Berman has done skillfully is to put into context the difficulties experienced by Stern and the difficulties she sometimes caused for those around her. I loved this book from the moment I picked it up. It is like a family scrapbook, and you get to see the pictures as well.

Jennifer Crocker. *Cape Times,* Sept. 12, 2003: 7.

The brilliant, willful Stern was one of the greatest Expressionist painters of her time. In this captivating "memoir with letters," Berman describes with disarming frankness her childish resentment of Stern's extended visits to their home. More than insight into the artist, *Remembering Irma* also presents an intriguing portrait of a liberal immigrant Jewish family, the sort that has so enriched South Africa's history. My only complaint about this book is that there is not enough of it.

Michele Magwood. *Sunday Times, Lifestyle,* Oct. 5, 2003: 15.

Stone, Ellen

The Miss Stone Affair: America's First Modern Hostage Crisis. Teresa Carpenter. New York: Simon and Schuster, 2003. 238 pp. $24.00.

"Carpenter is earnest and meticulous, and one senses beneath her sobriety an urge to let herself go and fully indulge in the human drama. There is the occasional breathy passage, but for the most part, like her heroine [who was held hostage by Albanian nationalists at the beginning of the 20th century], she maintains an impressively stiff upper lip. This leaves the impression of two books in one: a worthy account of politics and diplomacy, with a more emotional one beneath it, itching to break free."

Ben Macintyre. *NYTBR,* Sept. 21, 2003: 34.

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Stresemann, Gustav

Gustav Stresemann: Weimar's Greatest Statesman. Jonathan Wright. New York: Oxford UP, 2003. 569 pp. $39.95.

"The subject of Jonathan Wright's well-researched new biography, Stresemann was a 'republican of the mind.' He held high positions in the Weimar Republic, but his heart remained in the defunct Hohenzollern monarchy. ... As Jonathan Wright shows in his detailed and very useful new biography, the best yet written, even his own party was getting closer to the Nazis at the time. Wright's book relies on extensive new archive material that has not been available thus far to English readers. He believes that Stresmann was the only active politician who might have been able to maintain the alliance between moderate leftists and moderate rightists. His death was thus a devastating blow to the Weimar Republic."

Amos Elon. *NYRB,* Oct. 23, 2003: 31, 34.

Suard, Jean-Baptiste-Antoine

Jean-Baptiste-Antoine Suard: journaliste des Lumières. Eric Francalanza. Paris: Champion, 2002. 469 pp.

"In this densely argued book, the first major study of Suard since 1925, Eric Francalanza examines the interaction of the journalist's work and philosophy with the world in which he lived. He seeks to show why this man of letters should have acquired, through his contributions to the *Journal étranger,* the *Gazette littéraire de l'Europe* and other periodicals, a prestige which gained him a chair in the Academie Française. He frankly admits at the outset to being faced with a methodological dilemma: since the journal articles are anonymous, how does one establish which are attributable to Suard himself? As part of the answer, he claims to discover a stylistic constant in Suard's style, in the form of a binary opposition, such as the one Suard articulates between 'goût' and 'esprit'. . . . Francalanza devotes the second section to 'Suard et son milieu': his connections with government, the Academe and the salons. In this last world, Suard owed much to the salon run by his wife Amélie, to which the author gives, justifiably, a considerable amount of space. . . . Of the scholastic rigour and meticulousness of this study there can be no doubt. ... But, it has to be said, this book is hard going. Substantively, the author assumes a thorough foreknowledge of Suard on the part of the reader. No chronology, for instance, is provided of his complex activities. . . . Stylistically, a somewhat complex phraseology is not rendered any simpler by the paragraphing, which not infrequently runs on over several pages at a time. This forbidding presentation does not, alas, encourage easy access to a study that will surely remain the essential work on Suard's journals, *témoins de leur temps,* for a long while to come."

Haydn Mason. *French Studies* 57.3 (2003): 397–98.

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Taylor, J. B.

Lucky Jim: Memoirs of a Randlord. J. B. Taylor. Cape Town: Stonewall Books, 2003. 205 pp. R123.

First published in 1939, these intriguing memoirs of the pioneering South African mining entrepreneur tell, with gripping immediacy, of that rapacious band of get-rich-quick, supremely racist, quasi-aristocratic, always fascinating brigands—the self-serving Randlords. In this narrative, we are in the heartland of opportunistic, racially fertilised colonialism. We are among the precursors of apartheid. It is an absorbing historical portrayal.

Alan Lipman. *The Sunday Independent,* Aug. 3, 2003: 18.

Lucky Jim offers a first-person account by one of the Randlords who knew both sides of the gold-mining equation in the old Transvaal Republic—Cecil Rhodes's crude capitalism on the one hand and president Paul Kruger's farm-based republican virtue on the other. Taylor's language reflects the rough and tumble of the frontier, exudes an almost unconscious arrogant articulation of racism and imperialism, but is equally speckled with quaint Victorian expressions. In this sense, *Lucky Jim* is a timepiece that shows South Africa at the advent of its industrial and racial order.

Cornelius Thomas. *Daily Dispatch,* Sept. 6, 2003: 4.

Thurber, James

The Thurber Letters: The Wit, Wisdom, and Surprising Life of James Thurber. Ed. Harrison Kinney with Rosemary A. Thurber. New York: Simon and Schuster, 2003. 789 pp. $40.00.

"While I do not mean to suggest that 'The Thurber Letters' is without interest, there is not a letter in it that I would put into the balance with any of a hundred of his drawings. It is there, not here, that the 'wit' and 'wisdom' advertised in the shy-making subtitle of 'The Thurber Letters' are truly to be found."

Terry Teachout. *NYTBR,* Aug. 10, 2003: 7.

Turner, J. W. M.

Turner: A Life. James Hamilton. New York: Random House, 2003. 461 pp. $35.00.

"Hamilton's 'Turner: A Life' follows and summarizes previous biographies. He has made good use of recent scholarship contained in exhibition catalogs devised by the curators of the bequest [Turner Funds]. His writing succeeds by virtue of its clarity and good sense. The book fails, I believe, because Hamilton will not plunge into the mythic waters of interpretation."

Tim Hilton. *NYTBR,* Sept. 7, 2003: 20.

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Washington, George

An Imperfect God: George Washington, His Slaves, and the Creation of America. Henry Wiencek. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2003. 405 pp. $25.00.

"According to Wiencek, Washington was neither an especially enlightened or benevolent slaveowner. While he lived opulently . . . his slaves were poorly clothed and housed in substandard quarters. . . . Washington worked his slaves hard. They started for the fields before dawn and did not lay down their tools until after sunset. In between he kept an eye on his human chattels' pace of work, managing their labor and productivity as scientifically as industrial efficiency experts would manage factory workers a century later. . . . Washington ordered floggings for insubordination. . . . He did not hesitate to divide families in order to obtain an adequate labor force for each of his five farms that comprised Mount Vernon. . . . Wiencek wants to see good in Washington, and good can be found. . . . He ultimately acknowledged that black soldiers were among the best that he commanded. . . . Furthermore, Washington ultimately liberated his slaves, altering his will in 1799 to decree that they were to be emancipated following his and Martha's deaths, and to provide for the education of the younger slaves. . . . Wiencek is unclear on what precisely provoked the change in Washington's thinking. . . . Wiencek is not so accommodating toward Martha Washington. He reveals that she had a black half-sister, Ann Dandridge, who was enslaved. Martha inherited Ann and brought her to Mount Vernon in 1759, where she was kept in bondage. Ann was ultimately liberated by a niece. . . . Although not quite so original as Wiencek suggests, this book nevertheless succeeds in laying bare the monstrous cruelty of the slave system, showing how it stained, corrupted and victimized free and unfree alike."

John Ferling. *WP*, Dec. 1–7, 2003: 33.

Welles, Orson

Orson Welles: The Stories of His Life. Peter Conrad. London: Faber and Faber, 2003.368 pp. $25.00.

"Conrad doesn't attempt a standard biography; instead he considers the man through the archetypes on which he drew as an actor and director—Falstaff, Don Quixote, Faust. It's a brilliant way to explore this mercurial prodigy who conceived of his life in mythic terms and (the other side of this coin) told frequent lies about it. Conrad, an Oxford don whose books include an unconventional study of Hitchcock, writes with erudite agility, making excursions into Romantic poetry, Shakespeare, and the history of radio and film. The result is an idiosyncratic monument to Welles, one that both explains and amplifies the legend."

The New Yorker. Oct. 20, 2003: 196.

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Wende, Hamilton

Deadlines from the Edge: Images of War from Congo to Afghanistan. Hamilton Wende. London: Viking, 2003. 291 pp. R154.

War correspondent Hamilton Wende takes the reader from the chaotic streets of Lumbumbashi in the former Zaire during the fall of one of Africa's most ruthless dictators, Mobuto Sese Seko, to the Kuwaiti desert, where American soldiers await the go-ahead to invade neighboring Iraq. Wende (who was born in the US but grew up in South Africa) shares his fears and frustrations of working in war zones around the globe. This insightful account is written with simplicity, but its message is powerful and it brings to life the full horror of war as seen through the eyes of a man, rather than the lens of a camera.

Lucas Ledwaba. *This Day,* Oct. 30: 9.

Winthrop, John

John Winthrop: America's Forgotten Founding Father. Francis J. Bremer. New York: Oxford UP, 2003. 478 pp. $39.95.

"[I]t is difficult to bring Winthrop into focus as a character. Bremer provides context, especially the genealogical variety."

Caleb Crain. *NYTBR,* Sept. 21, 2003: 11.

Yates, Richard

A Tragic Honesty: The Life and Work of Richard Yates. Blake Bailey. New York: Picador, 2003. 656 pp. $35.00.

"Bailey has difficulty imagining Yates as anything but a Yates character, but his portrait has little of the texture that made those characters come alive."

The New Yorker, Oct. 6, 2003: 118.

Yeats, William Butler

W. B. Yeats. A Life. Vol. II: The Arch-Poet, 1915–1939. R. F. Foster. Oxford. Oxford UP, 2003. 798 pp. $45.00; £30.00.

"[I]t is reasonably safe to say that much of [Foster's] work is definitive.... The bedrock of this enormous volume is not just Foster's intimate and consolidated knowledge but his deep and loving respect for Yeats—and also his care to deal justly with the poet's family, friends, business associates, mistresses and fellow poets. . . . I have never read a biography of any poet that has conveyed so clearly the genius of its subject and the talent of its author."

Frank Kermode. *LATBR,* Nov. 23, 2003: 5–6.

"Foster tells the whole story with just that blend of empathy and sceptism which allows him to register the frequent absurdities amidst all the grandeur."

Declan Kiberd. *TLS,* Sept. 26, 2003: 3–5.

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COLLECTIONS, GROUP BIOGRAPHIES, AND OTHER WORKS OF INTEREST

Asian/American Women

Compositional Subjects: Enfiguring Asian/American Women. Laura Hyun Yi Kang. Durham: Duke UP, 2002. 354 pp. $59.95.

"*Compositional Subjects* is an impressive work of synthesis that innovatively engages with a wide range of disciplinary and interdisciplinary fields including literary studies, film studies, history, anthropology, Asian American studies, and women's studies. . . . Kang examines the emergence of particular 'stock compositions' of Asian/American women within disciplined modes of inquiry: as writing subjects in literary criticism; as desirable projections in American cinema; as national citizens in history and historiography; and as model bodies for transnational labor in an array of social science research."

Grace Wang. *American Quarterly* 55.3 (Sept. 2003): 499–506.

Courtesans

Grandes Horizontales: The Lives and Legends of Marie Duplessis, Cora Perl, La Paiva and La Présidente. Virginia Rounding. New York: Bloomsbury, 2003. 337 pp. $25.95.

"Although Rounding . . . has hacked her way through thickets of material the better to establish a more or less clear-cut story line for these courtesans, a good deal of what she recounts has the flavor of myth or inspired guesswork, which gives the book a slightly hazy, impressionistic quality rather than the feel of factually moored history. One might have wished for a tighter narrative structure (there are frequently confusing shifts when a particular life is left dangling only to be returned to later on) and more stringent analysis. Still, 'Grandes Horizontales' is fascinating on several counts, not the least because of Rounding's description of the French and British efforts throughout the nineteenth century to make a systematic study of prostitution, beginning with the basic question as to whether prostitutes were born or made."

Daphne Merkin. *NYTBR,* Sept. 21, 2003: 20.

Innocent People

The Innocents. Taryn Simon, with Peter Neufeield and Barry Schenck. New York: Umbrage, 2003. 136 pp. $34.95.

"The 45 men and women whose portraits appear in the pages of 'The Innocents' collectively served more than 500 years in prison for crimes they did not commit. The photographer Taryn Simon found and interviewed her subjects by working with the Innocence Project, the legal clinic founded by Barry Scheck and Peter Neufeld at Cardozo Law School in New York. She provides summaries for each case with its accompanying image—vividly stylized re-creations of the scene of the arrest or misidentification, portraits with alibi

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witnesses or vignettes from the newly free lives of the wrongfully convicted. They alone do not tell us much about their subjects—and that is part of the point. Many of the people portrayed were convicted on the basis of flawed eyewitness testimony, stacked lineups and manipulated photo displays."

Jake Miller. *NYTBR*, Oct. 19, 2003: 32.

Iranians and the CIA

All The Shah's Men: An American Coup and the Roots of Middle East Terror. Stephen Kinzer. New York: John Wiley, 2003. 258 pp. $24.95.

"Kinzer's brisk, vivid account is filled with beguiling details . . . but he stumbles a bit when it comes to Operation Ajax's wider significance. Kinzer shrewdly points out that 1953 helps explain (if not excuse) the Islamist revolutionaries' baffling decision to take American hostages in 1979; the hostage-takers feared that the C.I.A. might save the shah yet again and, in part, seized prisoners as insurance"

Warren Bass. *NYTBR*, Aug. 10, 2003: 13.

Johannesburg Residents

Johannesburg Portraits: From Lionel Phillips to Sibongile Khumalo. Mike Alfred. Houghton, South Africa: Jacana Press, 2003. 131 pp. R169.00.

Johannesburg Portraits is a series of 10 succinct biographies intended "as an accessible, informative read for those who wish to learn more about the city of Johannesburg and some of its citizens." Alfred's range is broad and eclectic, and includes a famous Randlord, political activists, writers, artists, a musical family, an illustrator-ornithologist, and a lone but high-profile scientist. *Portraits* is a comfortable weekend read and will provide most readers with brief, but never shallow, pen portraits of the subjects and a sense of the times and environment in which they lived, worked, and struggled.

Mike Berger. *Cape Times*, Sept. 12, 2003: 7.

Medieval Selfhood

The Performance of Self: Ritual, Clothing, and Identity during the Hundred Years War. Susan Crane. Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 2002. 269 pp. £14.00.

"At the heart of Susan Crane's provocative study of medieval selfhood are tensions: between self and society, nature and artifice, revelation and concealment, and—most tellingly for the present purpose—between modern and contemporary perceptions of the very selfhood the author seeks to elucidate. What Crane has dubbed 'postmedieval conceptions of identity' (she does not entirely specify her time-frame) reject the notion that an outwardly projected self could be an authentic one: selfhood, rather, inheres truly in introspection and interiority. Drawing support from the work of performance-

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and practice-theorists, Crane presses continually against this reductive and, to her mind, falsifying view. She posits instead a persuasive and highly innovative case for the medieval construction of self through the enactment of ritual and the concomitant deployment of clothing and vestimentary behaviour in the (paradoxically) temperamentally similar English and French courts between c. 1300 and 1450. Central to the author's closely argued thesis is the—superficially very simple—proposition that 'had the elites of the Hundred Years War identified themselves with their hidden thoughts, they would have had no need for their brilliant array of talking garments, growling masks, flower fetishes, ancestral totems and mimetic rituals.' . . . Crane's work is an elegant and sensitive, original and compelling, contribution to our understanding of the construction and expression of pre-modern selfhood."

Rebecca Dixon. *French Studies* 57.3 (2003): 367.

Mormons

American Massacre: The Tragedy of Mountain Meadows, September 1857. Sally Denton. New York: Knopf, 2003. 306 pp. $26.50.

"American Massacre' moves briskly, although in its first third it is marred by clumsy quotations. The book is strongly dependent on secondary sources, most significantly Will Bagley's 'Blood of the Prophets.' . . . Bagley may be the superior scholar—Denton's book is about half the length with minimal footnotes—but as writers they are evenly matched; when Denton, a reporter for newspapers and television, hits her stride, the subject takes over and her book becomes gripping. She also adds valuable material to the historical record; she has found diary extracts apparently overlooked by the others, and has interviewed a number of descendants whose oral family traditions shed light on the subject."

David Haward Bain. *NYTBR*, Sept. 7, 2003: 15.

Self-Representation in France

The Backward Look: Memory and the Writing Self in France, 1580–1920. Angelica Goodden. Oxford: Legenda, 2000. 194 pp. £29.50; $49.50.

"At a time when modish Foucauldian attacks on the concept of the individual have given way to an equally fashionable bout of navel-gazing in the guise of the current vogue for confessional literature, it is salutary to read a thoughtful, level-headed and well-informed account of the representation of the self in French writing from the Renaissance to the twentieth century. Of necessity a selective survey, the choice of authors and books none the less reflects key stages in the transformation of the function of memory in the projection of the self, and the attendant emergence of individual consciousness as the dominant feature of first-person narrative. Taking as a necessary starting-point Montaigne, Angelica Goodden follows a trajectory via Descartes, to

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the eighteenth-century memoir-novels of Marivaux, Prévost and Crébillon fils, before reaching the pivotal writings of Diderot and Rousseau who prepared the ground for the Romantics, represented by Constant, and culminating, inevitably, with Proust. . . . This is an ambitious and a demanding book. The author admits that it has gone through a process of frequent rewriting and painful excision. As a result the argument is dense, and illustration spare and pertinent. On the other hand, the author's over familiarity with her material means that a certain freshness of approach has been lost, and leads her at times to lose sight of the need to keep company with her reader. That said, there is no doubting the depth, range and persuasiveness of the thesis advanced."

Anthony Strugnell. *French Studies* 57.3 (2003): 428–30.

Socratic Philosophers. See **Plato.**

The Triangle Fire

Triangle: The Fire That Changed America. David Von Drehle. New York: Atlantic Monthly, 2003. 340 pp. $25.00.

"Von Drehle, a reporter at the Washington Post, has written what is sure to become the definitive account of the fire. Previously, that distinction belonged to the labor historian Leon Stein's fine work, 'The Triangle Fire' (1962). But Stein's account focused primarily on the fire. 'Triangle' is a social history of the catastrophe but also of the time and the turbulent city in which it took place."

Kevin Baker. *NYTBR,* Sept. 7, 2003: 16.

White American Males

Houdini, Tarzan, and the Perfect Man: The White Male Body and the Challenge of Modernity in America. John F. Kasson. New York: Hill and Wang, 2001. 256 pp. $26.00.

"Kasson examines the predicament of American modernity through the spectacular bodies of three white men: the founder of contemporary bodybuilding, Eugen Sandow, the strenuous escape artist, Harry Houdini (nee Erik Weisz/Erich Weiss), and Tarzan, the fictional character of Edgar Rice Burroughs. These men, Kasson argues, created powerful visual symbols for a generation of white men born too late to have experienced the visceral blood and guts horrors and adventures of the Civil War and who faced a future filled with deadening bureaucratic occupations of effeminizing 'brain work'."

Janet M. Davis. *American Quarterly* 55.3 (Sept. 2003): 530–32.

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LIFELINES

Call for Papers. "The Holocaust and Genocide in War Films." 2004 Film and History Conference. Dallas, Texas. 11–14 Nov. 2004. The Holocaust and Nazi racial policies have become central themes in documentaries and feature films about WW II. The portrayal of genocide as a key element in civil wars also appears in films like *The Killing Fields, Ararat,* and *Vukovar.* The Holocaust and Genocide area of the Film and History Conference is seeking paper and panel proposals which analyze films that explore the themes of genocide as racial war, and subsequent war crimes trials. Papers can focus on a single film, compare films on the same subject, and compare the depiction of genocide in films about different wars. Send proposals and inquiries to Lawrence Baron, Department of History, San Diego State University, San Diego, CA 92182; lbaron@mail.sdsu.edu. For more conference information, see www.filmandhistory.org. **Deadline:** 30 July 2004.

Call for Articles. "Disability." 2005 Special Issue of *Atenea.* Submissions may address any aspect of disability, including disability studies as a field; representations of disability ; and the intersections of gender, sexuality, race, politics, class, and disability. Submissions may be in English or Spanish. Essays should be between 4,000 and 5,0000 words, in MLA format, and should be accompanied by a brief abstract. Poetry and fiction should not exceed eight pages, and book reviews should be between 500 and 900 words. The author's name and address should appear only on a separate title page. Email inquiries to atenea@uprm.edu, but electronic submissions are not considered. Mail submissions in triplicate to Nandita Batra, Editor, *Revista Atenea;* Department of English, Box 9265; University of Puerto Rico at Mayaguez; Mayaguez, Puerto Rico 00681. **Deadline:** 9 Aug. 2004.

Call For Articles. "GLBT Human Rights Issues." 2004 Special Issue of the *Journal of Intergroup Relations.* Guest Editor Jeffrey A. Nelson invites submissions that directly address human rights issues surrounding persons who identify as glbt. Possible topics include scholarly analyses of local, state, national, or international texts; reports of individual research studies that explore glbt human rights issues; descriptions of efforts by human rights workers to address growing concerns regarding discrimination against glbt persons; historical analyses of social movements geared toward glbt human rights; case studies of community efforts that have affected the social, organizational, or legal standing of glbt human rights; book reviews related to

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glbt issues; or personal or collaborative commentary on the including glbt as a protected class. An Information for Contributors and Manuscript Preparation Guidelines is included in the latter pages of each issue. Direct inquiries and submissions to Mark P. Orbe, Editor; *Journal of Intergroup Relations;* Department of Communication; Western Michigan University; Kalamazoo, MI 49008-5318; orbe@wmich.edu. **Deadline:** 1 Sept. 2004.

Call for Articles. "Physical, Cognitive, or Sensory Difference in US Multiethnic Literatures." *MELUS* Special Issue on the convergences of ethnic studies and disability studies in literary scholarship. Essays should explicitly locate themselves within a disability studies framework and engage with current debates in the field. Especially welcome are papers pertaining to any of the following issues as they manifest themselves in US multiethnic literatures: disability and immigrant, diasporic, border, and/or transnational identities; racial "passing"/hidden disability; social/ political mobility; immigrants as socially/politically/linguistically disabled; bodies and the law; art and advocacy; illness/AIDS/medical care; reproduction/sterilization; "normalizing" medical procedures; injury, war, veterans; trauma; racial/ethnic bodies as congenitally and/or medically defective or diseased; medicalization of difference; freak shows; violence and hate crimes; disabled bodies in ethnic folklore; the racial/ethnic grotesque; subjectivity and embodiment; race/ethnic/disabled theory; hybrid and/or cyborg bodies; disability and narrative strategies. Inquiries and essays (5000–6000 words, MLA style) may be sent to either Jennifer C. James, jcj@gwu.edu or Cynthia Wu, cynthiaw@umich.edu. **Deadline:** 1 Sept. 2004.

Call for Papers. "Jane Austen's Letters in Fact and Fiction." Jane Austen Society of North America Annual General Meeting. 7–9 Oct. 2005. Milwaukee, WI. Letters in Fact: Austen's letters are the most significant primary source material concerning her life and work, and also offer significant insight into English middle class life. Proposals relating to Austen's letters may focus on any of these topics. Letters in Fiction: from epistolary juvenilia through final masterpieces, Austen's fiction exhibits a rich and diverse use of correspondence. Proposals may involve a close study of Austen's own texts, or a comparative study of her place in the employment of letters in narrative. We encourage creative formats for breakout sessions, including media presentations, panel discussions, and point-counterpoint debates, as well as traditional lectures. Sessions should be about 40 minutes long, allowing time for questions afterward. Submit a 1 page abstract (including media requirements) with a cover sheet indicating your name, affiliation, mailing and email

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addresses, telephone numbers, and a brief biography, by mail or email attachment to Marsha Huff, 2804 E. Park Place, Milwaukee, WI 53211; marshahuff@aol.com. **Deadline:** 14 Sept. 2004.

Call for Articles. "Exterminating Narratives: Identifying and Resisting Genocidal Cultural Logics." Articles are invited for an edited volume exploring genocide as a cultural and literary category for approaching narrative, with the objective of identifying cultural logics of genocide that might not typically be understood as such, and also of highlighting narratives of resistance to genocide that suggest alternative ways of living and organizing social relationships. The project seeks to mobilize current critical discourses to help address, comprehend, and resist the practices and cultural logics of genocide that, far from being facts of history we seek to understand retrospectively, are ongoing practices that often elude naming, identification, and redress. Proposals are sought that foreground such issues as how genocide is represented; how it is narratively recognized, misnamed, or misidentified; how it is defined; how the continuum of genocidal logic fits into practices of everyday life not usually or necessarily understood as part of such a logic, such as the logic of the commodity; and how comparing acts of genocide reveal explores this logic? Papers should deal with specific texts, which might include literary works, political texts such as UN policies and resolutions, and critical studies of genocide. Inquiries and abstracts should be sent to Tim Libretti at T-Libretti@neiu.edu. **Deadline:** 15 Sept. 2004.

Call for Papers. "The Carlyle Letters and the Victorian World, 1851–81." Celebration of the 35th anniversary of the Duke-Edinburgh edition of the *Collected Letters of Thomas and Jane Welsh Carlyle.* 27–29 Oct. 2005. Duke University Press, Durham, NC. Participants are invited to focus on letters to, from, and about the Carlyles and their circle, as well as their political, intellectual, historical, and cultural environment. Send a 300 word abstract and resume to David Sorensen; Department of English; Saint Joseph's University; 5600 City Avenue; Philadelphia, PA 19131; dsorense@sju.edu; or Brent Kinser; Department of English; Greenlaw Hall, CB 3250; University of North Carolina; Chapel Hill, NC 17599-3250; bekinser@email.unc.edu. Do not send electronic versions. **Deadline:** 15 Jan. 2005.

Call for Papers. "Aging, Ageism, and Old Age." *NWSA* Special Issue Feminist theorists have charged that women's studies and the feminist movement have in large part ignored the issue of aging. In a field in which so many other aspects of body-based identity are debated, the subject of old age remains

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relatively unexamined. Possible paper topics include: what is stopping women's studies scholars from realizing age as another category of Othering? how can scholars address this topic? how might intergenerational dialogues reduce ageism? what are useful ways of bringing issues of aging into the classroom? how does our language interact with and inform our constructions of aging identity? how do constructions of old age affect politics and public policy? how does age interact with gender and sex? how do social constructions of age differ from scientific ones? how does old age intersect with other identity categories, and with other embodied or social categories? Send completed articles to Leni Marshall, Department of English, University of Minnesota, 207 Lind Hall, 207 Church Street SE, Minneapolis, MN 55455; mars0264@umn.edu. **Deadline:** 15 Jan. 2005.

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LIFE WRITING

LIFE WRITING, a new biannual journal from the Life Writing Research Unit, Curtin University of Technology is an interdisciplinary, peer-reviewed, print journal which explores the cultural work of life writing in its broadest sense: biography, autobiography, memoir, Indigenous life stories, oral histories, and testimonial, to name just some aspects. The first issue addresses cross-cultural life writing as it relates to the construction of Australian identity. Contributors include Ien Ang, Christine Choo, Richard Freadman, Kateryna Longley, David Parker, and Tony Simoes da Silva. A list of contents and abstracts of the major articles can be viewed at www.lifewriting.humanities.curtin.edu.au.

LIFE WRITING welcomes submissions on any aspect of life writing, either as scholarly analysis, review article, or reflective memoir. Scholarly articles and creative work should be no more than 8,000 words; reviews should be between 1,000 and 2,000 words. Details of style (broadly MLA conventions, with parenthetical citations and end references) can be found at www.lifewriting.humanities.curtin.edu.au.

Subscriptions: individuals: AUD$50.00 (Australia), AUD$65.00 (other countries); institutions: AUD$70.00 (Australia), AUD$85.00 (other countries). Subscription rates include postage/air mail delivery. To order, please send cheque or money order (payable to API Network) to: Life Writing, Australia Research Institute, Curtin University of Technology, GPO Box U1987, W.A. 6845, Australia.

Address inquiries to Mary Besemeres, M.Besemeres@curtin.edu.au, or Maureen Perkins, Maureen.Perkins@curtin.edu.au.

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A SPECIAL ISSUE OF A/B: AUTO/BIOGRAPHY STUDIES

"Epistolarity in the Twenty-First Century." Guest Editor Margaretta Jolly.

James Hewitt puts his love letters from Princess Diana up for auction; J. D. Salinger sues Ian Hamilton for quoting his archived letters in a literary biography; a circular e-mail petition about the oppression of Afghani women crashes its originator's university computer system; anthrax on envelopes adds to fears of terrorism; a woman accused of setting Colorado's biggest wildfire says she was burning a letter from her estranged husband; the testimonial letters of Korean "comfort women" help to get women's rights included in human rights charters; rockstar Alanis Morrisette riffs on unsent letters to former lovers; Ruth Picardie's e-mails, with her magazine column about dying of cancer, are published posthumously by her husband.

Most people still write letters—though common opinion is that the art is dead and they are now rarely published as literature. Letters persist as celebrity or literary artifacts, faxes, e-mail, fantasized archival and genealogical heritages, testimony, visual communications, personal ads, and fan mail, as well as in more traditional forms of literary devices, historical resources, journalistic petitions, correspondence courses, and everyday communications.

Arguably letters, like autobiography and biography, have been energized by the age of information and global communication, confession and celebrity, testimony and trauma. Essays are accordingly invited that illuminate the practice and art of letter-writing in the late twentieth and twenty-first centuries, or that consider letters—or their study—from previous eras in the light of contemporary concerns. Examples of topics that essays may engage include truth, confession, witnessing, and the contemporary letter; persuasion in letters; postmodernity and rhetoric; letters, loss, and trauma; letters and the biography industry; e-mail, faxes, mobile phones, and the death/regeneration of letter writing; letters, historiography, and the return of (grand) narrative; publishing, archiving, and epistolary ethics; letter-writing, migration, and diasporic identities; visual letters; the letter in art and media; (virtual) genders, sexualities, epistolarities; literacy and letter-writing outside the academy; letter-writing, globalization, petitioning; the history of epistolary theory; letter metaphors in critical theory; fragmentation, individuality, community, and the letter.

Please send abstracts of 300–400 words to Margaretta Jolly at m.jolly@exeter.ac.uk, School of English, University of Exeter, Queen's Building, Exeter, EX4 6DD. **Deadline:** 1 Aug. 2005.

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Cynthia Franklin teaches contemporary US literatures and theories of race and gender in the English Department of the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. She is the author of *Writing Women's Communities: The Politics and Poetics of Contemporary Multi-Genre Anthologies* (U of Wisconsin P, 1997). Chapters from her manuscript on contemporary academic memoirs have appeared in Gloria Anzaldúa and AnaLouise Keating's *This Bridge We Call Home* and the journal *LIT*. An article co-authored with Laura Lyons, "Remixing Hybridity: Globalization, Native Resistance, and Cultural Production in Hawai'i," is forthcoming in *American Studies*..

Andrew S. Gross is a faculty fellow in English at the University of California at Davis, where he received his Ph.D. in 2001. He lectured from 2002 to 2004 at the John F. Kennedy Institute for North American Studies of the Free University in Berlin. Gross has published on American literature, tourism studies, literary theory, and Holocaust studies.

Wendy S. Hesford is Associate Professor of English at The Ohio State University, where she specializes in feminist rhetoric, autobiographical theory, and critical pedagogy. She is the author of *Framing Identities: Autobiography and the Politics of Pedagogy* (U of Minnesota P, 1999), and two collections with Wendy Kozol, *Haunting Violations: Feminist Criticism and the Crisis of the "Real"* (U of Illinois P, 2001), and *Just Advocacy: Women's Human Rights, Transnational Feminism, and the Politics of Representation* (Rutgers UP, forthcoming).

Michael J. Hoffman is Professor Emeritus of English at the University of California at Davis. Aside from essays on the Holocaust, his publications

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include three books on Gertrude Stein; volumes on nineteenth- and twentieth-century American literature, as well as on the theory of fiction; and a novel.

Rosanne Kennedy is Senior Lecturer at Australian National University, where she teaches literature, gender, and cultural studies. She has recently edited, with Jill Bennett, an international collection of essays on trauma and memory, *World Memory: Personal Trajectories in Global Time* (Palgrave, 2003).

Laura E. Lyons is an Associate Professor in the English Department of the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, where she teaches classes on feminisms and nationalisms, Irish Studies, and cultural theory. She has published in journals such as *boundary 2, Eire-Ireland, Genders,* and *Interventions,* among others. She is at work on a book-length project, "Troubled Peace: Post Cease-fire Narrative and the Question of Violence in the North of Ireland," and with Purnima Bose, an edited collection of essays entitled *Corporate Genealogies* which examines the rhetorical and narrative strategies that transnational corporations employ to narrate their histories and their relationship between local sites of production and the global economy.

Kay Schaffer is Adjunct Professor in the Department of Social Inquiry at the University of Adelaide. Her previous books include *Women and the Bush* (Cambridge UP, 1989), and *In the Wake of First Contact: The Eliza Fraser Stories* (Cambridge, 1996). She is presently engaged in a research project, funded by the Australian Research Council, to study narratives of identity, place, and belonging in the wake of human rights inquiries in South Africa and Australia.

Sidonie Smith is Martha Guernsey Colby Collegiate Professor of English and Women's Studies and chair of the Department of English at the University of Michigan. She is the author of *Reading Autobiography: A Guide to Interpreting Personal Narratives* (with Julia Watson; U of Minnesota P, 2001); *Moving Lives: Women's Twentieth Century Travel Narratives* (U of Minnesota P, 2001); *Subjectivity, Identity, and the Body: Women's Autobiographical Practices in the Twentieth Century* (Indiana UP, 1993); *A Poetics of Women's Autobiography: Marginality and the Fictions of Self-Representation* (Indiana UP, 1987); and *Where I'm Bound: Patterns of Slavery and Freedom in Black American Autobiography* (Greenwood, 1975). She has co-edited seven books, most recently *Inter/Faces: Women, Autobiography, Image, Performance* (with Julia Watson; U of Michigan P, 2002).

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Tikka Wilson worked with Link-Up (NSW) in 1996 on the preparation of Link-Up's submission to the National Inquiry on the separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children from their families, while completing her dissertation on Stolen Generations testimony at the Australian National University. She currently works as managing editor of the National Archives of Australia website.

Sandra Young is a doctoral student in the Graduate English Department at Rutgers University. Her primary areas of research are the literature of early colonialism, and testimonial literature, in particular prison narratives by South African women.

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AUTOMITOGRAFÍAS: THE BORDER PARADIGM AND CHICANA/O AUTOBIOGRAPHY

JUAN VELASCO

FOR GLORIA ANZALDÚA, 1942–2004

Since the Mexican-American War in 1848, in which Mexico lost half of its territory to what is today the Southwestern United States, the concepts of territory, space, and nation have suffered a series of changes. For Chicana/o cultural critics, the border paradigm has defined the boundaries of writing and experience, and to a certain degree has signaled a major contribution to American Studies. In locating history and power in the liminality of the border, and in showing the latter as part of an important American paradigm, Chicana/o cultural critics have tried to challenge negative representations of the Chicana/o liminal aesthetics forged after the conflict. The emphasis on evil and war that we see in mainstream American representations of the border contrasts with the ones presented by Chicana/o autobiography. In fact, the unique voices coming from Chicana/o autobiography are expressed through a network of cultural codes involving liminality and hybridity, the rewriting of borders, and the challenging of the boundaries created by mainstream cultures and official truth.

The historical trajectory of the autobiographical tradition of Hispanic cultures in the United States goes back to Spanish letters and chronicles from the end of the sixteenth century, but it is not until the mid-nineteenth century that life narratives become a space of resistance for Mexican culture. As Lauro Flores states, the

> actividad 'autobiográfica' chicana debe situarse diacrónicamente hacia la mitad del siglo XIX, cuando, como ya se ha dicho, los EEUU de Norteamérica, por medio de una verdadera guerra de agresión, se apropió de los territorios que en aquella

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época constituían aproximadamente la mitad norte del territorio nacional de la entonces recién nacida República Mexicana. (152)

[Chicana/o autobiographical activity should be situated historically towards the mid-nineteenth century, when, as it has been said, the United States of America, through a war of aggression, took over the territories that during that period were half of the recently born Mexican Republic.]

In this context, it is important to attend to the cultural and literary "self" born after 1848, the literary models used to express the unique Mexican-American reality, and the way in which Chicana/o autobiography has evolved since the Mexican-American Civil Rights Movement. As I will show later, the autobiographical text articulates the space of social demands, underlines the experiential knowledge of its individuals, and recreates the imaginary "Chicana/o community" and its myths.

Three works seem to have had a great influence in the staging of a canonical Chicana/o autobiographical discourse into the 1980s: Jose A. Villarreal's *Pocho* (1959), Ernesto Galarza's *Barrio Boy* (1971), and Richard Rodríguez's *Hunger of Memory* (1981). But this conceptualization of autobiography and literary discourse has changed. As María Henríquez Betancor states, "since the 1980's new approaches to the construction of Chicanas' autobiographical texts have been created by the assertion of women's self in Chicana's literary works in the U.S.A., not only in narrative and poetry but also in new creative ways" (173). Since the 1980s, Chicana autobiographical production has openly introduced gender and sexuality into the racial discourse born during the cultural nationalist movement of the 1970s, and has radically and innovatively reworked Chicano identity politics. Some of the most significant works include Gloria Anzaldúa's *Borderlands/La Frontera* (1987), Cherríe Moraga's *Loving in the War Years* (1983), and *Essays on Xicanisma* by Ana Castillo (1994). The projects offered by these feminist and lesbian writers question the aesthetics of the previous two decades, create new forms of representation, and bring a new emphasis to the configuration of a liminal subject within the border sociopolitical context.

Chicana writing has received special attention from the critic Sonia Saldívar. "The Chicana feminist," she writes, "acknowledges the often vast historical, class, racial, and ethnic differences among women living on the border" ("Feminism" 208). These recent works emphasize border identities, liminality, and new ways of understanding the notion of "self." This is especially important given the historical trajectory of Chicana/o autobiography. According to José David Saldívar, the Chicana/o contemporary experience is in fact defined by the border paradigm. In *Border Matters*, he argues that part

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of the problem is the way American mainstream representation elides the specificity of border cultures to make them invisible or evil. Saldívar's book illuminates the deep-rooted, two-way relationship between culture and the experience of borders—physical and symbolic. But how can this paradigm actually define the confines of *lo mexicano*? From Herbert Eugene Bolton to José David Saldívar, from Gloria Anzaldúa to Richard Rodríguez, the Chicana/o analytical paradigm has tackled the contradictory and liberating assumptions implied by border theory.

Because of this deep relationship between the border paradigm, the Chicana/o experience, and the writing and representation of the same, in the next few pages I will discuss the possibility of building, based on this cultural paradigm, an organic and systematic methodology for studying autobiography. I mean to discuss different ways the border paradigm explains how the cultural construction of *lo mexicano* works, and how it becomes a prescription for the representation of this unique American experience. I will first establish the distinction between traditional uses of the border and critical use of border theory by Chicana/o cultural critics. Later I will discuss traditional structures of autobiography and the influence of the postcolonial subgenre created by Latin American *testimonio*, a paradigm of witnessing especially influential in the autobiographical work of Chicanas. Finally, using Chicana autobiography as a space and zone of interaction, I will show how these writings bring out the tension between the silencing of the Chicana/o experience and the liberatory potential of the cultural voice assigned to this experience. I propose that the intersections of these elements bring together a cultural anthropology of Chicana/o self-representation. The *automitografías* constructed by these voices challenge patriarchy, heteronormativity, imperialism, and white supremacy in the historical and sociopolitical context of the border. These autobiographies also reclaim border theory from the dehistoricized applications to which it has been so widely put in many areas of the humanities.

Let me start, however, by referring to a few of the numerous uses of the term "border" that have been circulating in recent years. In "Richard Rodríguez in 'Borderland,'" Juan E. de Castro attempts "to point out some of the central traits associated with this Chicana/o analytical paradigm" (123). In "Borders of Fear, Borders of Desire," Rolando Romero offers a summary of various metaphors that engage the border in some way or another:

> Gloria Anzaldúa has described the border as an open wound while Carlos Fuentes has depicted it as a scar. The border has been drawn as a zipper and characterized as a sore. It has been called a "tortilla curtain" and a geological fault line. It has been allegorized as a scrimmage line and, more currently, has been portrayed as a two thousand mile Love Canal and garbage dump (36).

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Romero concludes by suggesting that the diversity of definitions is a reflection of how people project their own desires onto the idea of the border. I am especially concerned with the widespread abuse of the paradigm. How does it differ from other uses by Chicana/o critics? One clear example of the misuse of "the border" and the projection of desire onto this geographic and symbolic area becomes evident when analyzing the content of the art exhibition "South of the Border: Mexico in the American Imagination 1914–1917," which originated at the Yale University Art Gallery in 1993.

According to Aline Brandauer, "South of the Border" was "the first exhibition mounted in the U.S. or Mexico to demonstrate that the cultural relationship between the two countries is a deeply rutted two-way street" (51). Actually, the installation "South of the Border" displays representative works by Mexican artists such as Diego Rivera and Octavio Medellín, as well as other cultural artifacts that reflect one of the show's main themes: "the desire among Americans to render Mexico as eternal, rural and romantic, in spite of that country's attempts to industrialize and modernize" (51). Moreover, Brandauer sees the border crossings of these artists' imaginations "as a fresh direction in the comparison of images and ideas as they travel back and forth" (52). The same could be said of the successful "Border Trilogy" initiated by the novelist Cormac McCarthy with *All the Pretty Horses* (1992), winner of both the National Book Award and the National Book Critics Circle Award for fiction. This novel tells the story of John Grady Cole and his friend Lacey Rawlins as they set off for Mexico. Later a third traveler joins them, and their trip becomes a mysterious journey, since the area to the south of the Rio Grande is blank on their map.

Again, we are forced to ask: What really are these border crossings? And is this the same border? Should we compare, then, the suspenseful, lyrical "crossings" of these border-boys with the painful, violent trip of the Mexican Ernesto Galarza from Jalcocotán to California, as related in his autobiography *Barrio Boy*? Or can we establish the "border" of the exhibition "South of the Border" (which shows how the Indian woman is frequently utilized by American artists as a symbol of a distant and idyllic world) at the same level of analysis as the categories of class, gender, race, and sexual orientation explored in Gloria Anzaldúa's autobiography *Borderlands/La Frontera*? Following the example of Scott Michaelsen and David E. Johnson in *Border Theory: The Limits of Cultural Politics*, I will be "concerned with borders like this, but more often the focus is on the sorts of 'soft' borders produced within broadly liberal discourse: benevolent nationalisms, cultural essentialisms, multiculturalisms, and the like" (1). Are the geographical location and the time where the encounter took place obsolete? If unchecked, would borders then

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run the risk of becoming the dissolving agent of the specificity of their stories? And how do we account in this analysis for the policing of these borders?

To distinguish one from another, it is important to establish the difference between the notions of Frontier and *La Frontera*. Frontier is the space that separates the zone of civilization from that which is beyond, while the Spanish word *La Frontera* conveys the idea of the Borderlands as a zone of contact and interaction. Moreover, we cannot talk about borders or frontiers without inserting their purpose into the semantic field of definition. The function of every border has always been to stop the interactions, stop the crossings. The policing of these borders along sexual, racial, and economic lines becomes a very important factor. Actually, the crossings to "South of the Border" (which sounds incredibly close to the logo of the famous Taco Bell commercial, "Run to the Border") contrast dramatically with the movie *Born in East L.A.* (1987; its title a parody of the song "Born in the USA"), where the Chicano Cheech Marín plays the role of an American citizen who has been denied re-entry into his homeland because of his lack of documentation. The "run to the border" of the Taco Bell commercial can become a very dangerous trip when you look suspiciously "Mexican" (or, more recently, Arab).

Some of the most important contributions to border theory have stressed the importance of reenacting the sociohistorical meaning of the "border" along the lines of gender, race, class, and sexual oppression. The works of Emily Hicks, Renato Rosaldo, Ruth Behar, Sonia Saldívar, Héctor Calderón, and José Saldívar have all been very successful in this regard. However, I propose a use of the borders that draws together a cultural anthropology of Chicana/o self-representation and a literary analysis of the texts in that tradition. This project links the related aspects of cultural forgetting and remembering of trauma to the use of technologies of autobiography through which to represent the personal/collective meanings of loss. I argue that historical trauma and loss complicate the representation of personal history, and trauma recasts the narrative and literary histories of the Americas. Chicana/o autobiography debunks these types of cultural mythologies around American autobiography while correcting its omissions of Chicana/o experience and life writing. This project also becomes a phenomenal contribution to American Studies, since it brings a call for an altered view of American life writing that includes the use of a different language and the construction of a new Chicana/o aesthetics empowered by a liminal subject position. "America" really looks different if one attends to this positioning. For example, José David Saldívar, analyzing *The Squatter and the Don* (1885) by María Amparo Ruiz de Burton, shows how this new space "works against the grain of dominant U.S. historiography and represents the culture of U.S. imperialism not

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only as territorial and economic fact but also inevitably as a subject-constituting project" (169).

I find Gloria Anzaldúa's *Borderlands/La Frontera* especially interesting in this context, since she is looking to address the theoretical border as intrinsically related to the policing of cultural memories and the establishment of official truth. Anzaldúa uses autobiography to engage the official truths of history and the experiential knowledge of its individuals in the same discourse. Sonia Saldívar also emphasizes the way Anzaldúa brings gender and sexuality to her work:

> autobiography for the new *mestiza* is the history of the colonization of indigenous southwestern peoples by Anglo-American imperialists intent on their manifest destiny. Texas history, in Anzaldúa's revision, is incomplete without the presentation of the Mexican woman who dares to cross the border. ("Feminism" 212)

It is within this frame of analysis that we can start to distinguish artistic, academic, and pleasurable crossings, like the ones represented by the exhibition at Yale, from the dangerous, illegal, and forbidden crossings of the Latin Americans and Mexicans escaping poverty, even at the risk of death.[1] Furthermore, the relationship between "borders" and "crossings" runs parallel to the sociohistorical axis in which these borders have been opened, closed, or simply patrolled, depending on who is doing the crossing, and in what direction. Border policing and patrol patterns, for example, highlight the difference between the north-south route and the south-north route. Crossings that are aesthetic when they go from north to south become deadly dangerous (and illegal) when the trip is from south to north.

The policing of the latter type of crossings is represented, for example, by the brutal history and tradition of the Texas Rangers, and more recently, by the increasing connections in the media linking terrorism with illegal immigration. Paul Vanderwood and Frank Samponaro record the sentiments of these border patrols at the beginning of the century: "Just how soldiers stationed on the border felt about Mexicans can be inferred by the tremendous number of postcards depicting burned and mutilated Mexican corpses which they sent back home, often with the sentiment: 'A good greaser is a dead one'" (40). In *Occupied America,* Rodolfo Acuña, referring to the *corridos* (border ballads) of the border and their view of the Texas Rangers, states that to the Mexican "they were assassins, who were viewed in much the same way as Jews see the Gestapo" (41). In *Across the Wire: Hard Times on the Mexican Border* (1993), Luis Alberto Urrea has written about the contemporary reality of this place, filled with people, history, and trauma. "[T]his is a book of fragments, stories of moments in the lives of people most of us

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never see, never think about, and don't ever know exist," he writes in the preface: "poverty ennobles no one; it brutalizes common people and makes them hungry and old" (2).

William Langewiesche describes the border as a war zone, emphasizing daily killings, rapes, and robberies. Actually, the image of a "war zone" is evoked in border representations suggesting that "it is America itself, or rather the notion of America, that's under attack" (Romero 43). This move has important repercussions for the reading of these borders, and for the role played by Chicana/o autobiography in this discussion. In the case of the US-Mexico border region, both nations project onto this liminal territory their fears and desires through the criminalization of hybrid identities. When representation is transferred to the border, meaning and memories become part of a distorted reality, a landscape filled with images related to fear, hybrid identities, and sexual and racial tension.

The use of the "border," and the projection of "crime" onto this geographic and symbolic area, become particularly clear when analyzing the use of visual space in Orson Welles's 1957 film *Touch of Evil.* Welles uses film noir's aesthetic and moral ambiguity to denounce the intolerable alienation attributed to the borderlands. In this sense, Welles's *Touch of Evil* can be read as one of the best examples of contemporary perceptions of the US-Mexico border. The city's liminal and cultural hybrid space is transformed into a tale of the darkest Mexico, a nightmare in which space is no longer neutral but rather charged with distrust and racial meaning.

In *The Labyrinth of Solitude,* published in 1950, Octavio Paz points at the same type of criminalization of these border crossings when he describes Los Angeles as the site of "one of the extremes" of Mexicanness, the place of the "pachuco," a term used to describe Mexican-American youth in the 1940s. The pachuco's "dangerousness," Paz explains, "lies in his singularity. Everyone agrees in finding something hybrid about him, something disturbing and fascinating" (16). For Paz, this is the result of a "psychic oscillation between two irreducible worlds: the North American and the Mexican" (18). In short, for both Welles's *Touch of Evil* and Paz's *The Labyrinth of Solitude,* the border and the liminality of its space recreate the worst fears about miscegenation between *lo americano* and *lo mexicano.*

The use of the border as a code for war, conflict, and evil, with its multiple representations, is an important one. As Otto Santa Ana argues in *Brown Tide Rising: Metaphors of Latinos in Contemporary American Public Discourse,* the policing of the border has been used as a scapegoat for a variety of problems, including economic, racial, and political issues. In my opinion, this process of the borderization of Chicana/o culture within the context of

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American life, or in other words, the war zone imposed upon the center of the Chicana/o "self" and its cultural life, is especially clear when analyzing feelings of illegitimacy and the criminalization of linguistic, racial, and cultural border crossings. "Evil" and war, as projected experiences of the border by mainstream media, contrast with Chicana/o autobiography's representation of the postcolonial trauma. As has been suggested by Michaelsen, without a new critical set of tools that clarifies these differences, "the entry point of 'the border' or 'the borderlands' goes unquestioned" (3). It is against this kind of terrain that Chicana/o autobiography rewrites its territory of liminality. In fact, Anzaldúa's *Borderlands/La Frontera* is probably the first contemporary Chicana autobiography to offer a response to earlier representations of border identity and cultural hybridism. Anzaldúa's "entry point" to the Chicana's experience of the border emphasizes two aspects: the capacity of trauma to destroy consciousness (and the importance of rewriting the loss), and autobiographical writing's ability to provide a distinctive voice. In this context, personal memory becomes a political intervention, and its rewriting of mainstream media representation of the border takes place beyond the liberal aestheticized notions of "crossings," and beyond the politics of confession and sympathy.

How does the challenge take place, given these tensions between a discourse of domination by confession and the impulse for liberation and self-consciousness? These changes take place through a rewriting of the autobiographical act. Genaro Padilla, referring to how Chicana/o autobiography challenges the liberal politics of confession and sympathy, finds already in nineteenth century texts the existence of an "I" "that reveals its incarceration within a network of discursive practices invented by cultural imperialists whose goal has been and still is to lock it into a cell of alien linguistic culture and ideology" ("Imprisoned" 43). Padilla contextualizes as a positive step the consciousness of an "imprisoned autobiographic discourse" found in Fabiola Cabeza de Baca's and Cleofas M. Jaramillo's nineteenth century autobiographical texts. What is implied in that trajectory is a re-reading of the border and the recuperation of the multifaceted Chicana/o self inserted in the historical experiences of the individual and the community. Referring to the *corrido,* Teresa McKenna finds that the key piece is "in narrativity itself, in the politically laden event upon which the narrative is based, and most importantly on the social group from which it springs, whose constant crises resolve around the dysfunction or breach produced by the Anglo-American 'other'. These elements are the paradigmatic dimensions of the saga of Mexican/Chicano resistance to domination" (187). In the same way, referring to Audre Lorde's famous "biomythography," Rosemarie Garland Thompson

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shows that this type of autobiographical form "eliminates the dynamics of sympathy and the potential for objectification that often merge when a narrator mediates between the reader and a marginalized character" (126). With this tradition in mind, Chicana/o autobiography situates a new perspective, drawing a line between writing as confession and sympathy, and writing as a denaturalization of norm aiming at the cultivation of agency. Furthermore, the metaphors of hybridity, border crossings, transculturation, and *mestizaje* become the space from which the Chicana/o experience negotiates the reconstruction of "self" while trying to short-circuit or interfere with the purity-oriented theories of war and evil. Moreover, Chicana/o autobiography's writing in *la frontera* does not become another "higher" form of border crossing. The political intervention and the impact of Chicana/o autobiography's revisionist concept is measured by its attempt to name the topography of horror and trauma that is located in Chicana/o experience. This legitimates the concept of *la frontera* as a zone of contact and interaction, and insists that when analyzing borders we should always ask who is the subject and self that is performing these "crossings." At this point we are perhaps better disposed to answer the question which opened this article: How is this cultural experience being written about?

AUTOMITOGRAFÍAS: REWRITING THE TOTAL SELF

The autobiographical tradition of Hispanic cultures in the United States can be traced back to the Spanish letters and chronicles from the end of the sixteenth century. Particularly significant is Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca's work *La Relación,* first published in 1542, and based on his experience living with Indians in the Southwest of the US for more than ten years. This rich Hispanic literary tradition continued through the nineteenth century, when life narratives flourished in a more modern format in works such as Father Antonio José Martínez's *Relation,* published in 1836, and Juan Nepomuceno's *Personal Memoirs,* published in 1858.[2] These publications helped to create a space of resistance for the Mexican culture, especially after the loss of the Mexican territories of the Southwest in 1848. Raymund Paredes rightly argues that "By the 1860s, they were wrestling with questions of identity, gauging their position in that uneasy space that marked the intersection of the cultures of Mexico and the United States" ("Mexican-American" 31). The analysis of the cultural "self" born after 1848, and the literary models used to express the new reality, underline the way in which since the Civil Rights Movement, Chicana/o autobiography has redefined itself as, and continues to be, a political weapon. Seen in this way, the literary text assumes

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the position of an intermediate space that articulates political and social demands, justifies individual experience, and at the same time, connects these elements with a Chicana/o community and its representative figures.

This is a crucial aspect, since we will be using the term "community" as suggested by Benedict Anderson in his work *Imagined Communities*. According to Anderson, communities do not distinguish themselves from each other by their degree of falsehood or reality but by the manner in which they are "imagined" or reconstructed. For Anderson it is the middle class of the nineteenth century that first acquires and utilizes this relationship of close solidarity based on the reworking of these "imagined links." This is one of the most fundamental aspects of Chicana/o autobiographical production. In fact, the aspiration to recreate the imagined Mexican community in the United States acquires its most determining moment in the efforts of these writers to elucidate and reinterpret personal narratives at the center of the circle of values and norms that identifies the new culture.

Referring to feminist autobiography, Leigh Gilmore points out that "the autobiographical subject is a representation and its representation is its construction. The autobiographical subject is produced not by experience but by autobiography" (25). The importance that language and speech assume as defining elements of identity is confirmed as these are transformed into tropes that reconstruct and validate the Chicana/o experience. The law of genre and the cultural category used by Mexicans to create an original "I" is discussed in Padilla's *My History Not Yours: The Formation of Mexican American Autobiography*. This work is especially interesting since many of the writings analyzed by Padilla are nineteenth century texts which engage the cultural identity of those Mexicans witnessing the aftermath of the 1848 war. As suggested by Padilla's analysis, the strategies used by the autobiographers are essential in order for them to locate their situation in history, and their discourse of identity in relationship to the newly formed "official truth." How have these technologies of representation developed in contemporary Chicana/o autobiography? In my opinion, there are two elements that characterize this form of writing. First, through the use of *mito*, Chicana/o writers have connected the histories of loss with the geography of trauma (the border). Second, radical implications arise from the construction of crossing in opposition to silencing. For the most part, within the wide range of experiences and ideological positions, the combination of these unique strategies of writing expands the characteristics of contemporary autobiography.

This is especially important in the work of Gloria Anzaldúa's *Borderlands/La Frontera*. For Anzaldúa, "imagining" this new "self" means being able to reenact the sociohistorical implications of the border in the Chicana/o

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experience along the different lines of oppression—mainly gender, sexual identity, class, and racial formation. The "point of entry" to these experiences, however, also emphasizes the liberatory potential of writing from the space in-between, and a new aesthetic policy that no longer regulates hybrid identities and border crossings.

When compared with other works, Chicana/o autobiography is able to construct what could be considered a type of "autoethnographic text" which engages in multiple identities and the "representations others have made of them" (Pratt 35). Writing, in this territory, becomes a celebration of "difference" as opposed to uniformity; there is an emphasis on the "nomadic" as opposed to the "fixed." Based on a new way of understanding the relationship between cultural production and identity, Chicana/o autobiography rejects monolithic forms of thinking in order to emphasize process (crossing) and the continuous reconceptualization of identity. Such autobiographical writing rejects specific identity formations and their ideology, and creates new processes of identity formations. This is an important point, since this positioning avoids "the undermining of the notion of cultural difference that is at the root of multiculturalism" (De Castro 124). Some of these principles can be seen in some of the most original autobiographies of the canon. As I mentioned before, three works in particular mark the different stages of canonical Chicana/o autobiographical discourse, as well as the various interpretations of the literary Chicana/o subject and cultural identity: Villarreal's *Pocho,* Galarza's *Barrio Boy,* and Rodríguez's *Hunger of Memory.* During the later 1980s and 1990s, a new series of literary works emerged to emphasize border identities as a "positive" experience of community, multiplicity, hybridity, and liminality, and as an opportunity to produce and build a higher sense of self. As noted, these works include Anzaldúa's *Borderlands/La Frontera,* Morales's *Loving in the War Years,* and Castillo's *Essays on Xicanisma.* Other new works by Francisco Jiménez, Norma Cantú, Alberto Alvaro Ríos, Pat Mora, Carmen Lomas Garza, and Lourdes Portillo have recreated in interesting ways issues that explore the visual and written representation of "self." These projects offer a new Chicana/o subject, questioning not only the aesthetics of the previous two decades, but also the apparent ideological uniformity in the configuration of the liminal subject within the border sociopolitical context.

With this information in mind, I do not pretend to discern or advocate for a monolithic position coming from such a diverse group of autobiographies. It is also necessary to "read them individually and to mark the unique way in which each text inhabits change and domesticates liminality" (Perry 204). What I argue, instead, is that for the most part, within the wide range of experiences and ideological positions, one of the most unique characteristics

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of contemporary Chicana/o autobiography is that the attribute of crossing is constructed in opposition to the notion of silencing. As Anzaldúa declares: "I will no longer be made to feel ashamed of existing. I will have my voice: Indian, Spanish, and white. I will have my serpent's tongue—my woman's voice, my sexual voice, and my poet's voice. I will overcome the tradition of silence" (*Borderlands* 59). This dialectic can also be observed in *The Devil Never Sleeps,* an autobiographical documentary by Lourdes Portillo. As she crosses borders, Portillo's Chicana voice transcends the previous walls of silencing, of family structure, as well as historical and political secrets. This process of recreating memories as crossing can also be observed in those artists exploring the integration of literary autobiographies and visual culture. The collage of photographs and text created in such diverse works as Ríos's *Capirotada: A Nogales Memoir* (1990), Mora's *House of Houses* (1997), Jiménez's *Breaking Through,* Lomas Garza's *Family Pictures* (1990), or *Canícula: Snapshots of a Girlhood en la Frontera* (1995), by Norma Elia Cantú, transforms this back and forth between photography and written text into "silent witnesses of her life, her history" (2). These technologies of self-representation are linked to contemporary attempts to create a Chicana border feminist theory inclusive of racial, gender, and sexual difference, and a practice of "resistance against attempts by the mainstream to silence, incorporate, or ignore the voices of oppressed and exploited people living within the borders of the United States" (Saldívar-Hull, *Feminism* 46).

Chicana/o autobiographical narratives become a way of transcending the main effect of oppression—their subjects' invisibility. But these autobiographies do not directly oppose that political subject position as much as they aim to replace the "binary cage" altogether. Cantú's "fictional autobioethnography" (xi), for example, creates a very clever rhetorical tool, and becomes the frame for a new form of cultural autobiography, a "voice" and a political weapon that refuses an "other" to the subject that positions it. But how does the creation of a "voice" take place? As these crossings become increasingly linked to the creation of witnesses who look simultaneously upon personal life and history, the voice created is also undermining the coherent small "I" by which traditional autobiography defines itself. This re-arrangement of writing takes place along the lines of re-inscribing new notions of home, crossing, and self. Guillermo Gomez-Peña explores these complex dimensions in *Border Brujo,* as he includes himself in a border that seems to multiply the many versions of home, language, and the "I" that speaks. More traditional autobiographies address these issues in different ways. Francisco Jiménez's *The Circuit* (1997), and its sequel *Breaking Through* (2001), use border crossing as a metaphor "to voice the experiences of many children and young

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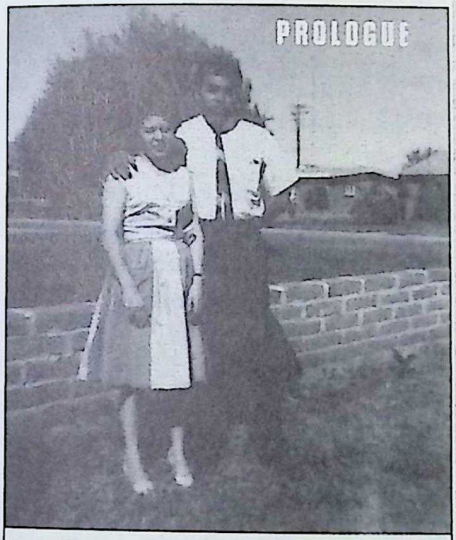
José Francisco (Trampita) and Roberto, picking plums in Orosi, California

Francisca, José Francisco (Trampita), and Roberto, Tent City, Santa Maria, California

Border crossing in Chicana/o autobiography can involve integrating literary and visual texts, as well as transcending time, space, and family, social, and historical structures, as in the photographs from *Breaking Through*, by Francisco Jiménez (196, above, copyright © 2001 by Francisco Jiménez; reprinted by courtesy of the author and permission of Houghton Mifflin Company; all rights reserved), and in the "Prologue," left, from *Capirotada: A Nogales Memoir*, by Alberto Alvaro Ríos (copyright © 1998 by Alberto Rios; reprinted by permission of SLL/Sterling Lord Literistic, Inc.).



My mother and father in the 1950s in front of our new adobe house. Just outside the photograph is the Plymouth, also new. Everything was new.

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adults who confront numerous obstacles in their efforts to 'break through" (195). Dionicio Morales's *A Life in Two Cultures* (1997) rewrites the territory of the border as home to reflect on his experience, but also rewrites the border as oppression when exploring the ideological trends experienced through Morales's cultural crossings: "I was to become a person of two rich cultures, but a person perceived by some to be a 'stranger' in both lands" (9). Within the same realm of empowering ambivalence, Norma Cantú writes in her autobiography: "In 1948 crossing meant coming home, but not quite" (5). Gloria Anzaldúa adopts the same position when, as a Chicana, working-class, lesbian, feminist woman in a patriarchal society, she challenges the traditional racial, sexual, gender, and class divisions. When rewriting her experience as a Chicana, however, she also transcends it, as she recognizes that "The psychological borderlands, the sexual borderlands and the spiritual borderlands are not particular to the Southwest" (*Borderlands* Preface). In its place, Anzaldúa proposes a new space, an identity and a voice based on the solidarity of that crossing over, and the interpolation of many "selves":

> And before a scab forms it hemorrhages again, the lifeblood of two worlds merging to form a third country—a border culture. . . . "Los atravesados" live here: the squint-eyed, the perverse, the queer, the troublesome, the mongrel, the mulatto, the half-breed, the half dead; in short, those who cross over, pass over, or go through the confines of the "normal." (*Borderlands* 3)

If we recognize the new space and the multiplicity of voices created in these works as a way of transcending the limitations of the small "I," whose autobiographies are being written about? Chicana/o autobiography's use of border crossings becomes the essential element in the formation of a radical practice of writing, a process of life writing that links communal truth and personal narratives. This is achieved as the new "I" created along with this writing implies a temporal axis of representation in which the voice is simultaneously adopting the experience of the personal and the communal—the analysis of the experiential and the political, the historical and the mythological. As stated by Anzaldúa: "I write the myths in me, the myths I am, the myths I want to become" (*Borderlands* 71). This process is what we will define throughout this essay as *automitografía*. The use of *mito* (myths) linked to the autobiographical act becomes a powerful way of achieving a new voice for a higher sense of the cultural "self." In an *automitografía*, the autobiographical act becomes the performative agent of transformation, as it reverses the forms of representation of traditional autobiography to connect with the cultural production of *lo mexicano* within the US: "When I write it feels like I'm carving out a place. It feels like I'm creating my own face, my own heart, a

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Nahuatl concept" (Anzaldúa, *Borderlands* 73). This act connects the act of writing to pre-Columbian configurations of "self." The use of *mito* is also connected to the histories of trauma linked to the loss of those cultures, and brings back into the writing the rebirth of the new consciousness created during the Chicana/o Renaissance of the late 1960s.

As pointed out by Yvonne Yarbro-Bejarano in her article "From *acto* to *mito*: A Critical Appraisal of the Teatro Campesino," the transition to this new form in literary production is crucial. The inclusion of the mythical and religious aspects of Chicana/o life in the already political *acto* will lead to the understanding of new forms of expression: "whereas the *acto* concentrates on political issues expressed in the cultural terms of its audience, the *mito* attempts to explore the content of culture itself" (177). In similar terms, Juan Bruce-Novoa points out in "Chicana/o Theater: Editing the Origin Myth" that "myth is not synonymous with lie or untruth, but a symbolic representation of what is held to be true by the group generating the narrative" (106). What is held to be true by the writers as they delineate the "self" occupying the center of this experience becomes also a profound acknowledgment of loss. This process of writing illustrates Chicana/o distrust of the structure posed by traditional autobiography and official history, and uses *automitografía* to advance a way of witnessing that expands the traditional confessional "I." As Norma Alarcón has pointed out, in mainstream representations of Chicana/o culture "bodies are often multiplied, racialized, and dislocated as if they had no other contents" ("Chicana" 375). In fact, the recuperation of the destroyed cultural practices, the body as embodiment of trauma, and traditions (as myths), become the signature of *automitografía*, and the goal is to locate the forgotten history of the "self" within a new discourse of truth and identity. As Gilmore mentions when referring to Audre Lorde, she "re-members as myth a history that has been forgotten and destroyed" (27). This aspect can be observed in the portraits of Chicana artists as they address themselves as different variations of the Virgin of Guadalupe. Ana Castillo's *My Father was a Toltec* (1988) uses this strategy as she combines in the poem "Ixtacihuatl Died in Vain" her own experiences as a Chicana with the traditions set up by the pre-Columbian myth:

> Hard are the women of my family,
> Hard on the mothers who have died on us
> and the daughters born to us. . . .
> We are Ixtacihuatl,
> Sleeping, snowcapped volcanoes
> buried alive in myths. (39)

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This ultimate act of creation of a new self and consciousness transcends the act of (historical) silencing, and is articulated in contrast to that which has been silenced within one's own personal experience. The dialectics of silencing, and the difficulties of finding a way of expressing it, are described in Cherríe Moraga's autobiography as created by "lo que nunca / pasó / por sus labios . . . but was / utterly / utterly / heard" (149).

The intersection of the experiential knowledge of the particular and the mythical and historical traditions of the community refuses and transcends an oversimplification of the autobiographical act as "confession." In fact, to the limitations of the confessional mode, Chicana/o autobiography opposes the articulation of writing as witnessing, and witnessing as a recreation of what Anzaldúa calls the "total Self": "Deconstruct, construct. . . . She learns to transform the small 'I' into the total Self" (*Borderlands* 82). The notion of "total Self" allows Chicana/o autobiography to create a unique Chicana/o vision, as well as a "testimonial" narrative of his/her own experience. The concept of the total Self has similarly been articulated by Norma Alarcón when she refers to the "plurality of self" found in *This Bridge Called My Back*:

> it is this struggle of multiple antagonisms, almost always in relation to culturally different groups, and not just genders, that gives configuration to the theoretical subject of *Bridge*. It must be noted, however, that each woman of color cited here, even in her positing of a "plurality of self," is already privileged enough to reach the moment of cognition of a situation for herself. ("Theoretical" 39)

The total Self recognizes the multiplicity of voices created in these works as a way of breaking away from the imprisonment of the small "I." The "totality" of this new self is also manifested in Chicana feminist writers through a reconstruction of the "dislocated," "racialized" bodies of Chicanas, and the multiple names of the mestiza and Indian women (Alarcón, "Chicana" 374). For example, to the traditionally acknowledged silencing and fracturing of the "I," Anzaldúa presents her border and woman's body as one, the same entity from which the new voice of the autobiography speaks:

> 1950 mile-long open wound
> dividing a "pueblo," a culture,
> running down the length of my body,
> staking fence rods in my flesh. . . .
> Yo soy un puente tendido
> del mundo gabacho al del mojado,
> lo pasado me estira pa "tras
> y lo presente pa" delante. (*Borderlands* 2)

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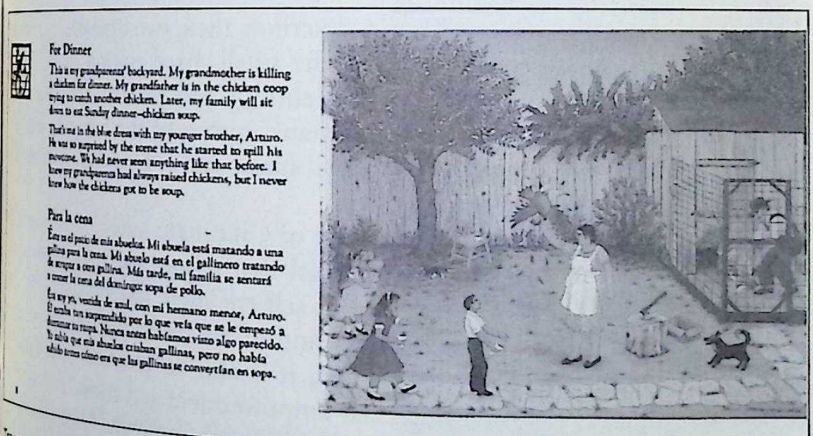
In *A Piece of My Heart/Pedacito de mi corazon* (1991) and *Family Pictures/Cuadros de familia* (1990), Carmen Lomas Garza very graphically draws together the space of culture and personal experience as she constructs it as the place where bodies are their own signs" (Coetzee 157). Her paintings and text embody her own story and her family's within a different and extended notion of "self." The paintings of *Pedacito de mi corazon* dissolve the boundaries of the small "I" as she recreates the flexible cultural borders that define her life experience in family and community. Pat Mora's autobiographical work, *A House of Houses*, re-creates a similar voice as her family's and her own experience are embedded in the metaphor of the body-house: "Through generations, sun, wind, rain, hands, voices, and dreams create and shape this place pregnant with possibilities in a landscape as familiar to me as my body. What does the house, the body, know?" (4).

As these "bodies" resist liberal attempts to reduce their experience to a harmless politics of confession and sympathy, it becomes also the transcending element from which Chicana/o autobiography voices its own sense of consciousness and cultural experience. In these autobiographies the total Self also becomes the signifier for the act of recuperating the postcolonial pain of the Mexican self in the US, mutilated by the experience of internal colonialism:

> I am possessed by a vision: that we Chicanas and Chicanos have taken back or uncovered our true faces, our dignity and self-respect. . . . I acknowledge that the self and the race have been wounded. I recognize the need to take care of our personhood, of our racial self. (Anzaldúa, *Borderlands* 87–88)



For Dinner

This is my grandparents' backyard. My grandmother is killing a chicken for dinner. My grandfather is in the chicken coop trying to catch another chicken. Later, my family will sit down to eat Sunday dinner–chicken soup.

That's me in the blue dress with my younger brother, Arturo. He was so surprised by the scene that he started to spill his popcorn. We had never seen anything like that before. I knew my grandparents had always raised chickens, but I never knew how the chickens got to be soup.

Para la cena

Esta es el patio de mis abuelos. Mi abuela está matando a una gallina para la cena. Mi abuelo está en el gallinero tratando de atrapar a otra gallina. Más tarde, mi familia se sentará a comer la cena del domingo: sopa de pollo.

Esa soy yo, vestida de azul, con mi hermano menor, Arturo. El estaba tan sorprendido por lo que veía que se le empezó a derramar su sopa. Nunca antes habíamos visto algo parecido. Yo sabía que mis abuelos criaban gallinas, pero no había sabido nunca cómo era que las gallinas se convertían en sopa.

Transcending the borders of personal and cultural experience and of art and text, in Carmen Lomas Garza's *Family Pictures • Cuadros de familia* (8–9; reprinted with permission of the publisher, Children's Book Press, San Francisco, CA, www.childrensbookpress.org, *Family Pictures/Cuadros de familia*, art copyright © 1990 by Carmen Lomas Garza).

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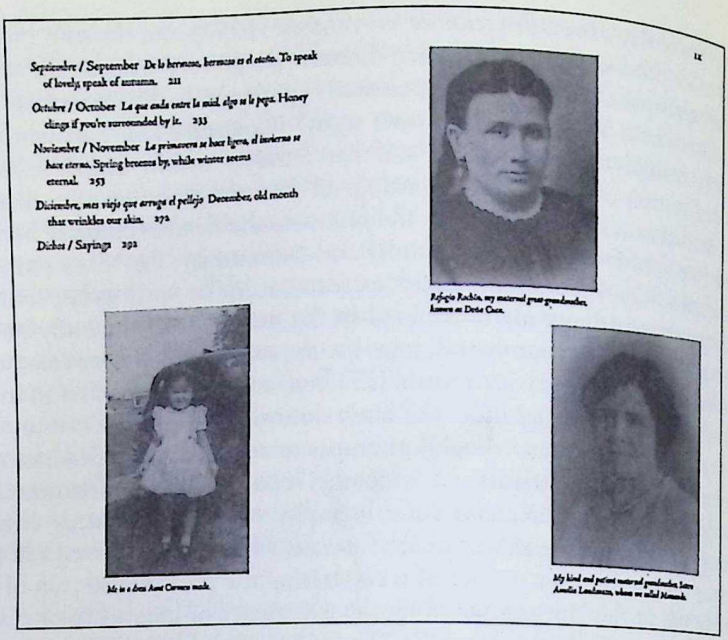

Septiembre / September *De la hermana, hermano es el cuento.* To speak of lovely, speak of sorrow. 211

Octubre / October *La que anda entre la miel, algo se le pega.* Honey clings if you're surrounded by it. 233

Noviembre / November *La primavera se hace larga, el invierno se hace eterna.* Spring breezes by, while winter seems eternal. 253

Diciembre, *mes viejo que arruga el pellejo* December, old month that wrinkles our skin. 272

Dichos / Sayings 292

Felipa Rubio, my maternal great-grandmother, known as Dede Cuca.

Me in a dress Aunt Carmen made.

My kind and patient maternal grandmother, Luisa Amelia Landaverde, whom we called Nanando.

"Through generations . . . what does the house, the body, know?" "Contents" from *House of Houses,* by Pat Mora (viii–ix, copyright © 2004 by Pat Mora; reprinted by permission of Curtis Brown, Ltd.).

TESTIMONIOS AND AUTOMITOGRAFÍAS

The construction of *automitografías* describes, then, two operations: a rewriting of notions of identity based on the small, fixed notion of "I" (which derives from Augustine's model of identity); and the construction of the "total Self" as a way of enacting the many sources of the Chicana/o experience beyond the constraints of time and space, and in between myth and history, between writing and witnessing.

The total Self becomes the subject of Chicana/o autobiography, and as such, it is able to propose a new model that refuses the limitations of the "confessional" mode of writing, and its self-enclosed, individual "I." As Chicana/o autobiography expands the notion of the individual "I" and rewrites the notion of the "total Self" instead, it is able to create a voice through which we can envision individual self-empowerment and community agency. With its refusal to trace a line of division between myth and history, between "I" and the "total Self," contemporary Chicana/o autobiography is an evolved form of writing that may very well have absorbed the lessons taught by Latin American testimonial writing (see Doris Sommer).

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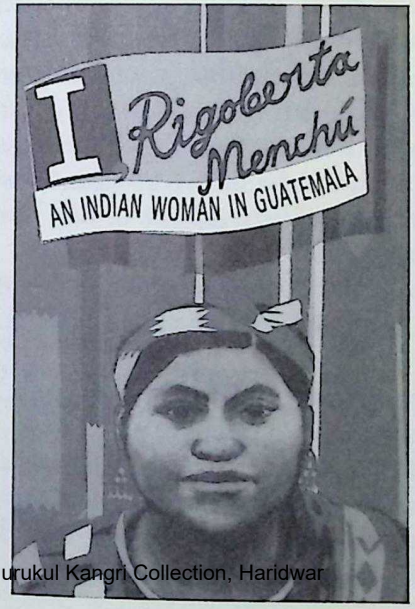
From Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz's *The Answer* to the controversies surrounding Rigoberta Menchú's autobiography, *testimonio* literature has expanded the understanding of "confessional" literature as witnessing in the work of contemporary Chicana/o writers.[3] Latin American testimonial literature makes explicit two lines of discourse that influence Chicana/o autobiographical writing: first, the admission that writing is informed by the struggle of its people; second, the acknowledgment of the power of silence in autobiography, both in its positive and negative aspects. Examples of this would be both Sor Juana Inés and Rigoberta Menchú, who have profoundly influenced the role of *testimonio* literature by bringing silence and silencing, in strikingly common ways, to the center of self-representation: "One must name the silence, so that what it signifies may be understood" (De la Cruz 41). This concept operates in contemporary texts as "silence as protection" and "silence as horror." Describing the first type, John Beverley points to Rigoberta Menchú's "secrets," noting that "there are certain things—her Nahuatl name, for example—that she will not speak of" (80). Describing the second, Beverley remarks on the impossibilities of language given Menchu's horror. Beverley describes the representation of the torture and murder of her brother and mother by the Guatemalan army as "a form of figuration that gives these episodes a hallucinatory and symbolic intensity different from the matter-of-fact narration one expects from *testimonio*. One could say this is a kind of testimonial expressionism or 'magic realism'" (81).



Rigoberta Menchú, witness to the power of silence and struggle on the borders of *testimonio* and autobiography (cover copyright © 1984 by Sophie Herxheimer, and reproduced by courtesy of Verso Publishing).

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As Sonia Saldívar-Hull has proposed, the collapsing together of *automitografía* and *testimonio* is important for discussing representation in the context of autobiography studies. As we move toward an alliance between *automitografía* (with Gloria Anzaldúa and Cherríe Moraga) on the one hand, and *testimonio* (with Rigoberta Menchú and Domitilla Barrios de Chúngara) on the other, the underscoring of autobiography produced by writers and activists will leave a mark on Chicana/o and autobiography studies. This effect is especially important given the understanding that the "silence and silencing of people begins with the dominating enforcement of linguistic conventions, the resistance to relational dialogues, as well as the disenablement of peoples by outlawing their forms of speech" (Alarcón, "Theoretical" 36). But this relationship of Chicana/o autobiography to silence plays an important role in more general autobiography studies. In his already classic article "Autobiography as Defacement," Paul de Man has suggested that autobiography is the "possible convergence of aesthetics and history" (919). The link, then, between literary construction and history in autobiography is memory. While discussing the concept of "memory" in his work *Mémoires for Paul de Man,* Jacques Derrida defines the term "prosopopeia" as the "tropology of memory" and "the signature of its own epitaph" (25). However, I would question Derrida's belief that prosopopeia is that which both defines and kills memory. Prosopopeia, or personification, derives from the Latin word "persona" and the Greek expression "face making." Interestingly enough, the tropos of memory simultaneously implies the meaning of "mask" and "face." In autobiography, then, the face and the mask interact in different versions of truth as fictional construct.

In her anthology of "creative and critical perspectives by women of color," *Making Face, Making Soul: Haciendo Caras,* Gloria Anzaldúa acknowledges both the value and the subversive nature of the role of masks and faces in Chicana/o and Mexican literature. In the section entitled "Mask and Interfaces," she argues:

> Among Chicanas/Mexicanas, haciendo caras, "making faces," means to put on a face, express feelings by distorting the face. . . . For me, haciendo caras has the added connotation of making gestos subversivos, political subversive gestures. . . . "Face" is the surface of the body that is the most noticeably inscribed by social structures. . . . Between the masks . . . is the place—the interface—between the masks that provides the space from which we can thrust out and crack the masks. (xv, xvii)

In this way, the text is not only the mask and the face behind the mask, but also the space between the two. This "space" is not a castrated one, as it links

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with the use of *mito*. Carlos Fuentes mentions in his book *The Buried Mirror* how the Aztecs placed burial masks on their dead, essentially to guide them on their long journey into the afterlife, but also to keep their true faces and identities guarded from the demons of the netherworld, so that the dead could complete the journey to paradise without being recognized or jeopardized.

This space becomes the key to understanding the relationship between truth as historic fact and truth as a literary construct. Based on Derrida's assumptions, autobiographical discourse has been described by Paul de Man as a "discourse of self-restoration" (925). In Chicana/o autobiography, of course, the historical mutilation of 1848 plays an important role. When examining the idea of "self-restoration" as a reaction to mutilation, we must also consider the autobiographical text as a safe space for the reconstruction of the Mexican self. The text then becomes not so much the signature of the autograph as it becomes the setting for the restoration of the subject, as well as the space in-between created to crack the masks.

While Paul de Man produces an image of speechlessness in his account of autobiography, Chicana/o autobiography's narrative (influenced by Latin American *testimonio*) is produced as a defiant act of witnessing. "Self-restoration" is delivered in Chicana/o autobiography as the act of "making faces":[4] the metaphors of postcolonial horror's resistance to language, and silence as "an enigma, a survival strategy, a wall which confines us, the space that protects us" (Chávez Leyva 429). This is significant considering that *Making Faces* is a collective project, and creates a communal "self" to break away from silencing as horror while maintaining it as a guarded space of protection.

In this way, *automitografías* are one of the most successful attempts in Chicana/o literature at writing the personal horror that cannot be told, choosing to tell the story of the total Self as the mark of a new definition of identity working at the center of the narrative voice. The cultural anxiety conferred upon autobiography by poststructuralists is transcended by *automitografía* through the notion of the total Self and its principle of hope—the larger community. As Saldívar-Hull points out, US Latinas and other border feminists, through their *testimonios*, have not only expressed their solidarity with this tradition, but "contextualize themselves within a global literary history" (*Feminism* 47).

Let me then return to the beginning of this article. Writings that present "border crossings" without attempting to name the topography of horror that relocates the speakers' voices legitimate the ultimate goal of borders: the policing of the marginalized. Chicana/o autobiographies also bring to the forefront what Bakhtin defined as the distinct relationship between silence and the word, a "special logosphere, a unified and continuous structure"

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(134). Chicana/o autobiography renders impossible the metaphysicalization of the border, and the striving to make it a paradigm of speechlessness. I wish to underline this point, since Chicana/o autobiography's new form of writing also includes these forms of silence as a way of naming that which traditionally cannot be told—the histories and the stories of those who have been silenced. As these narratives are able to revise the very notion of truth making, this narrativity also becomes a new way of looking into the character of the Chicana/o experience. Chicana/o autobiography refuses the fixed logic of the separate "I" to embrace the interconnectedness, crossings, and alliances of the total Self. Thus the political responsibilities generated by the autobiography are aligned with the remapping of a new community, a fluid and mobile total Self that challenges "the political law of the subject" (Gilmore 31).

As the "I" expands into the total Self, a new text emerges—an autobiography that implies personal and communal, experiential and political knowledge, as well as the historical and the mythological dimensions of a common culture. As such, Chicana/o autobiographical discourse also allows for a new sort of strategic agency.[5] This writing allows Chicanas, for example, to emphasize the community, but also to replace inherited repressive values within the community with new options. This process involves the liability of mediating an intersection of identities designed to escape the dangers of Eurocentrism and narrow nationalisms. Furthermore, the use of *mito* allows for an ever expanding understanding of culture and creation that permits the author to go beyond the effects of loss, trauma, and mourning. This has a tremendous effect on the present and future as well. Juan Bruce-Novoa comments that such a narrative functions "typologically, its features constitute a cosmic order being promoted, not simply as memory, but as a viable model for the present, accepted and promoted by the practitioners evoking the myth" (113). Moreover, the notion of community itself takes place along the switching and reenacting of the different sociohistorical experiences of the multiple groups living on the margins. For example, the many cultural communities from which this new voice speaks show that the space of its definition expands to areas in the sexual sphere (the "hyeros gamos"), the racial and ethnic sphere ("the new Mestiza"), the geographic sphere (Aztlán), and the cultural and linguistic sphere (Spanglish and its variants), among many others. This writing makes explicit the differences between liberal and aestheticized paradigms of border crossings, and those of the Chicana as experiences of trauma and loss. Even more importantly, these writers rewrite *automitografía* as a cultural autobiography where a new conception of self gives voice to the multiple experiences of the personal and the multiple communities the Chicana/o inhabits.

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Chicana/o autobiographies' contribution to autobiography studies is a reformulation of the ideologies of truth and identity as they explore "the philosophico-political limits of border theory work" (Michaelsen 3). As they combine what has been silenced with the experiential knowledge of the marginalized, *automitografías* create a liminal subject position where we can account for that which can not be named—the oppression of the "I," the impressibility of postcolonial trauma, and the intangible and more subtle forms of institutionalized violence against the marginalized. Chicana/o autobiography rewrites identity as a zone of contact between cultures, languages, races, and gender. This rewriting helps us to understand the tension between witnessing and difference, between what Gloria Anzaldúa describes as the total Self, and the liberal aesthetics and politics of confession and sympathy (the traditional "I"). In Chicana/o autobiography, the so-called total Self emerges as a transgression of the liberal aesthetics of confession, and as an interruption of the dichotomies established by traditional autobiographies as they create boundaries between the "I" and the community, and between official truth and experiential knowledge. As *automitografías* are able to restore the voice of the personal experience as total Self, this restoration links witnessing and writing to transcend the silenced truths of the individual's and the community's experience. Through Chicana/o autobiography, the writer's voice becomes closer to the Chicana/o experience; it becomes a real tool that can be used in the search for the nature of power and domination in the American Southwest.

NOTES

1. More than a thousand people died in 2003 trying to cross the border, a considerable increase when compared with the data of past years. Activists blame new regulations that force illegals to look for routes that are more dangerous in order to evade the border patrol.
2. For further studies on nineteenth-century autobiography, see Genaro Padilla's *My History, Not Yours*.
3. Although virtually ignored by publishing houses in the US (in sharp contrast to the success of Magical Realism), Latin American testimonial literature has had a great deal of influence on Latina writers.
4. Anzaldúa argues that "'Making faces' is my metaphor for constructing one's identity" (*Making Face* xvi).
5. In Anzaldúa's case, for instance, strategic agency seeks to "blend" feminism and the Mexican tradition without erasing differences (*Borderlands* 85).

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THE WRITER BECOMES TEXT: NAGUIB MAHFOUZ AND STATE NATIONALISM IN EGYPT

HOSAM ABOUL-ELA

There is no document of civilization that is not at the same time a document of barbarism.

—Walter Benjamin (256)

We are the Pharaohs.

—Recurring crowd chant during Egypt's 1-0 victory over Algeria in November 1989 which advanced Egypt to the World Cup Final for the first time in forty years.

When Naguib Mahfouz (b. 1911) was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature in the fall of 1989, he was already too advanced in years to travel to Sweden for the award ceremony. His serious writing had been completed, and if not for the honor, he might have begun to fade from public view as diabetes and age took their toll on his eyesight and hearing, and as younger and still innovative novelists and writers came to the fore in discussions of Egyptian culture. Becoming the Arab world's first Nobel Laureate in the arts, however, prevented such a fade from the public eye, without restoring to him any health or vigor. In Mahfouz's long career, he had shown little interest in defining himself as a public figure, and at just that moment when local and international interest in him was about to peak, questions of health, age, and will made his public image a blank slate that within Egypt was fiercely contested. In fact, the stakes were high enough that the state itself became involved in the public construction of Mahfouz, eventually with disastrous consequences for the writer. By the fall of 1994, Mahfouz's frail body had literally become a field of battle between the Egyptian state on the one hand, and those intent on doing whatever they could to strike a blow against the state on the other.

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The attempt to assassinate Naguib Mahfouz, and its aftermath, illustrate the inextricable connection between literature and politics in Egypt in particular and in the Global South generally. The less of a role Mahfouz played in asserting a public persona, the more he became a document for what the state wanted him to symbolize. In this sense, his life during the 1990s is an illustration of Benjamin's insistence on the political (often in its most inhuman manifestations) within the cultural. Politics lurks even where we believe we are in the realm of high art.

The state's exploitation of his status also infuses with meaning the second quotation, in which soccer fans are invoking their Pharaonic heritage. In this instance, the soccer match against the national team of "brother Arab" Algeria became an occasion for a collective expression of Egyptian nationalism. What looks on the surface like a celebration at a sporting event actually reinforces *state* nationalism, Egypt's definition of itself against another Arab country. Beginning in the Sadat era and continuing through the 1990s, this sort of differentiation against regional rivals was not only a means of turning away from the Pan-Arabism that had marked the first period of decolonization, and of acknowledging the failure of that decolonization process, but also of tacitly siding with the wave of "globalization" that was sweeping the region. This meant, if not an embrace of western political and economic influence, an acceptance of it through emphasis on Egypt's unique place in the region.

This contradictory government vision of the globalized nation state could not afford to leave untouched the area of national literature. Indeed, the public construction of Mahfouz came to embody the contradictions of the post-decolonization era. Mahfouz was the internationally recognized Nobel Laureate whose life and concerns were thoroughly Egyptian. Meanwhile, the regime took a path toward "globalization." But the real meaning of this step toward supposed greater integration into the global economy was that the State's economic, political, military, and social priorities were dependent on vertical relations with US hegemony, and de-emphasized horizontal connections to regional partners. Far from destroying state nationalism, the dynamic of globalization used it to its own ends, as indeed it used the public figure of Mahfouz.

* * * * *

In the context of the Middle East, the western observer usually treats the inextricability of culture and politics with a surprising crudeness, as though the politicization of the arts were a sign of Arab backwardness, and not a commonplace in many cultures, as suggested by Benjamin's pithy charge

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against modern European culture. Examples of the dismissive attitude toward Arab cultural politics include the following rendering of a "western editor"'s complaint by John Rodenbeck that "The trouble with most modern Arabic literature is that it's always about politics" (5), or Edward Said's report that in 1980, upon asking a powerful New York publisher why he had rejected Said's suggestion that he commission new translations of Naguib Mahfouz's masterworks, the publisher responded that "Arabic is a controversial language" (46).

In the West, much of the project of turning Naguib Mahfouz into a novelist who is bankable for publishers and consumable for nonspecialist readers has been built upon the construction of an exceptionalist argument that sees him as above the political fray. The typical newspaper review is usually written by someone unfamiliar with the historical background, circumstances of production, and original language of his novels, and it usually culminates in something like the following phrase from the *Los Angeles Times*: "The Nobel Prize acknowledges the universal significance of Mahfouz's fiction." Nor is such will to generalize and apoliticize Mahfouz uncommon among more specialized writers. Raymond Stock, an American biographer of Mahfouz writing in the *Financial Times,* comments that Mahfouz has "avoided any overt political role all his life" (3). Even Samia Mehrez, in her inspired essay about Mahfouz and his relationship to state power, refers as a point of departure to "a general consensus in the Egyptian intellectual and literary milieu ... that the Nobel Prize winner's life has been a long quiet stream," and then quotes critic Luwis 'Awad as proclaiming "Never have I known a writer to be so widely accepted by the right, center, and left" (62).

Mahfouz's profile as a novelist and a writer have in several ways facilitated the depoliticized reading of his life and novels, especially for his western readers. Having written so much over the course of so many years, and having reinvented his generic style so often, the easiest reading of his work for a novice is a radically decontextualized one. The early Pharaonic Mahfouz is a romanticist, and not a Nationalist author of political allegory. The social realist Mahfouz of the forties and fifties is "an Egyptian Dickens or Balzac" (in the fatuous formulation that pervaded post-Nobel reviews) and not a cataloger of an emerging corrupt comprador class growing out of British colonialism. The "existential realist" Mahfouz of the Nasser era (most notoriously the Mahfouz of *Awlad Haratna* [*Children of the Alley,* 1959], about which much more later) is an eastern mystic much more than a writer whose political allegories become increasingly elusive as he feels the pressure of Nasserist surveillance. And the postmodern Mahfouz of *Yom Qutl al Zaim, Rihlat Ibn Fatouma,* and *Layali Alf Laila* [*The Day the Leader Died,*

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The Journey of Ibn Fatouma, and *The Nights of a Thousand Nights*] is an aging writer of diminishing skills who has lapsed into political rhetoric, cinematic episodism, and traditionalist obscurantism.

For the Egyptian reader more familiar with the writer, the judgment that he is apolitical may at times be intended comparatively, stemming from the knowledge that Mahfouz has never engaged himself as an activist or campaigner, or even as a public intellectual. He has neither climbed the ladder to high government office, as have so many other famous Egyptian writers and intellectuals, nor has he taken firm oppositional stands. Thus, in over six decades of writing in Egypt, no government has felt the need to imprison Mahfouz for even a day. In this he contrasts sharply not only with every important oppositional Egyptian writer, but even with many now working for the state.

The most important counter to the suggestion that Mahfouz is somehow above politics is to invoke Benjamin, and assert that to separate politics from any type of cultural discourse is to misunderstand how ideology functions in the modern world. Samia Mehrez helps us connect this theoretical claim with the specific matter of Mahfouz not only by reminding us of his series of run-ins over the course of his career with Al Azhar, the Islamic voice of the State, but also by documenting his lifelong discomfort with his situation as a state bureaucrat, working and earning a salary at the pleasure of whatever regime happened to be in power. Mahfouz has managed to scandalize every Egyptian President since 1952 but without ever crossing the line, without ever pushing far enough to be punished.[1]

Furthermore, both Egyptians and Americans surveying Mahfouz's career have managed at times to take his political stands themselves as indicative of his moderate and apolitical sensibility. Here I have in mind his consistent support of a peace treaty with Israel, which preceded the Camp David Accords themselves. For Zionists in the United States, Mahfouz's relatively pro-Israeli position coincides with the "political center"; thus this stance, which has regularly set him at odds with the vast majority of Arab writers, is made normative by the *New Yorker* or *New York Times,* and is seen by them as a sign that Mahfouz sees with a clarity that transcends the degraded hurly-burly of Arab political discourse.[2] In contrast, the Arab writer might often see the same position as so outside the mainstream of Arab cultural politics as to render Mahfouz pointless in the area of political discussion, an ingenuous master of novelistic form who also happens to make kooky political pronouncements that are easily dismissed.

If Mehrez was able, in the immediate aftermath of the Nobel Prize, to document a lifetime of delicate interfacing between Mahfouz and the State,

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subsequent events have even further implicated him in the policies of the Egyptian government. Mahfouz is now an internationally famous writer who does not write, and who rarely makes a public pronouncement. As though in a calculated effort to exploit the truth behind Benjamin's claim, the Egyptian government has filled in this empty space for its own purposes. Consequently, Islamist attempts to delegitimize the State have aimed at the symbol of Mahfouz that has been created, and in a most famous incident, a misguided individual even struck out in the name of the Islamic movement at the flesh and blood person of Mahfouz, intending all along to strike at the symbol. In the aftermath, the symbol became even more implicated in official discourse.

* * * * *

At the time of this attack (October 14, 1994), it seemed surprising to many that a writer so little involved in political movements would become a target, but in retrospect we should be surprised that it had not happened earlier, in light of the way the state adopted Mahfouz's image as its benign face in the aftermath of his Nobel success. When the writer declined to travel to Sweden to receive his award, President Mubarak arranged an Egyptian ceremony in which he would personally place an Egyptian medal of achievement around the Nobel Laureate's neck. For the next six years, and in spite of indications of possible danger to Mahfouz around the time of the *Satanic Verses* controversy, he became the national poster-child for Egyptian State cultural achievement. His serene countenance was regularly pasted on billboards and splashed across television screens to advertise any cultural event at which he might appear, or with which he might be associated. At Mubarak's annual meeting with writers and intellectuals in conjunction with the Cairo International Bookfair,[3] Mahfouz was always in the front row, with the television camera recording the event for state-run television hovering around him, even though he never spoke—indeed could not have been expected to speak since his failing eyesight and hearing would have made it impossible for him to follow what was going on at such a crowded public gathering. During these years before the attack, Mahfouz was a ubiquitous mute image. The result was that his association with the regime and its policies was reinforced to a greater extent than it had ever been. In fact, so powerful was the association created between Mahfouz and official Egypt that a group fervently opposed to the Mubarak regime felt compelled to try to kill the author.

Only in the aftermath of the attack did the results of the State's forced adoption of the Mahfouz symbol become obvious. On October 17, three

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days after the attack, *Al-Ahram* published a cartoon which showed, under the title "the assassination attempt on Naguib Mahfouz," a sparse drawing of the Sphinx shedding a tear, with nothing in the background but the three pyramids of Giza (*Al-Ahram* 17 October 1994: 8). The first comment in the Egyptian press about the attack appeared the previous day in septuagenarian Mustafa Amin's column on the back page of *Al Akhbar*, Egypt's second largest newspaper, which like *Al-Ahram* is a public sector enterprise. Again Egypt's Pharaonic heritage was invoked in rhetoric that unsettles, even when we remember that Amin had spent a lifetime writing alongside Mahfouz in government-funded newspapers, and that Mahfouz's survival of the attack was still in doubt.

> Whoever has tried to strike down Naguib Mahfouz, tried to smash one of Egypt's pyramids. For Naguib Mahfouz was not an individual, but rather one of the symbols of Egypt. He was a sun that lit up this country, a flag elevated over its flags, a great professor among its professors.
>
> He was not just an individual, but rather a nation [*umah*]. He was a generation and a renaissance [*nahdah*] that raised our heads collectively. . . . For this wound in the neck of Naguib Mahfouz is the blood of us all, and this wound will abide in our hearts for all time. . . .
>
> He never used his pen to raise up a ruler but rather to raise up all of Egypt. . . . The blade that plunged into Naguib Mahfouz's neck will not kill him, for this type of great man does not die even if we bury him in the dirt. Naguib will live as long as the Arabic language lives, as long as we have something called Arabic literature. (14)

During the period of Mahfouz's recovery, such rhetoric was (although not always quite so extreme) fairly common. Writers in both the opposition and the mainstream press began referring to Mahfouz as "Edeeb Misr" [Egypt's writer]. A special investigative report on the capture of his alleged attackers in *Al-Ahram* called itself "The Objective: Assassination of Symbols of the Nation" (Fuad 3). So overwhelmed was the convalescing Mahfouz by the attention of government ministers and other official dignitaries racing one another to visit him at his hospital bed that on the point of initial release from the hospital he suffered a bout of exhaustion that led to his doctor's banning all visitors and prescribing an additional period of convalescence in the hospital.

Around this same time the discussion swirling around the stabbing of the writer briefly took a turn that threatened state control of the writer's image. Safwat Sharif, the Minister of Information, made an apparently offhand

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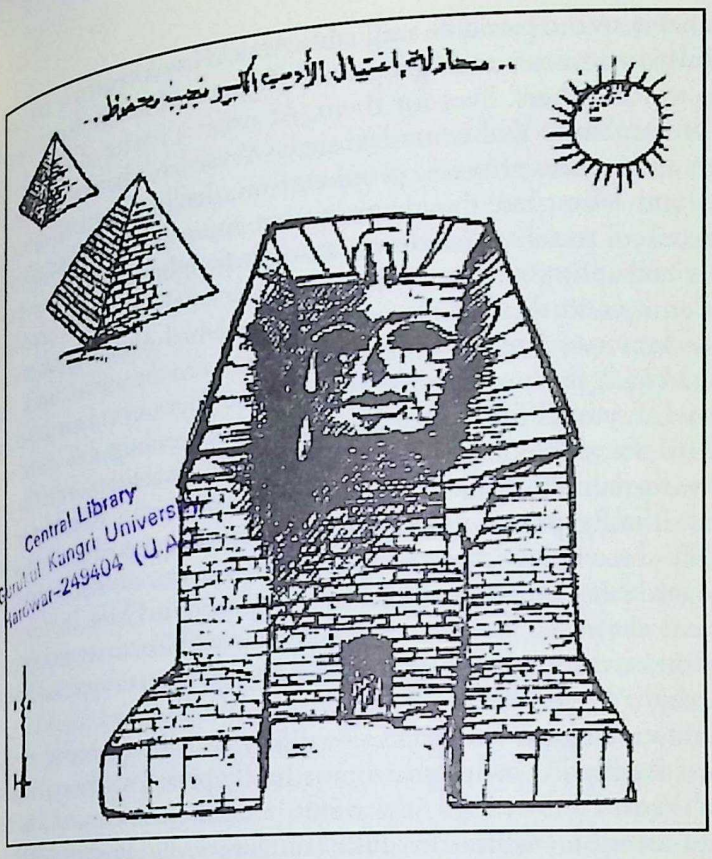

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Detail from a cartoon in Cairo's *Al-Ahram* daily shows the Sphinx weeping under the caption "The assassination attempt on the great writer Naguib Mahfouz" (cartoon © 1994 by Gamil Shafiq, published by courtesy of the artist).

remark at a press conference dealing with the Mahfouz stabbing that seemed to indicate the government was softening on its over thirty-year-old ban of the only Mahfouz novel never to be published in book form in Egypt, *Awlad Haratna* [*Children of the Alley*], which had met with disapproval from Al Azhar upon its original serialization in *Al-Ahram* in 1959.

Children of the Alley is unique in Mahfouz's expansive oeuvre, appearing after a period of several years in the fifties during which the author uncharacteristically failed to publish anything. (One theory is that Mahfouz stopped writing because he was despondent about the anti-democratic direction that the Abdel Nasser government had taken.) The novel tells the story of Sheikh Gebalawi and several generations of his descendants, who find it increasingly difficult to maintain a sense of virtue and community in the neighborhood

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they inhabit, as the patriarch (arguably Abdel Nasser) becomes ever more isolated in his mansion, and "gangsters" (Egyptian State Security) perpetually rise up to run others' lives for them. At times a reader of this novel feels a sense of familiarity and a mythic air, as several of the descendants' stories seem to invoke tales of heroic prophets from the literature of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, but this religious element is constantly juxtaposed with hard details of social realism in the novel, which broadly critiques patriarchy and the corrupting effects of time. In spite of the multiple possibilities of such a critique in the era of an ascendant Gamal Abdel Nasser, the novel's clerical detractors latched onto its religious reverberations, noting that its chapters equal the number of *Suras* in the Quran, and complaining that Gebalawi, a symbol for God according to their reading, dies in the final section. This was all too much for Egypt's Islamic establishment at the time the novel was serialized. Influence was used to make certain that the novel would not appear in Egypt in book form. The author acquiesced to the prohibition, especially since he was allowed to publish a Beirut edition, which has been widely available at an inflated black-market price in Cairo. In multiple interviews over the years, he has stated that he would like to see an Egyptian edition of the novel, but only if it is first given its stamp of approval by Al Azhar University.

Mahfouz's Nobel Prize selection thirty years later raised his public profile considerably in the months immediately preceding the explosion of the *Satanic Verses* controversy. As a result, radical cleric Omar Abdel Rahman chose to mention Mahfouz and the controversy surrounding *Children of the Alley* in critical remarks aimed at Rushdie. When Mahfouz was stabbed, *Children* was widely viewed both inside and outside Egypt as the reason for the attack.[4] In retrospect, however, it should be clear that with armed Islamic resistance to the Egyptian State at its peak, such forces needed only the slightest excuse for attacking the Mahfouz symbol, which had become so emblematic of the government.

But in the aftermath of the attack, calls for publication of the novel began arising from a wide variety of writers with secular leanings, who hoped to use the event to embarrass the Islamist opposition. Even writers close to officialdom (Salama A. Salama writing in *Al-Ahram,* for example, and Gaber Asfour, an eminent literary critic and the number two man in the Ministry of Culture) began turning their attention to the novel's contents, and agitating for its publication in an Egyptian edition. The state-run *Al Misa'* published an initial installment of the novel as a first step toward its re-serialization. Then on Sunday, October 30, *Al-Ahali,* the weekly of the leftist opposition *Tagamm'a* Party, in a special number introduced by an editorial of admiration not only

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from prominent writers, but even from the likes of popular comic actor Adhil Imam, published the entire text of the novel at the price of one Egyptian pound (*Awlad*).

Three days later the regular Wednesday issue of *Al-Ahali* showed Mahfouz reading the special issue in pajamas in his hospital room, and reported that his wife had told the paper he was pleased with the special number. But on the same day, *Al-Ahram* struck back in a bid to reassert its publication rights over the novel, and (it claimed) to protect the rights of Mahfouz himself. Mohamed Salmawy—a Mahfouz epigone, who had traveled to Sweden to read Mahfouz's acceptance speech at the Nobel ceremony, and who had made himself synonymous with *Al-Ahram* during its coverage of Mahfouz's convalescence—excoriated *Al-Ahali* and *Al Misa'* on *Al-Ahram*'s editorial page in an article entitled "The Second Assassination of Naguib Mahfouz." The title referred to the alleged "pirating" of Mahfouz's work, and the alleged stripping of not only his copyright, but "his human rights." Salmawy reported that Mahfouz was not pleased with the publication of *Children of the Alley*, that *Al-Ahali* had been given fair warning of the great writer's disapproval, and even that delicate negotiations between Mahfouz intermediaries and the *Azharis* over an Egyptian edition had begun after the attack, but had been derailed by *Al-Ahali*'s actions. By the following Wednesday, *Al-Ahali* had received a petition signed by five hundred Egyptian writers condemning its insensitivity to Mahfouz's rights as author. The paper was characteristically unrepentant, and its editorials expressed dismay that five hundred writers might rally around the cause of the Nobel Laureate's royalties when there were so many other worthy causes to petition against, including Israeli aggression in the occupied territories and the ongoing (at the time) prosecution of film director Yusuf Chahine on blasphemy charges for making the film *Al Mahager* [*The Emigrant*].[5] But *Al-Ahram*'s counterattack had seriously damaged the opposition paper, and discussion of a possible Egyptian edition of *Children of the Alley* died out. Coverage of the Mahfouz stabbing turned its attention to the military tribunal conducting the kangaroo court that led to the conviction of almost all of the young, working class Islamists who had been summarily rounded up only hours after the attack. (Two defendants, one charged with doing the stabbing and another with planning the details of the attack, were sentenced to death and executed, and almost all the other defendants were found guilty of conspiracy and given lesser sentences.)

Thus, in a matter of weeks, the stabbing of Mahfouz had resulted in the regime delivering a blow to both Islamists and to the secular left. Mahfouz survived but was now even less vigorous. In a widely noted irony that gives

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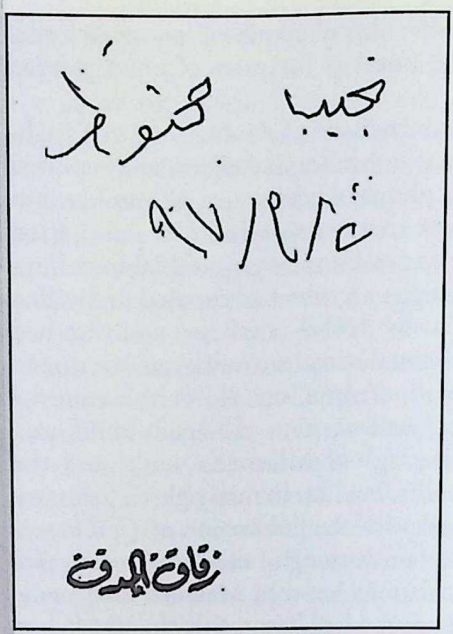

Naguib Mahfouz's broken autograph appears over the date March 3, 1997, on the title page of the author's copy of *Zuqaq al Midaq* [*Midaq Alley*].

the story an almost operatic quality, Mahfouz found himself unable to write upon leaving the hospital, since the assailant's knife had damaged nerves that helped the author control the use of his right hand. But few have gone on to note that the post-attack non-writing Mahfouz is even more the State's perfect Mahfouz symbol than the author had ever been.

* * * * *

Recently, Foucault's reduction of the author to a product of discourse has been challenged by postcolonial, feminist, and other cultural critics, who find the notion of the Foucaldian author function and the general rejection of all possibility of agency to be too defeatist.[6] Lois McNay, for example, has argued recently that feminist and other cultural accounts of identity formation that have taken a fairly traditional view of Foucault's work have suffered from the fact that "the negative moment of subjection . . . has been accorded theoretical privilege" (2). In this "negative paradigm," McNay argues, "subjectification is subjection." In her search for a proactive view of agency, McNay claims that not predicating agency on subjection (not presuming Mahfouz's powerlessness before the State's ideological apparatus, for example) "yields an understanding of a creative or imaginative substrate to action"

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So, McNay argues that this more proactive view of agency is more consistent with Foucault's final works, and more productive vis-à-vis feminist theory of agency—her main interest. Thus, she claims, "With regard to issues of gender, a more rounded conception of agency is crucial to explaining both how women have acted autonomously in the past despite constricting social sanctions and also how they may act now in the context of processes of gender restructuring" (5). If Foucaldian discourse in the context of the postcolonial state acts to negate individual agency, McNay's discussion suggests that understanding authorship in the postcolonial context should take into account not only the negative moment of subjection, but also how the author or agent has acted autonomously.

In the case of Mahfouz, the older reading of the Foucaldian author function might see him as the object of direct state power as the arm of discourse, stripping the writer (who in this case does not even resist) of his agency. Having physically and mentally contained the writer his whole life—and again I have in mind Samia Mehrez's narrative of his life as a state bureaucrat, working and collecting a paycheck at the pleasure of Egypt's various rulers—the state will now use his considerable fame for its own purposes. One wonders furthermore if Mehrez's Mahfouz is not a prototype for the contemporary Egyptian writer, since writing in Egypt has come to be synonymous with living off of state largess, with making one's living off of (usually meager) government money obtained through positions with a newspaper, a magazine, a university, a journal, a film festival, a cultural palace, radio scripts, a publication series, or other public enterprise endeavors. This relationship between the State and its intellectuals results in some influence over what writers say and publish, but it results in even more influence over their image and its uses, should that image become useful for public purposes. In a sense, the Egyptian state has been very effective in reducing Egyptian writers to Foucaldian author functions. Speaking of life writing across the decolonized world, Gillian Whitlock asserts that relations of power are integral to understanding such public lives, especially with respect to "studies of autobiography and colonialism," since "these encounters and asymmetrical intersocial relationships . . . highlight the making of identities through relationships, and through social processes" (4). Another way of putting this relationship between state power and the public construction of the postcolonial life is by returning to the Benjamin quotation, and seeing the State subtly creating from literary works documents to its own lack of enlightenment.

Still, McNay's insistence on a proactive dimension to agency reminds us that the erasure of the author's position in this controversy can be overstated. A more nuanced reading of the construction of Mahfouz's life by the State

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should take into account his own complicity in the process. Mahfouz's role had turned into that of mute, for the State to use as it wished. For some time before the attack, Mahfouz had been becoming increasingly useful to the State as a symbol for Egypt. His interest in the Pharaohs, his suspicion of Nasserist Pan-Arab discourse, his conciliatory stance toward Israel, his lifetime of government service all seemed to say "Egypt" in spite of the persistent criticisms of Egyptian officialdom that lay below the surface of his fiction, and this essentially *Egyptian* character of the Mahfouz symbol coincides with a persistent drift in policy after the death of Nasser away from the Arab *Umah* and toward an Egyptian one. The attack and its aftermath added two more elements to this list. Mahfouz was now a symbol of Islamist barbarism, and the resultant need for a firm, militaristic government response. Most surprising of all, he was suddenly a symbol for copyright law. In a country in which no writer (with the possible exception of Mahfouz himself) makes a living off of royalties from writing, five hundred writers banded together to defend their right to collect royalties.[7]

In the same year of the *Children of the Alley* controversy, Mahfouz published one of his last books, initially as a serial in the same *Al-Ahram* newspaper that would assert its rights over the banned novel later in the year. When published in book form, the work was entitled *Echoes of an Autobiography,* and it was quickly rushed into English translation and published with a preface by Mahfouz's fellow Nobel Laureate, Nadine Gordimer. Stylistically, the book has more to do with the recent trend of writing microfictions in Egypt, which goes back as far as the seventies, at which time the innovative and critically acclaimed stories of Mohamed al-Makhzangy began to appear. But taking the work's title at face value is an illuminating exercise in reading Mahfouz's complicity in the erasure of his own agency as autobiographer. Dwight Reynolds has referred to "the traditional 'reticence' of Arab authors to expose the private self through the vehicle of autobiographical writing" (244). But Mahfouz's book challenges the very notion of autobiographical writing as the construction of any life, either public or private. This challenge to the form of autobiography is even foretold by Gordimer in the English edition through dismissive comments like "fiction writers who produce autobiographies are those whose autobiographies are better than their novels." She further observes that the "aphorisms, parables, allegories in this work of Naguib Mahfouz have no dates appended. It's of no account when he wrote them" (viii). The work itself is a string of very brief anecdotes. Many are narrated in the first person, but several are not. The autobiography genre is echoed in the opening anecdote, since it begins at childhood with a memory of the young Mahfouz's joy at school being cancelled because

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of the revolution. A few other memories of childhood are related in the first several anecdotes, but within only a few short pages the narrator has jumped to old age, in the anecdote entitled "Happiness."

> I returned to the old street after a long absence to attend a funeral.
> No trace worth mentioning remained of its golden form. (8)

As *Echoes* progresses, this old and wizened narrator becomes more prominent. The childhood memories disappear, without any reference to the period between innocence and pending death. Anecdotes related in the third person also proliferate as the book progresses, and Mahfouz disappears completely by the final third of the book, which focuses primarily on the sayings and fables of a sage named Sheikh Abd-Rabbih al-Ta'ih. Mahfouz leaves less than an echo of his life in this autobiography, presenting instead a screen on which the reader might project an idiosyncratic rendering of him. Similarly, his public life at this time was offered as an open text for the State's projection of its own agenda. Mahfouz can be said to be an agent in his own subjection.

But the issue surrounding this controversy goes beyond Mahfouz's agency to the question of how the state wished to use his symbol and why. I have suggested that Mahfouz was to some extent the State's symbol for Egypt as differentiated from its Arab regional partners. But in 1994, as Egypt embarked on a decade of liberalization of its economy, and gradually adopted International Monetary Fund policies of structural adjustment, differentiation from the regional meant not only celebration of the local, but an embrace of the global. We might see this more clearly if we think of the adoption of the Mahfouz symbol by the Egyptian state in juxtaposition to Masao Miyoshi's comment about globalization:

> Anglo-American culture, or even general modern culture, was bound to be statist, not to say nationalist. Transnational corporatism is a process of decomposing the state; and along with it, of economization of culture. With all the urgency and energy to maximize corporate and private gains, it converts most social and political activities into economy, and culture into a commercial program. (259)

Add to Miyoshi's observation the notion that globalization's present is in constant tension with colonization's past. In contemporary Egypt, Mahfouz's novels may be reduced to an economic commodity, as *Children of the Alley* was by those who viewed the controversy surrounding it in terms of copyright. But the larger process of deflating state power is carried out in an unequal, even contradictory manner. (Miyoshi explains earlier in this essay

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that the process of transnationalization is "very uneven.") "Liberalization" policies are about both rearranging a nation-state's economic priorities, and about blending them with a global economic polysystem. The *nation-state* must raise itself up to "become global."

There is a parallel between the State's economic liberalization program and the reduction of Mahfouz's writing to a salable commodity. The attempt to place Mahfouz's copyright at the heart of the *Children of the Alley* controversy carries a certain congruity with these new state policies. As the assertion of intellectual property rights has been a controversial issue in recent world trade agreements, and an issue on which the "Washington consensus" (which Egypt was subject to) has brooked no dissent, just so *Al-Ahram*, a state-sponsored institution, made intellectual property central to this debate. Of course, there is no real money at stake for Mahfouz in selling a book in Arabic. Furthermore, away from the Washington consensus, more even-handed discussions of globalization and intellectual property take into account what is called user's rights. In this instance, the public's access to a literary text that had led to an assassination attempt could have been seen to outweigh Mahfouz's right to a small percentage of royalties. At its heart, the propagation of the copyright issue amounted to play acting. Here—as in many other instances—the processes of globalization reduce author to author function in the name of preserving his rights, just as these processes in globalizing the Egyptian state reduce it radically to a thinly constructed state nationalism.

In Egypt, the defeat of '67 and the death of Nasser ushered in three decades of an increasingly opening "open door." But the process of becoming global has ironically required a growing emphasis on state nationalism and a rejection of Nasserist Pan-Arabism. Mahfouz's connection to this trend is further exemplified in the first controversy to embroil him after the attempt on his life. About a year after the attack, a reporter for the London-based international Arabic paper *Al Hayat* managed to find the aging Nobel Laureate at his now secretive weekly salon to read to him a recent anti-Oslo poem by the Syrian Nizar Qabbani that was receiving a great deal of attention at the time on Arabic cultural pages. Mahfouz praised the poetry but rejected the anti-Israeli message, and it was of course this less-than-surprising political stance against the poem that hit *Al Hayat*'s front page the next morning (Abdel Mejid). Mahfouz's acolytes in the Egyptian state-run culture industry cried foul in the most defensive manner imaginable, with novelist and editor Gamal al-Ghitany even using his bully pulpit in *Akhbar al Edeb* to speculate about the entrapment of Mahfouz in service of an Arab conspiracy against Egyptian culture.

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This brings us back to the chant of the soccer fans: "We are the Pharaohs." Of course, this is a collective embracing of state nationalism at a sporting event, but it also has a context which suggests that its significance goes beyond the irrepressible exuberance of soccer fanatics. In the hours after the match, Egypt became implicated in two international incidents. An Algerian footballer broke a glass over the head of a taunting Egyptian fan in a posh Cairo hotel, and was held in custody for some time before the Algerian embassy convinced authorities that he had diplomatic immunity. Even more portentously, in Baghdad, where Saddam Hussein had only recently appeared on national television personally reassuring Egyptian guest workers that they were safe in his country in the aftermath of a series of apparent killings, an Iraqi drove into a crowd of celebrating Egyptians who had occupied the central *Sahet al Tahrir*. Eight months later, and only a few hours before invading Kuwait, Saddam would offer Hosni Mubarak a solemn promise to keep his military within his borders.

The irony of the war that followed, then, was the irony of Middle Eastern globalization: a global army joined together to defend the sovereignty of a tiny, oligarchic nation-state. Twelve years later, a converse of the first war was fought, when the United States invaded Iraq against widespread global opposition, but there was certainly a level at which this latest war was a continuation of the processes of globalization by regional differentiation. In the aftermath of this most recent conflict, Thomas Friedman claimed a level of surprise that "Many Iraqis today express real resentment for the other Arab regimes" (9). In fact, this phenomenon was widely observable among Iraqi exiles in the US, and is a continuation of the post '67 trend toward an oxymoronic state nationalist globalization.

* * * * *

In this context of wars, repressive states, and external hegemons, there is indeed a great deal of subjugation (both of the global and local variety) that subject formation must act against. In the case of Mahfouz, it would be interesting to contrast his own circumventing of life construction in *Echoes of an Autobiography* with the purposeful sense of agency in life writing by women in Egypt in the early part of the twentieth century, as noted by Marilyn Booth. Booth describes these early twentieth century texts as forming "a gendered discourse of prescription by way of encouragement, a discourse of exemplarity through which women explicated and explored their situations and their hopes" (xiv).

Gordimer raises the question of gender in her introduction to *Echoes*, but her discussion takes a very different direction from Booth's. Gordimer

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relates an exchange between young feminists to whom she was teaching the first volume of Mahfouz's Cairo Trilogy at Harvard. When her students took offense to the conditions of women in the first novel, Gordimer argued that they were "killing the messenger." For her, the writer's "insight to the complex socio-sexual mores, the seraglio-prison that distorted the lives of women members of Abd al-Jawad's family was a protest far more powerful than that of those who accused him of literary chauvinism" (xiii).

In the context of the assassination attempt and the public arguments which followed it, a third reading of the subjugation of women discussed by Gordimer and her students emerges. In the age of Middle Eastern globalization, the "seraglio-prison" has extended to all public intellectuals of either gender, especially if they do not actively resist the State's attempts to make them a document of barbarism. Gordimer ends her preface to *Echoes* by invoking a moment in which "Mahfouz gave one of the rare responses in his own person." He had been asked about the subject closest to his heart, and she quotes him as answering "Freedom. Freedom from colonization, freedom from the absolute rule of kings, basic human freedom in the context of society and family. These types of freedom follow one from the other" (xvii). In the present postcolonial Arab context, this response strikes a special chord that leaves the observer wondering why the writer's own voice would offer it only rarely.

NOTES

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1. Roger Allen has suggested to me that Mahfouz's publication in the 1970s of the book *Mirrors,* which contained scathing critiques of various Egyptian public figures, led to the most delicate negotiations to preserve his freedom.
2. For examples of *The New Yorker*'s take on Mahfouz and Egypt in the '90s, see Viorst and Weaver.
3. The tradition of the Egyptian President meeting with local writers and intellectuals one afternoon during the Bookfair's two week run was initiated by Gamal Abdel Nasser as part of his general program of celebrating the intellectual's role in the postcolonial state. In spite of this oft expressed desire to celebrate intellectuals, Abdel Nasser imprisoned more than his share of dissidents, and thus remains a complicated symbol for present-day writers.
4. *Awlad Haratna* is the only Mahfouz novel to be retranslated after he won the Nobel Prize, and therefore to have two English versions currently coexisting. The novel was

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first translated as *Children of Gebalawi* by Philip Stewart in 1981, and published as part of Heinemann's (now defunct) Arab Writers series. When Anchor/Doubleday made plans to reissue the novel around the time Mahfouz was stabbed, as it had with several previously translated Mahfouz novels in the five years since the Nobel, Stewart apparently expressed trepidation, leading to a new version by Peter Theroux being commissioned, *Children of the Alley* (1996).

2 For *Al-Ahali*'s responses see Al-Said and Al-Naqash.

3 In addition to McNay, see Edward Said's distancing from a very passive concept of the Foucaldian author function, going all the way back to the introduction to *Orientalism*, his most Foucaldian work. But to see how much more he distanced himself from a position that would totally reject an author's agency, see his remarks about the role of the intellectual in Bayoumi.

4 One of Egypt's better known short story writers, Soleiman Fayyad, once told me that he had added up all the royalties from his many books when he turned sixty and found it came to approximately $300. It is widely understood that a writer will not make money off of writing fiction unless it is translated and the translations are successful.

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NATIONAL ICONS AND PERSONAL IDENTITIES IN THREE ISRAELI AUTOBIOGRAPHIES

MICHAEL KEREN

INTRODUCTION

One of the characteristics of modern nationalism has been its use of simplistic symbols. By "nationalism" I refer to the political movements rising in the nineteenth century defining individuals as belonging to common cultural and linguistic traditions, which were largely invented (Anderson, Hobsbawm). Every national movement has defined the perimeters of the linguistic and cultural group constituting the "nation" in simplistic terms. The complexity of demographic, ethnic, class, or political affiliations was given up for the sake of myths of the nation and its formative events that could be easily grasped. The demands made by national movements for self-determination and sovereignty have therefore been disseminated in the form of abstract symbols appealing to the masses (Deutschmann).

A particularly desirable symbol has been that of the pioneer holding a scythe in one hand, a gun in the other. This symbol was effective because it portrayed the end product of the national movement. The image of the free and muscular farmer-soldier can be found in the annals of many national movements, especially those developing their cultural identity while settling new geographic frontiers, because this image makes for a more effective poster under these conditions than that of a whole family seeking refuge in the national home. The educational system and popular culture in frontier states have always preferred the lone hero to the diverse public plodding along. Familiar examples are the South American Gaucho and the North American Cowboy, whose "rugged individualism, unbending principle, frontier spirit, and manly courage" has been mythologized (Slatta 191). Various studies have shown how the romanticized image of the illiterate horse-and-cattle-raising

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Gauchos of the Argentine prairies served Argentina's national elites at times when urban immigrant masses came up with demands for socialism, electoral reform, or workers' rights (Castro), and North American popular culture has similarly nurtured the image of the lone cowboy riding west (Sullivan). In his study of the myth of the frontier in twentieth century America, Richard Slotkin has shown how the violence attributed to the cowboy has functioned in the formation of American national identity. The violent cowboy helped shape the identity of those who have freed themselves both from the "savage" of the American wilderness and from the metropolitan regime of authoritarian politics and class privilege.

Modern Jewish nationalism has taken a similar path, although the new symbolism required quite an adjustment. The historical image of the "wandering Jew," developed over two thousand years of exile, was aligned with that of the ordinary Jewish family with its men, women, elders, and children carrying packs containing their few possessions on their shoulders. A great intellectual effort was therefore needed to devise the symbolism of a "new Jew" who would resemble the Gaucho or the cowboy more than the traditional Jewish refugee family (Keren). Such an effort was made wherever Jews were involved in settlement of land. In 1910, writer Albert Gerchunoff represented the Jewish settlement in Argentina in his novel "The Jewish Gauchos of the Pampas," while Jewish rural settlement in the United States produced such works as Isaac Raboy's Yiddish novel "The Jewish Cowboy," describing the author's experiences as a settler in North Dakota at the beginning of the twentieth century (Shein).

While these literary works kept a balance between old Jewish traditions and the pioneering experience, Jewish settlement in Palestine largely stripped the new experience from its traditional roots. For reasons I will discuss later, settlers in Palestine often conceptualized their experience in mythological rather than in historical terms, becoming in their own eyes the descendants of Old Testament judges and kings, and of mythological figures such as Simon Bar Kochba, who led a rebellion against the Roman Empire in the second century (Zerubavel).

As in the biblical tale of the exodus, in which a generation of former slaves had to die before a new generation of desert-born heroes would be ready to conquer the Land of Canaan by storm, the modern national mythology was mainly oriented at the youth. Youngsters growing up in the Land of Israel at the beginning of the twentieth century were destined by their elders to become a new breed of Jews, free of the burden of two thousand years of exile. They were nurtured as pioneers by parents and educators who saw them as a combination of a social and occupational revolution in Jewish

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life. Whereas Jews in exile had been forced into urban occupations and life styles, young Israelis were expected to farm the land, and whereas Jewish communities in history had been mostly defenseless against their persecutors, the Israel-born youngster was expected to be capable of self-defense.

It is important to note, however, a major difference between the pioneer image in Palestine and in the Americas. However detached from traditional Jewish roots, the farmer-soldier in Palestine was no Gaucho or cowboy. As shown by Ilan Troen in his comparison of Israeli and American frontier myths, although pioneering in both societies has been idealized and stereotyped, while the American pioneer was marked by individualism rooted in the realization of self-interest, the Jewish pioneer was never conceived of as a solitary person acting alone and for self-interest. The state of Israel, defined in ethnic, national terms, was created to fulfill national Jewish purposes, not the "pursuit of happiness" by individuals (Troen). Therefore, the pioneer symbol in Israel must be understood on its own terms. The young farmer-soldier aims at self-fulfillment, but one tied to the accomplishment of national goals. No Daniel Boone, or Gary Cooper in *High Noon,* the Israeli farmer-soldier is engaged in collective activities, often as a member of *Palmach,* Israel's legendary pre-state assault units, housed in collective settlements (*Kibbutzim*), who became the source of vivid images of the farmer-soldier. It should also be noted that while the South and North American pioneer icons mostly were men, about a quarter of the *Palmach* members were women, which made women such as Hanna Senesh, a young Kibbutz member who parachuted during World War II into Nazi-conquered Europe, an important part of the symbol system. Moreover, while the American cowboy is usually presented as a tough adult, in novels, poems, pictures, memorial books, and other media, the Israeli pioneer man or woman is mostly portrayed as young and innocent.

Three youngsters in particular became national icons: Yigal Allon, born in 1918; Moshe Dayan, born in 1915; and Yitzhak Rabin, born in 1922. These poster heroes represented the free and muscular pioneer envisioned by modern Jewish nationalism—the ultimate expression of the "new Jew." Born in the Land of Israel, they became legendary military heroes in their twenties, and played leading roles in political parties affiliated with the Israeli labor movement. In the mid-1970s, when the "pioneering era" in Israel was over and the labor movement fell from grace, their political careers sank to a low point. It was at that time that all three wrote their autobiographies, which serve as an invaluable source for an understanding of nationalism from the unique perspective of its icons.

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In what follows, I will analyze the three autobiographies—Allon's *My Father's House* (1976), Dayan's *Story of My Life* (1977), and Rabin's *The Rabin Memoirs* (1979)—in an attempt to answer three questions:

1. How did the turning of these three persons into icons, mainly by their parents, affect their life writing?
2. How did they negotiate a compromise between their symbolic status and their identities as mature human beings?
3. What were the political implications of these "negotiations"?

In addressing these questions, I attribute an important, if somewhat overlooked, role to autobiography, arguing that the different ways that these three political leaders reached a compromise between their roles as national icons and their lives as mature individuals, as revealed by autobiographical research, can help us account for their different approaches to the Arab-Israeli conflict —differences with enormous political consequences, given the three leaders' prominence. In addition to exploring three prominent national figures, then, this study will demonstrate the usefulness of autobiographical research for political analysis.

After elaborating upon the pioneering ethos in Israel, and describing common features in the three autobiographies that reflect their writers' self-consciousness about their symbolic role as farmer-soldiers, I shall then analyze the different ways the autobiographers' negotiated the roles attributed to them in modern Jewish history, and the different political conclusions they reached.

THE PIONEERING ETHOS

Beginning in 1882, modern Jewish immigration to Palestine arrived in a series of waves, known as *aliyot* (singular: *aliya*), literally meaning "ascents." The first three *aliyot* (1882–1903; 1904–1914; 1919–1923) consisted mainly of young people from Russia, Rumania, and other parts of Eastern Europe who left their families behind and who built rural settlements, at first supported by Jewish philanthropy abroad, and later by the World Zionist Federation founded in Basle in 1897. The first *aliya* built traditional farming communities for Jews in Palestine, while the second and third *aliyot* developed innovative forms of collective settlements, especially the *kibbutz*. It was during the second and third *aliyot* that an elaborate infrastructure of socialist economic and political organizations was established, notably the General Federation of Labor (*Histadrut*), founded in 1920, which became the main organ for the development of a Jewish working class, and controlled

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the economic and political activities of the pre-state Jewish community in Palestine for many years.

The first *aliya* maintained the religious and cultural traditions it brought from abroad, but during the second and third *aliyot,* the ethos of the pioneer, stripped of former traditions, evolved. In his analysis of the term, Gideon Shimoni stresses the double meaning of the Hebrew word *halutz,* which refers both to "pioneer" and to "*avant-garde.*" In both senses, the term is used for people who consciously strike out ahead of a large mass of followers to carry out a commonly conceived social project. Shimoni also notes the parallelism whereby the fulfillment of the *halutz* ideal was to be achieved through "self-realization," which did not however refer to individualistic self-fulfillment, but to the conscious decision to fuse one's own search for personal fulfillment to national objectives. Self-realization thus would result from acting on one's convictions by personally immigrating to the Land of Israel and undergoing a transformation into a laborer (Shimoni). This notion stood at the core of the pioneers' objections toward later waves of immigration consisting of whole families rather than of individuals, and to occupations and life-styles reminiscent of Jewish life in the Diaspora. The fourth *aliya* of the mid-twenties from Poland, and the fifth *aliya* of the thirties from Germany, consisted largely of merchants, artisans, and professionals who opened businesses typical of the European middle classes since the late Middle Ages. Although the middle classes historically had been admired for their enterprise and entrepreneurship, these individuals found in Palestine a hostile environment. Especially antagonistic was the first secretary general of the *Histadrut* and first Prime Minister of Israel, David Ben-Gurion, to whom being a merchant in London, Warsaw, New York, or Tel Aviv was truly an aberration. Those who sought the means to make a living for their families, rather than reading Lenin's *What is to be Done*—or for that matter Ben-Gurion's own *From Class to Nation*—were looked upon as capitalists still tied to the traditional occupations forced on Jews throughout history, and were accused of failing to join in the modern pioneering effort. Ben-Gurion, whose own farming experience incidentally was quite limited, extolled the image of the farm worker holding a scythe in one hand and a gun in the other as the symbol of the new Jew building modern Israel, while the traditional Jew was depicted as unproductive and worthless.

Ben-Gurion praised the members of the second *aliya* (to which he belonged) and of the third, "who came to the Land of Israel having, as their sole asset, a deep faith in the responsibility and capacity of creative and daring Man, and the aim of whose life was working defense, as the most certain way to redeem the Homeland and the nation".

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> A new human type appeared in Jewish history; one marked for great things. This type aimed at personal, individual implementation and pioneering—what is known in Hebrew as *Halutziut*—which does not reject any task, great or small, does not flinch at any difficulty or danger, and demands everything from itself before it demands anything from others ("Jewish Survival" 131).

There was no doubt in his mind that those who did not go from town to country, or from schoolbook and profession to physical labor and military service, were simply misguided. He often spoke out against Diaspora Jews, who not only lived a life of exile, dependent on the mercy of strangers, but whose economy and social structure could not be compared to an independent people living in their own land and controlling their own destiny. Diaspora Jews were landless, and did not work in any of the primary occupations on which a people's survival depends. "Without a return *en masse* to the soil and to labor," he declared, "without a fundamental transformation in the economic and social structure of the Jewish population of the land of Israel, we should never have achieved a Jewish State, for no state is conceivable in which the majority of the people neither till the soil nor do all the other work of hand and brain required for its survival" ("Israel" 203).

Historian Shmuel Almog explains the origins of this approach. He notes that the term "*halutz*," referring to the *avant-garde* preparing the soil for the Jews who would come to Palestine in the future, came into use between the two world wars, at a time when *aliya* to Palestine did not seem an immediate answer to the needs of Jewish existence abroad. The term was used to distinguish that part of society willing to sacrifice itself to achieve future values, and created ambivalence toward Diaspora Jews because of the mixed feelings of the pioneers toward them. Although on the one hand, the pioneers were proud to have left home, on the other hand, the difficulties awaiting them in the new land—scarcity, unemployment, and skirmishes with local Arabs—endowed the life back home with a certain appeal. The way these young people coped with this ambivalence, Almog suggests, was by stressing their own self-sacrifice in striving to build a new society and a new race of man, as opposed to people back "home," like their parents, who were preoccupied with the petty matters of raising families and pursuing petit-bourgeois hopes.

Though often ambivalent toward the world they left behind—an ambivalence that turned into deep guilt when that world was literally destroyed in the Holocaust—the pioneers had no doubts about their own children born in the new country. Breathing the homeland's fresh air, these children were considered direct successors of ancient mythological figures, and nobody more so than Yigal Allon, Moshe Dayan, and Yitzhak Rabin. They became symbols of the Palestine-born child fulfilling the aspirations of the national

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movement. Even their given names matched that image. "Moshe" and "Yitzhak" refer to the biblical Moses and Isaac, while Allon's first name "Yigal" ("he will redeem") also reflected his parents' expectations: "My name, Yigal, was a new one at the time and certainly influenced by the prevailing messianic spirit. The latter was set off by the Balfour Declaration and the wrestling of the Land of Israel from Turkish hands by an allied army in which Jews from overseas participated" (22). Allon's father considered three names for him: "*Goel* means redeemer, and my father thought it was too early for that, as I was still an infant. *Yigael* means 'He will be redeemed,' and my father considered that too passive for his son. Hence he decided on '*Yigal*,' which means 'He will redeem'" (23).

The three men were strong, brave, good looking, and rooted in the land. They commanded daring military operations during Israel's struggle for independence, and later became prominent participants in Israeli political life. Allon, the legendary commander of the *Palmach,* was a central figure in the governments of the 1960s and 1970s, holding various ministerial positions, including deputy prime minister. As chief of staff, minister of defense, and foreign minister, Dayan played a major role in shaping post-1967 Israel. As for Rabin, he became chief of staff, ambassador to Washington, and prime minister twice before his assassination in 1995. All three held leading positions in political parties affiliated with the labor movement, and were associated in one way or another with peace initiatives negotiated between Israel and the Arabs over the years.

In their autobiographical writings, these three national icons all discuss the roles assigned to them by their elders. Written by mature, experienced political leaders many years after the pioneering experience was replaced by other values such as sovereignty, capitalism, democracy, science and technology, and so on, these autobiographies tell life stories still partly rooted in that experience. Though these narratives were published in the mid-to-late 1970s, a decade and a half after the Eichmann trial had made the Holocaust part of the Israeli psyche, they all follow the life stories drawn in childhood of mythological heroes destined to accomplish tasks that are greater than life, especially family life. This can be seen especially in the way the three autobiographers almost totally ignore their Jewish roots—namely, their grandparents—and in the way they portray their parents, their households and surroundings, and their role models.

GRANDPARENTS AND PARENTS

Although the autobiographical genre strongly encourages some mention of family origins, in all three books their grandparents hardly exist, and when

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mentioned, are usually part of a narrative nourishing the pioneering ethos. This narrative presents modern Jewish history as the story of traditional Jewish communities in the Diaspora suffering pogroms until a new breed of conscientious, emancipated Jews arises and realizes that the only path to survival is an ascent to the Land of Israel. Though sometimes it is the grandparents who open up to the new ideas that make the family see the light and go to Palestine, even then, the grandparents' generation tends to be seen as passive, while the parents' generation is marked by the determination of the pioneer. This turns the grandchildren into a product of their parents' will rather than their grandparents' destiny. By ignoring the grandparents, or presenting them at best as the antithesis of their children, the autobiographies liberate the grandchildren from the history of two thousand years of Jewish suffering in the Diaspora. The Israel-born youngster becomes a new kind of human being whose breeding ground is the wild landscape into which his parents wandered after abandoning their own parents' traditional way of life.

Allon first mentions his grandparents in chapter 6, where he says his grandfather was a God-fearing man who owned a little store for building materials in the Lithuanian city of Grodno. Allon shows no interest in Grodno, saying only that the city changed many rulers over the years—always a cause for pogroms against Jews—and that his grandfather, who did not want his children to serve in the czarist army and swear allegiance to Russia, "the land of the pogroms" (83), packed his bags in 1880 and set out to Israel, where he bought a plot of land and then went back to prepare his family for immigration. He returned to Israel in 1888 with two of his sons, including Allon's father. But the grandfather died soon after returning once again to Grodno to prepare the rest of the family for immigration. As a result, "Grandmother, who lived on to an old age, wasn't fortunate enough to set foot in Israel either" (84). This is all the information we get on Allon's grandmother from his father's side. The grandparents on his mother's side are mentioned a bit more as they belonged to the few Jewish families who had lived in the Land of Israel for many generations.

Although Allon's father's ascent to Palestine was initiated by his grandfather, Allon emphasizes his father's closeness to nature, as opposed to his grandfather's traditional urban beliefs. For instance, Allon tells how his father, in his childhood, was slapped on the cheek for playing with a puppy, which to the grandfather did not fit with the duties of a Jewish child. Allon even identifies this incident as the breaking point after which his father stopped praying and became a "freethinker" (85).

Dayan remains even closer to the pioneer narrative. He begins his life story by telling his readers he was called Moshe after the first Jewish farmer

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Degania, the Kibbutz in which Dayan was born, who was killed by six Arab robbers a year before Dayan's birth in 1915. He grew up, he writes, in an independent Jewish society that his parents helped create: "They had been privileged to be among the first of the redeemed—and the redeemers" (5). Dayan emphasizes that "it was not their parents but they themselves, individually, who had 'made the ascent' to the Land of Israel, experiencing with their whole heart and body, the revolutionary transition from the Russian diaspora to the unknown" (25). Here, too, the "unknown" was a wild landscape—the wasteland of the Jordan valley and the malarial marshes of the Valley of Jezreel—where Dayan could grow up free and muscular, as if the son of nature.

Dayan describes at length the contradiction between the active parents and passive grandparents:

> Both my father, from the poor household of a horse-and-cart peddler, and my mother, from the well-to-do home of a lumber merchant, came to Palestine as young idealists. They had suffered no personal persecution in Russia, and they had not been driven out. Indeed, their reluctant parents had been unhappy at their departure. But their single-minded purpose—Father with exuberant enthusiasm, Mother with a quiet but deep inner consciousness of duty—was prompted by the feeling that the place for a Jew was in the Land of Israel. And so they came. (25)

This description turns the parents' *aliya* into a deliberate act motivated by ideology, rather than by sociological or economic factors.

Rabin hardly mentions his grandparents. All he says is that his mother was born in Russia, where she was raised in a wealthy, traditional home abounding with ten children, and that she defied her father and insisted upon attending a Christian girls' secondary school. Whether defiance was necessary because his grandfather was orthodox, or whether it was possible because he was open to universal ideas, we do not know. Nor do we know anything about Rabin's ancestors on his father's side besides the one-liner, nourishing the narrative, that describes his father as born to a poor family in a small Ukrainian town whose name is not even given.

Rabin cannot present his parents' ascent to Palestine as deliberate because his mother was active in the Communist, anti-Zionist Bund movement, and had actually intended to sail to one of the Scandinavian countries or to America. His father had actually immigrated to America before he came to Palestine as a soldier in a Jewish Legion organized in America during World War I. His parents' meeting is thus presented as a miracle—since the legendary youngster, whose generation was often described as "born in the sea," could not just be born as a result of routine consequences. Apparently, in the

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port city of Odessa, on her way to Scandinavia or America, his mother encountered a group of young Zionists who were about to board the *Rossler*, the first ship that sailed to Palestine at the end of World War I, which made the ship itself a pioneering legend. "For reasons that have never been made clear to me," Rabin explains, "she decided—somewhat impetuously, I imagine—to join them" (4). She finally met her husband in Jerusalem in 1920, when his Legion unit rushed to aid Jews attacked by Arabs there. Though Rabin was not literally born in the sea—he was born two years later in Jerusalem—the miraculous meeting of his parents is designed to lead readers to agree with him that "Some marriages, I am told, are made in heaven" (3).

HOUSEHOLD AND SURROUNDINGS

Allon's mother died when he was six, and he grew up with his father in Kefar Tabor, a village in the Lower Galilee. He describes his father in a way reminiscent of Australian or North American legends: "Everything about him smacked of the farmer, the plantation owner in the traditional sense of the term" (139). This first-generation Jewish farmer settling the land is described as a rural patriarch, a tall man with broad shoulders, blue eyes, and black, kinky hair. Very strict about everything pertaining to work, punctuality, and language, this honest man had a passion for order and cleanliness:

Yitzhak and Rahel Rabin with their parents in 1927 (photograph © and reproduced by courtesy of the Government Press Office, State of Israel).

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There was less of the small farmer about him than of the plantation owner, who constantly aspired to enlarge his estate. He hoped to build himself a new house, not inside the village but some distance away, in the midst of the fields. Around such a home, he dreamed, his sons would erect houses of their own. They and all his descendents as well, his grandchildren and great-grandchildren, would not only be attached to the labors of the soil but also bound by their own destiny, love and lives to the village whose land he had joined in an everlasting bond, Kefar Tabor. That was his dream of dreams. (105)

As if in charge of fulfilling his father's dream, Allon draws his surroundings in pastoral colors, placing himself as a son of nature. He describes at great length the enchanting scenery of Kefar Tabor—its luxuriant vegetation, wild animals, and brilliant birds. He tells of his climbs on Mount Tabor, his explorations of the land by foot, or on a donkey or mare, and of his endless love for his little farm house: "The smells of the house, the yard, the animals; the smell of manure and the smell of the plowed, harvested, dry fields; the smell of the almond trees, the wild flowers, the greenery, and above all the smell of the earth after the first rain. The hay's fragrance was another term for the smells of love" (25).

The entire scene is inspired by Old Testament mythology. In line with the pioneering ideology, the young man growing up in the Lower Galilee portrays himself as a descendant of the figures who operated there in biblical times, such as the judges Deborah and Barak or the kings Saul and David. The strong tie between the land and its biblical past not only makes the writer a direct descendant of these heroes, but also allows him to escape contemporary political reality, as the hostile Arab villages in the region turn into enchanting Old Testament locations. From his window at home, for instance, Allon could see the Arab village of En-Dor, where according to the Old Testament, a meeting between King Saul and a witch took place. As proud as Allon always was of his growing up amongst Palestinian Arabs, and of his familiarity with their culture, his childhood memories of En-Dor were first and foremost those pertaining to the biblical saga: "On more than one occasion, we quietly scouted around En-Dor for a trace of the witch's hut. The spirit of Saul, my king, hovered over the place" (34).

Placing his surroundings within Old Testament mythology allows Allon to turn the Arab-Israeli conflict into something like a dispute between biblical shepherds. Indeed, in his autobiography Allon builds his image as the Israeli leader who, by having grown up in close contact with Arabs, could bring an end to the conflict in the Middle East. In contrast to prevailing notions of the conflict as religious, geo-strategic, and so on, Allon's model is more like that of a wrestling match between neighboring settlers. This image

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not only increases the chances of solving the conflict, but also allows his father's frequent physical combats with Arabs, described at some length in the book, to serve as a model for desirable relations, characterized by conflicting interests but mutual respect. For example, after watching an encounter between his father and two Arabs encroaching on his land, Allon asked why he hadn't used a pistol he had in his pocket. In answering, his father displayed the farmer's wisdom: "A shot might have resulted in the Arab's death, and the killing of an Arab starts off a blood feud that could go on for many years. Since we have to live here, we should use our hands or pitchfork, so long as it's possible" (75).

No wonder Moshe Dayan, who competed with Allon for years for the title of the ultimate soldier and potential peacemaker, stressed the same motifs in his autobiography. His father, founder of the communal village of Nahalal in the Jezreel valley, is also a pioneer rooted in the land—"a forceful person with rugged features and a sturdy physique" (25). Dayan describes the hard life on the land, with the heat, the flies, the malarial mosquitoes, and so on. He himself was a farm kid: "After school I helped my father with the farm work—milking, plowing, planting, reaping, and riding with the wagon to the grain mill in an Arab village. I also had chores to do for my mother, such as kneading the dough for bread and stirring the tub in which she made fig jam" (35). But since the image of the pioneer includes not only the scythe and gun but also the reading of books by candlelight, the autobiography adds this dimension as well: "The years of drudgery and recurrent illness could not altogether drain Mother of her intellectual curiosity and literary streak. I imbibed from her a love of reading and was enthralled by the Russian tales she told me on winter evenings. I think she also gave me a taste for solitude and reflection" (35–36).

Dayan devotes little space to the years preceding his military career, but the two elements noted in Allon's autobiography are here as well: the exploration of the surroundings, and familiarity with the neighboring Arabs. He tells about a lean, blue-eyed teacher who conducted classes in the living room of his hut, without school benches and desks, until a schoolhouse with two rooms was provided:

> Through him we became familiar with both our biblical background and our natural surroundings. . . . Many of the classes were held outdoors, and on long hikes we learned about the animal and plant life of the region. . . . Apart from class outings, I enjoyed going on hiking and camping trips with one or two companions, or alone. I learned to mingle with the boys of the Arab villages and Bedouin encampments and to talk to them in their own language. . . . From my boyhood days, I have found it easy to get on with Arabs (36).

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Rabin grew up in the city of Tel-Aviv. His father worked for the Electric Corporation, and his mother was an accountant. Since these activities hardly match the pioneering ethos, Rabin stresses their involvement in public affairs. His mother was a member of the Tel-Aviv Municipal Council, and his father was active in the Metal Workers' Union and in the Electric Corporation's workers committee. Rabin notes that their public activity was not a way to further personal interests, but something they saw as a duty owed to the community. Life at home is described as oriented to a larger mission: "We lived under a Spartan regime, in the best sense of the term. The family fostered respect for property, and no form of waste was ever tolerated. My parents lived with a sense of mission that permeated the atmosphere at home. One did not work merely to satisfy material needs; work was valuable in itself" (6).

Perhaps because this socialist background still seemed insufficient for a person destined to match the image of the pioneer, Rabin emphasized his education in the Kadouri Agricultural School, where many of the "free and muscular," including Allon, studied. Since this is where his life story meets the desired image most fully, Rabin makes the most of it:

> I should explain that as a city boy I had never really developed a private passion for agriculture. But the return to the soil—and especially the establishment of collectives—was something of a national passion in those days, especially for youngsters who had been raised on the principles of the Labor movement. It was our way of laying claim to the land in the most literal fashion possible. (7)

ROLE MODELS

Allon's mentor was Yitzhak Sadeh, founder of the *Palmach* assault units which Allon later commanded, while Dayan's and Rabin's mentor was David Ben-Gurion. When paying tribute to their mentors, the three present them in a similar way: as role models stripped of the complexity of their lives and personalities. Like young adults who admiringly conceive of movie stars as lacking human faults, the three writers describe their heroes as they appeared to them during their adolescent years. In keeping with the narrative according to which the Land of Israel was resettled by figures of biblical stature, Sadeh and Ben-Gurion are presented as the antithesis to the Jewish culture developed in the Diaspora that they apparently left behind—although they did not. In reality, an important part of their personalities was their great familiarity with that Jewish cultural heritage. In the eyes of their young admirers, however, Sadeh and Ben-Gurion were everything that heritage was

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not—doers, not talkers; decisive, not hesitant; strong-minded, rather than weaklings. Only in their dress are there hints of their diasporic origin. Their unsuccessful attempts to adjust to the conditions of the new, hot, arid land made their appearance seem bizarre to their young, Israel-born admirers. But this only added a human touch to these father figures sending them—often literally—off on daring national missions. In fact, both Sadeh and Ben-Gurion were called "the old man" by their disciples, a way perhaps to acknowledge their unique heritage with a loving smile.

Allon's description of his first encounter with Sadeh resembles a fairy tale. On a threshing day, blazing hot, the young Allon turns the sledge in his father's grain shed. It is a boring job which puts his mind to sleep and dulls the senses. But then, during one of those monotonous turns of the sledge, he is called to meet the staff officer of the Jewish illegal defense force, who will recruit Allon into its special unit, the *Palmach*: "I was introduced to a tall, broad shouldered, muscular man, a little on the heavy side and bald with a fatty bump on the forehead. He was dressed in short pants and high green socks, which were the fashion in those days; his shirt, as I remember, was light-colored with the sleeves rolled up, and to continue the dismal picture he wore glasses" (166). Though initially confused and disappointed by the appearance of this man, Allon soon realizes that behind that facade stands the right person:

> I've already said that my first impression of the man wasn't especially appealing. As he spoke, I thought to myself: Who is this bald, toothless man to teach us the art of war, as if we didn't already have a long list of impressive operations to our credit? True, I was fascinated by the idea he had presented, very much so, but not by the man himself; nevertheless, I was quick to respond: "Yes, I'll volunteer. What do I have to do?"
>
> "Assemble some of your buddies this evening and we'll go out on a night exercise." That was the kind of definite answer I liked. (166–67)

In his autobiography, Moshe Dayan reveals that three portraits were hung in his offices during his ministerial jobs—poet Nathan Alterman, physician Chaim Sheba, and Ben-Gurion: "These three men were head and shoulders above anyone else I have met. I am not by nature a hero worshipper, but if I try to put into words what I felt about them, I would say it was a combination of appreciation, respect and love" (343). Dayan describes his encounters with his mentor Ben-Gurion in a matter-of-fact way, stressing his own participation in the historic decisions Ben-Gurion made during the War of Independence of 1948, the Sinai campaign of 1956 (in which Dayan served as chief of staff), and other events. When Dayan describes disagreements

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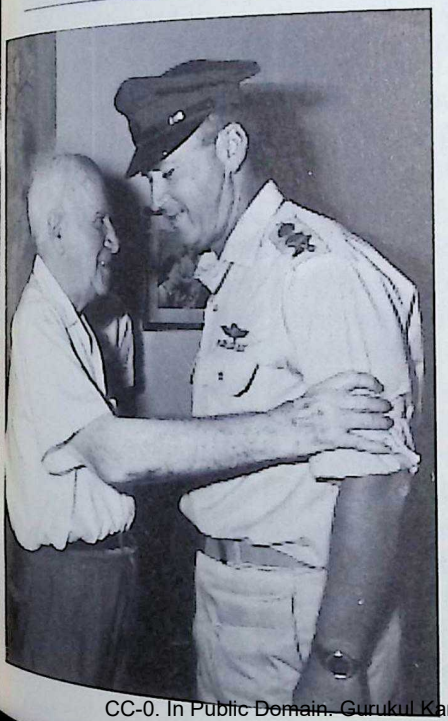
between them, Ben-Gurion's decisions are respected. Dayan realizes, for instance, that Ben-Gurion stopped the 1948 War before all military missions were completed because of his far-reaching vision: "In Ben-Gurion's mind, the book of war was closed—for the time being, at least. His eyes were now turned to the realization of the Zionist dream, the essence of which was immigration—the return of the Jewish exiles—and the revival of the land" (184). Even when he differed with Ben-Gurion, and considered him mistaken, Dayan would carry out his orders with an easy heart, knowing that in the end Ben-Gurion might well turn out to have been right—which was by no means the case with other prime ministers under whom he worked.

Because of his experience as an officer in the *Palmach* units disassembled by Ben-Gurion in 1948 in the process of forming a unified Israeli army, Rabin is more reserved: "At the time, my feelings about Ben-Gurion could only be described as ambivalent. Though I respected his vision, I could not help objecting to his attitude toward the *Palmach*" (19). Over the years, however, Rabin developed the same admiration of Ben-Gurion as did most members of his generation. So much so, that in May 1967, when Rabin served as chief of staff under Prime Minister Levy Eshkol (who replaced Ben-Gurion in 1963) and Israel seemed threatened with annihilation, Rabin



David Ben-Gurion receiving Chief of Staff Yitzhak Rabin, February 10, 1966 (photograph by Fritz Cohen © and reproduced by courtesy of the Government Press Office, State of Israel).

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turned to Ben-Gurion. The former prime minister distrusted Eshkol, and was engaged in a bitter political struggle over the latter's apparent weakness of character. This led to grave consequences when, at a decisive moment, the country's chief of staff turned to his role model for encouragement, and found instead an angry old politician. In his autobiography, Rabin reveals the details of his meeting with Ben-Gurion, which led to his forty-eight hour collapse on the eve of the Six Day War. On May 22, 1967, Rabin felt the need to talk to Ben-Gurion, who received him warmly. But instead of fortifying his spirits, his mentor gave him a dressing down: "It was painful to see him in his present state: totally cut off from any sources of information and, worse, clinging staunchly to outmoded concepts. He erred in his assessment of the IDF's strength. He was convinced that Israel was in an intolerable political situation and doubted that she could extricate herself by starting a war with Egypt" (75).

Yet, even though Rabin felt that Ben-Gurion was out of touch with reality—perhaps because of that impression—the chief of staff fell to sleep for two whole days. For the first time in Rabin's life, the star lighting his and his generation's road was not shining for him, and the entire responsibility for the fate of the nation was his: "Having come to Ben-Gurion for encouragement, I left him feeling doubly despondent. I now felt the entire burden was resting on my shoulders. Many days were to pass before his words stopped ringing in my ears: 'You have led the state into a grave situation. You bear the responsibility'" (76).

NEGOTIATING THE ETHOS

The similarities found in the three writers' attitudes toward their grandparents and parents, their households and surroundings, and their role models are not surprising—being brought up as a national icon leaves traces. However, there are also important differences among the three autobiographies which deserve attention not only because they shed light on the different ways in which the autobiographers negotiate compromises between their past and present identities, but because of their significant political implications. These three political leaders adopted different models for coping with the past. Allon maintains his identity as an icon. Dayan transfers his symbolic status to new avenues, turning the qualities it implies, especially extreme individualism, into political assets. Rabin, while conscious of his past, adapts to the requirements of a complex political and diplomatic world. These models of self-representation may account in part for the fact that Allon remained in public memory the eternal child, Dayan the lone rider, and Rabin the peacemaker.

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THE ETERNAL CHILD

Before exploring the identity-negotiation model I have associated with Allon, it is important to note a difference between his autobiography and those of Dayan and Rabin. Allon's much shorter book was initially intended as a memorial to his father, which explains to some extent his continued self-representation in terms of his father's expectations of him. But at the same time, this book is Allon's only autobiography, and when it was published in 1976, he was a mature political leader, well aware of the options for self-representation. His continued focus on his status as a national icon is therefore quite significant, as is his choice to tell his life story by focusing on his father.

Allon maintains his iconicity as the product of the national movement. Although writing at middle age, he still relies on the truisms with which he and his fellow pioneers were described in their childhood:

> My sense of identification with the Galilee and my Galilean home, the place of my birth, was by no means entirely due to the tutelage of my father and teachers. It came to me naturally. And although I knew my nation's history, I felt as if I'd never been exiled from the land and my father hadn't returned to it from Russia. My roots were here, in the rocky Galilean soil. (37)

Writing in a self-reflective manner, the mature Allon acknowledges the tutelage of his elders, but appears to have absorbed the lesson in full. Accepting the narrative connecting him with the ancient myths, while ignoring all those years of Jewish wanderings, including his father's wandering from Russia to Palestine, Allon places himself as a natural breed of the Galilean soil.

Rooting himself so deeply in the land allows Allon to maintain the perspective previously mentioned on Arab-Israeli relations. By the time he wrote this book, he had already served in various ministerial positions, including deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs. He was obviously aware of the complexities of the Middle East conflict, yet even at this late stage in his life, Allon perceives it primarily as a feud between neighbors. Continuing to present himself as the landowner's son who was always respected by neighboring Bedouin tribes due to legends about his father's strength and courage, he seems convinced that this is a blueprint for coexistence.

Following the Six Day War of 1967, Allon devised the famous "Allon Plan," according to which the Jordan River, separating Israel and Jordan, would remain Israel's eastern border, providing a natural defense barrier against an all-out invasion from the east. The areas on the west bank of the Jordan, populated by Palestinians, were to be given over to Palestinian control. This plan, which became the main security doctrine of Israel's post-1967

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Labor governments, assumed that while the foreign armies of Egypt, Syria, Jordan, and Iraq constituted a serious security threat to Israel, coexistence between Jews and Palestinians would be possible within the region west of the Jordan River. The origins of this assumption can be found in *My Father's House*. Such traditional tribal rules as his father's forceful but wise method of defending his property remain Allon's model of coexistence.

The model is stripped of religious or national overtones, as if the rules of tribal coexistence, once followed, would apply universally to all peoples in the region. In describing his father's use of a club to chase away a Bedouin pestering his neighbor, Allon finds an example of this model: "At first the Arabs refused to believe that he was a Jew, which was not surprising, since to their way of thinking the Jew had traditionally been a *wald-al-mit*, in other words, a goner, and here this person appeared in their midst who was different from what they had considered a 'typical Jew'" (99). This icon of the "new Jew," which Allon still nurtured in his late fifties, allowed him to believe that mutual respect could assure peace between rival religions and nations. No wonder he emphasized the schooling he got from teachers who stressed the good relations between Judaism and Islam in the Middle Ages, and who believed that similar understanding could be reached in the future. One particularly memorable teacher apparently regarded the Land of Israel as an inseparable part of the Moslem Orient, and never lost hope for the flowering of Jewish settlement in that part of the world.

Allon's holding on to the iconic status nurtured from an early age may be related to his loss of his mother at the age of six. Though he remained in the care of his strict, broad-shouldered pioneer father, and followed in his footsteps, Allon never lost the sense of orphanage. He describes his mother as a saint: "Her good nature was the subject of legends among Jews and Arabs alike. She was a kind of emblem of righteousness, one of the real saints, performing her acts of charity in secret, watching over her women friends when they were ill and taking care of her family and relatives with endless devotion" (106). Allon pays tribute to his elder sister Deborah as well: fourteen when their mother died, she took care of her brother, treating him "not only as the youngest son but as an orphan too" (109). These fond descriptions of his mother and his sister suggest that this vigorous person never overcame the state of loneliness throughout his glorious military and political career. His longings for a lost mother remained a central dimension of his personality.

Examples of Allon's desire to establish community can be found throughout his autobiography. Although born in an individual farmer's home, Allon joined a Kibbutz and became a pillar of the Israeli Kibbutz movement. He

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personal loneliness explains the appeal of this collective way of life. Allon tells of his encounter with members of a Tolstoyan commune who came one day to work in his village: "I was drawn to them out of curiosity. But it was also my loneliness, the loneliness of a boy without a mother or a warm home, which led me to their dining hall to have a cup of tea with them, listening to their talk and enjoying their company" (153).

Allon is quite conscious of the legends told about him, especially those developed in the holy city of Safed during its liberation in 1948 by *Palmach* units under his command. One legend recounted in the autobiography tells of a dozen of the righteous of the righteous, of the great men of Israel who flocked to him during the battle, creating a community that sheltered him on every side. It is tempting to relate his fondness for that legend to his loss of shelter at the age of six. For similar reasons, it seems, in 1976 he still indulged in the words put to him one day by his father: "Yigal, has it ever occurred to you that as the commander of the first company of the *Palmach*, you're the commander of the first company of the first independent Hebrew army since the time of Bar-Kokba?" (193).

THE LONE RIDER

One of the best-known literary expressions of the pioneer icon appears in Moshe Shamir's "He Walked Through the Fields," published in 1948. At the center of the novel stands Uri, the child of a Kibbutz who becomes a commander in the *Palmach*. The young, brave, charismatic Uri volunteers to blow up a bridge, a daring mission from which he does not return. The same determination and strength of mind that makes him sacrifice his life for the homeland also affects his relationship with his girlfriend Mica, a young refugee from Poland who found refuge in the Kibbutz. As he heads off to battle, he pushes her away, not even giving her a chance to tell him she is pregnant. When she learns of his death, she decides to commit suicide, but is convinced that her life is still worthy because she will give birth to the hero's son. Uri thus becomes the symbol of the "new Jew," who rises both in life and death above the needs, sentiments, and tragic fate of Mica and what she represents—the entire Jewish heritage.

Moshe Dayan participated in one of the first operations of the *Palmach* —paving the way for the British and Australian forces invading Lebanon (then part of Vichy Syria) in June 1942. He was badly injured, and lost his left eye. During the War of Independence he returned to commanding posts as David Ben-Gurion's protégé. This led Dayan to dissociate himself from the *Palmach*, but not from the image of its literary embodiment—Uri. A

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paragraph describing Dayan's recovery is particularly reminiscent of Uri's walks through the fields:

> My spirits soared and my body, too, began gradually to accustom itself to its new state. I started reading again without too much trouble and without the use of glasses. I learned to estimate distances with a single eye, well enough to drive a car. And in order to get used to the change from light to dark, I walked a lot at night. I wandered for hours around the environs of Jerusalem, over rocks and into bushes, often falling, but learning to speed up my reactions and keep my balance. (73)

The autobiography is filled with attempts to maintain the "Uri" image while translating it into new modes. Dayan presents himself as a lone wolf—bold, brave, alert, decisive, focused, direct, and impatient with ceremonies, small talk, hierarchies, and established norms and regulations. He tells, for instance, of the ceremony in 1954 in which he was appointed chief of staff:

> At the end of the ceremony, the secretary of the Cabinet came over to me and casually observed that I would now have to change my partisan character, be circumspect in my ways, become more respectable. I would have to fashion "a new Moshe Dayan," he said. I told him he was wide of the mark. It was not I who had made myself a new suit of clothes; it was the army that had acquired a new chief. (174)

Indeed, as chief of staff, Dayan was known for fashioning the army in his image: closing the gaps between ranks, bypassing regulations, nurturing young, bold officers (notably Ariel Sharon), and emphasizing achievement over procedure.

Even when serving in other roles, such as minister of defense and foreign minister, Dayan held on to the Uri image by creating an aura of straightforward individualism around him which served as a source of great power. No wonder he emphasizes this element in his autobiography. Here, for instance, is how he describes his tenure as minister of defense: "I confess that I am rather impatient. I care little for small talk, and I am not the back-slapping hail-fellow-well-met type. Even in my leisure hours I do not like to sit around gossiping with friends. On visits to army units, I had difficulty in exchanging light pleasantries with the soldiers. 'What's new, pal' is not the kind of expression that comes naturally to my lips" (436). He tells at length how these visits to army units took place without pomp or ceremony, and how he abolished the habit of greeting the minister of defense with a guard of honor, so as not to force the men "into a frantic spit-and-polish scramble for the visiting dignitary" (436).

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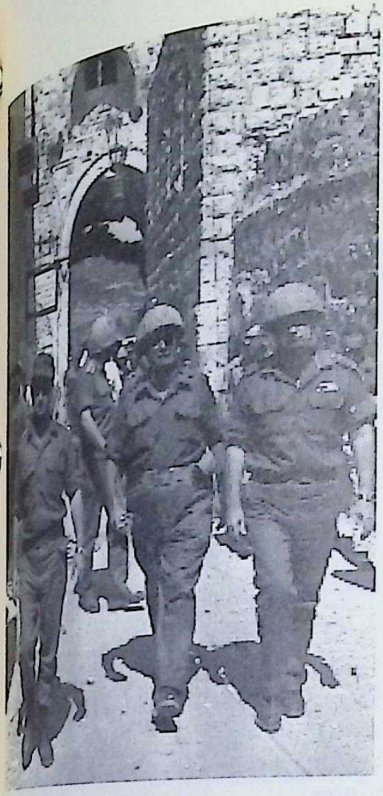

Defense Minister Moshe Dayan, Chief of Staff Yizhak Rabin, and Jerusalem Commander Uzi Narkis enter the Old City, through the Lion's Gate, July 6, 1967 (photograph by Ilan Bruner © and reproduced by courtesy of the Government Press Office, State of Israel).

Combining an apparent simplicity with superhuman qualities (as common human beings do engage in gossip, back-slapping, and ceremony), this aura of straightforward individualism became a political asset after the Six Day War, when Dayan changed the strategic map of the Middle East almost single-handedly. Serving as minister of defense at the time, he made a series of moves with huge strategic implications. Immediately after Israel's conquest of the old city of Jerusalem, inhabited mainly by Palestinian Arabs, for instance, he gave orders for all barriers between the two parts of the city to be removed, calling for the demolition of the anti-sniping walls, clearance of minefields, and the disposal of the barbed-wire fences separating Jews and Arabs in Jerusalem. Though met with protest by Israeli officials, Dayan carried out these and other drastic steps, and united the divided city, making pragmatic arrangements to assure coexistence in the holy places—a source of endless religious rivalry among Islam, Christianity, and Judaism.

Like that lone hero "walking through the fields," he used his own insights to make immense strategic changes in the Middle East. Consider the use of the first person singular in the following passage from his autobiography:

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> I believed that the Moslems should be granted sovereignty over their holy places, and any Moslem from any land, whether or not it maintained diplomatic relations with Israel, should be allowed free access to these places. I was convinced that the cornerstone of Arab-Jewish coexistence was that every community should ensure the satisfaction of its basic yearnings, while showing toleration for the basic yearnings of the other. (393)

Not since Napoleon did the Middle East experience such a daring attempt by one man to solve highly complex religious problems with large international implications by applying pragmatic policies devised in his own mind. "During the month of Ramadan, a Moslem religious festival, I ordered a shortening of the Jewish visiting hours in the Cave of the Patriarchs. I considered that Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and we, their modern descendants, were strong enough to bear this limitation" (392).

Yet, while being associated with such liberal policies as giving all religions access to the holy places, and opening the bridges between the West Bank and Jordan to promote Palestinian commerce, Dayan actually deepened the occupation of the West Bank by allowing Jewish settlements there. This planted the roots for a greater Israel as a bi-national entity whose two nations—Israelis and Palestinians—are at each other's throats. One can only speculate how history would have been altered had Dayan used his influence to seek—despite the great odds—a peace agreement in the Middle East based on negotiations between sovereign states, rather than venturing to find a model of coexistence between peoples.

However, his search for such a model was more consistent with his personality. As his autobiography suggests, it was the outgrowth of applying his own life experience to the complex reality he now ruled. Like Allon, this national icon continued to think and behave as a mythological-biblical hero. The differences between him and Allon (who also supported strategic settlement of the West Bank) may stem in part from Dayan's greater access to power. Holding on to the image he was fed in his childhood, Allon emphasized strategic defense against sovereign states while assuming that Israeli-Palestinian relations were solvable. Dayan actively applied that childhood image to Israeli-Palestinian relations. Imagining the West Bank as biblical scenery (thus renamed "Judea and Samaria"), Dayan made far-reaching policies based on the assumption that Palestinians living there would fit into the pastoral picture showing Arabs and Jews settling the land side by side. The following paragraph was written in 1976—almost a decade after Dayan's visions had been proven wrong by the Palestinian terrorism that began within nine days of the cease fire of June 1967. But Dayan was so influenced by his designation as a "new Jew," whose roots in the land would

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overcome religious, national, and strategic conflicts, that he still fantasized—wrongly as it turned out—a warm welcome to the region:

> Now there were Arab dwellings in Judea and Samaria. The young boys threshing the mounds of wheat, the field hands behind a wooden plow and pair of oxen, the women moving sedately from well to village with a pitcher on their heads were all part of the scenery. I did not think of them as being interposed between me and the land. Never have I harbored feelings of hostility toward the Arabs. The background of our wars and our conflicts was political and national ambition, not personal enmity. The encounters over *pitta* (flat, Arab bread), olives, and dark-coffee and the '*Ahalan wasahalan*' with which I was greeted whenever I reached the threshold of their homes were broken off from time to time by war, but they were always renewed after the dust of battle had settled. (394)

THE PEACEMAKER

Rabin's relative success in advancing peace between Israelis and Palestinians was related to the different way in which he negotiated his own past, replacing the pioneer's delusions with the statesman's sophistication. Of the three autobiographies, Rabin's is the most analytic. He does not allow his exciting youth experiences, such as his service in the *Palmach,* to distract him from a sober analysis of the unit's actual role in the overall defense system of Palestine in World War II. While Allon still glories in his *Palmach* experiences, Rabin compares his experience to the other option that existed at the time—enlistment in the British army. He even admits that the British military uniform, with its shiny boots and smart beret, appealed to him more than the shabby outfit of the *Palmach,* designed to present its incumbents as farmer-soldiers, or as Rabin puts it, "one part farmer, one part soldier, and one part underground agent" (8).

Rabin's autobiography shows his capacity to adapt to new conditions when necessary. Even though his bond with *Palmach* comrades was strong enough for him to risk a court-martial in 1949 by joining a rally protesting the disassembling of the unit by Ben-Gurion, he still realized that new times had come. After the War of Independence, the army had to be rebuilt, and this could not be done by perpetuating the farmer-soldier tradition. In his military thinking, Rabin often adapted virtues associated with the *Palmach,* such as the preference for active defense over static fortifications, but he always adopted them to modern conditions. For example, in a speech given on Mount Scopus after the Six Day War, during which he served as chief of staff, Rabin attributed those pioneer virtues to the Israeli army without losing sight of the need to construct a modern, technological military machine.

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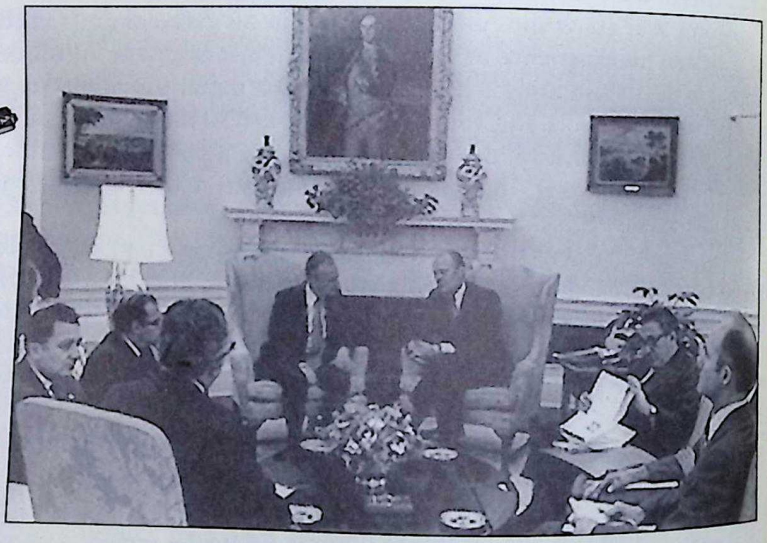
In 1968, Rabin began his tenure as ambassador to Washington, and it is interesting to observe how quickly he adapted to the world of international diplomacy. He mentions his clumsiness in performing some of the ceremonial duties of an ambassador, or later of a prime minister—dancing with Betty Ford, for example—and he clearly shows impatience with some foreign ministry practices. He tells, for instance, of his surprise at learning that nobody in the foreign ministry had ever defined the goals of an ambassador to Washington, and he responds by defining the goals himself: acquisition of arms, coordination of policies, confirmation of America's intention to act as a deterrent force against Soviet intervention in the Middle East, and so on. Rabin's entire description of his time in Washington, and of his later activities as prime minister, is made up of such analyses of substantial issues. He understood the need to strip himself of the earlier icons, including that of winner of the Six Day War, and to get involved in the complex systems of world politics and international relations. While Dayan attempts in his autobiography to leave the impression that his political achievements, such as his nomination as minister of defense in 1967, came to him without much effort on his part, Rabin admits his involvement in the murky waters of Israeli politics, and the inability of any public figure, not even a national icon, to refrain from political wheeling and dealing.



Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, President Gerald Ford, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, and advisors in the White House Oval Office, November 6, 1975 (photograph by Ya'acov Sa'ar © and reproduced by courtesy of the Government Press Office, State of Israel).

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Rabin always realized that the world was complex and could require adjustment at any given moment. He also understood that a mature leader cannot continue to indulge in the admiration he had gained as a child, nor merely capitalize on the symbolism that had surrounded him at an earlier stage of his career. When his autobiography was published in 1979, the press and public were mainly preoccupied with the comments it contained about Rabin's archrival Shimon Peres, but in retrospect, the book's real impact lies in its author's willingness to recognize new realities, which led him to play a historic role in the Israeli-Palestine peace process of the 1990s.

A hint of this can be found at the end where Rabin, the national icon, admits that the heroic era was over and that a new era—one marked by peace—had now to be labored for. Rabin constantly negotiated with his past, but he was willing to trade his status as a hero for a new set of ideas and activities whose time had come. In fact, he would define peace as the value marking the end of the heroic period of the Zionist movement: "The future will not be an age symbolized by the settler and the soldier working side by side. But although it may be a less romantic time in our national history, we will nonetheless have to deal with very fundamental, if less dramatic, issues" (263).

CONCLUSION

Autobiographical research is increasingly engaged in exploring the connection between self-identity and the myths of national identity. In her study of autobiography and national identity in Australia, for instance, Joy Hooton has shown how life narratives may be read not just as life stories of individuals prominent in the national culture, but as distilled reflections of those who chasten that culture. Hooton is understandably intrigued by the coincidence between the construction of individual narratives of self and the construction of the nation.

My own study of three Israeli autobiographies has likewise focused upon individuals who were both the products and creators of national politics. What is particularly intriguing about these men is that their self-reflection, viewed in this study as the negotiation of a compromise between the iconic status attributed to them in their youth and the demands of maturity, not only chastened a national culture but determined the fate of the nation. In Israel, a country facing unprecedented threats to national security and cultural identity, the decisions made by Allon, Dayan, and Rabin at various times were crucial. As commander of the *Palmach,* Yigal Allon played a major role in Israel's becoming an independent state. As minister of defense in 1967, Moshe Dayan determined the framework of Israeli-Palestinian relations for

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years to come. And Yitzhak Rabin made the historic peace agreement of 1993. No wonder Rabin's assassination in November 1995 by a peace-resister was interpreted as a mythological event, for all three men discussed here were engaged in political activities that had gained mythological proportions.

In their political activities, Allon, Dayan, and Rabin demonstrated different attitudes, which I attribute to different ways in which they coped with their personal identity. This is where the autobiographical genre is invaluable. It allows us to observe closely the different ways in which individuals cope with their past. The transformation of all three figures into national icons in their youth led to similar trends in their life writing—their conformity to the national narrative according to which Israel-born pioneers were disconnected from their actual history. As mature human beings, however, they chose different paths. Allon remained loyal to the pioneer icon, which can partly explain why the Allon plan of 1967, based on notions derived from his early life experience, was taken by many Israelis to reflect the naiveté of the eternal child. Anything but naive, Dayan used the pioneer icon as a base for a reconstruction of an identity as a lone wolf that gave him enormous political power, and enabled him to set far-reaching policies based on an updated version of his early visions. The vision of the Middle East as a biblical scene, devoid of national and religious differences, was part of the pioneering ethos Dayan applied to an arena in which Palestinians, loaded with religious and national sentiments, were wrongly expected to play a pastoral role. Rabin, on the other hand, was skilled in leaving the pioneering icon behind, adapting to a complex world in which political leaders are marked not by their symbolic stature but by their capacity to read the environment on a continual basis, acknowledge its intricacies, adopt the complicated political and diplomatic measures necessary to operate in it, and make policies in accordance with its actual rather than imaginary conditions. This is where the lesson of the story told here seems to lie—in the realization that neither the Gaucho nor the cowboy, but the mature statesman, has the potential to lead the modern nation state to peace.

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REVIEWED ELSEWHERE

Contributing editors Nell Altizer, Patricia Angley, Judith Lütge Coullie, Douglas Hilt, Corey Hollis, Michael Fassiotto, Marie-Christine Garneau, Théo Garneau, Noel Kent, John W. I. Lee, Gabriel Merle, Dawn Morais, Barbara Bennett Peterson, Forrest R. Pitts, and George Simson provided the excerpts for this issue.

Publications reviewed include *Albion, American Quarterly, American Scientist, Bryn Mawr Classical Review, Far Eastern Economic Review, French Review, French Studies, Guardian Weekly, The Historian, Journal of Asian Studies, Journal of World History, Le Monde des Livres, Los Angeles Times Book Review (LATBR), The Medieval Review, The New Yorker, New York Review of Books (NYRB), New York Times Book Review (NYTBR), Pacific Historical Review, Presidential Studies Quarterly, Science, Studi Francesi, Times Literary Supplement (TLS), Washington Post National Weekly Edition (WP),* and the *Women's Review of Books*; and from South Africa, the *African Book Publishing Record, Die Burger, Cape Argus, Cape Times, City Press, FairLady, The Herald, Mail & Guardian, Pretoria News Saturday Dispatch, Sowetan, The Sunday Independent, ThisDay, and The Witness.*

Adams, John. See **Washington, George.**

Adams, Sam

Sam Adams: Son of Liberty, Father of Revolution. Benjamin H. Irvin. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2002. 176 pp. $24.00.

"This comprehensive biography not only outlines the complex and sometimes contradictory personality of Samuel Adams, but it also weaves his character into the dramatic events of the American Revolution, the formation of the Constitution, and the adoption of the Bill of Rights. . . . Irvin presents a strong symbiosis of economic issues and the struggle for liberty. . . . Irvin does not neglect the humanity of Samuel Adams."

Frederick F. Harling. *The Historian* 66.1 (Spring 2004): 145–46.

Addams, Jane

Jane Addams and the Dream of American Democracy. Jean Bethke Elshtain. New York: Basic Books, 2002. 328 pp. $28.00.

"Elshtain approaches the topic from a different perspective than that of historians. . . . [She] adopts a literary treatment of Addams. . . . Elshtain's tight focus on Addams and her writings has no place for much of the social and

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personal context of turn-of-the-century Chicago and Hill House. . . . In her focus on Addams's writings, Elshtain has given us a worthy addition to Progressive scholarship, but it will certainly raise as many questions as it answers."

Connie L. Lester. *The Historian* 66.1 (Spring 2004): 139–40.

Adorno, Theodor

Adorno [Adorno, Eine Biographie]. Stefan Müller-Doohm. Trans. (from German) Bernard Lortholary. Paris: Gallimard, 2004. 628 pp. EUR32.50.

French criticism has been indulgent towards the political misapprehensions or indeed errors of some contemporary German philosophers, but, whether because he stood aloof from the 1968 students' movement or because of Hannah Arendt's well-known obstinate ill will, or for any other reason, not for Theodor Adorno, it would seem. Stefan Müller-Doohm's magisterial plea for a man he calls „the master of imperfect triads" will be the best introduction to a thinker who was at once intuitive, flashing, and rigorous.

Nicolas Weill. *Le Monde des Livres,* May 14, 2004: 8.

Arafat, Yasir

Yasir Arafat: A Political Biography. Barry Rubin and Judith Colp Rubin. New York: Oxford UP, 2003. 354 pp. $27.50.

Arafat's War: The Man and His Battle for Israeli Conquest. Efraim Karsh. New York: Grove, 2003. 296 pp. $25.00.

"Unfortunately, neither book adds much that's new. In fact of the two, only the more moderate and scholarly text—the Rubins' *Yasir Arafat*—contributes anything of interest to this already crowded field. Karsh may be a respected historian, but his book-length polemic feels rushed; it's essentially assembled from secondary sources. His thesis, that Arafat never intended to make peace but merely saw Oslo as a tool in a 'phased strategy' leading to Israel's ultimate destruction, is arguable. . . . His strident tone . . . undermine[s] Karsh's reliability."

Jonathan D. Tepperman. *WP,* Jan. 19–25, 2004: 32.

Arden, Elizabeth. See **Rubenstein, Helena.**

Ashbee, Janet

Janet Ashbee: Love, Marriage, and the Arts and Crafts Movement. Felicity Ashbee. Syracuse: Syracuse UP, 2002. 245 pp. $39.95.

"In this book Felicity, the second of the four Ashbee daughters, was able to use her mother's voluminous and vivid manuscripts. . . . An art historian by profession, she has produced an even-handed account of her parents' relationship. . . . This book presents an indelible portrait of Janet Ashbee's

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strong personality and opens a window on a hidden part of women's history that has so far been firmly closed."

Susan Groag Bell. *Albion* 35.5 (Fall 2003): 524–26.

Aspinall, Wayne

Wayne Aspinall and the Shaping of the American West. Steven C. Schulte. Boulder: UP of Colorado, 2002. 322 pp. $29.95.

"It is high time that a biography of Aspinall appeared. This Colorado congressman played a pivotal role in shaping landmark legislation regarding western natural resources. With the possible exception of Stewart Udall, no politician of Aspinall's generation exercised greater influence in shaping natural resource policy in the modern West. . . . Schulte sees reclamation as the centtal feature of Aspinall's career, noting that Aspinall outstripped all other politicians of the past century in his 'success in hoarding and manipulating water'."

Brian Q. Cannon. *Pacific Historical Review* 72.4 (Nov. 2003): 649–52.

Auriol, Vincent

Journal du septennat. 1950. Vincent Auriol. Text established and annotated by Anne-Marie Bellec, with the collaboration of Violaine Chatelain. Paris: Tallandier, 2003. 796 pp. EUR39.

First President of the IVth Republic (1947–1954), Vincent Auriol was considered a jolly easy-going person. The *Journal* of his seven-year term reveals him as authoritarian, with a high sense of his function and prerogatives. It also reveals a regime: one hears the beatings of the very heart of the governmental machinery. . . . [I]n matter of archives, it is a mine.[The year 1950 should have appeared fourth in the order of publication, and not seventh and last, but various incidents delayed its publication.]

Philippe-Jean Catinchi (Conversations with Pierre Nora). *Le Monde des Livres,* Apr. 30, 2004: 10.

Baker, Webb

Testament: A Soldier's Story of the Civil War. Benson Bobrick. New York: Simon and Schuster, 2003. 277 pp. $23.00.

"'Testament' is based on a collection of letters from Benjamin W. (Webb) Baker to his mother and other family members in Illinois, from the time of his enlistment in 1861, at 19, until he is mustered out just before the Battle of Atlanta in 1864. Around this rich, intimate family core, Bobrick has written a reliable and thoroughly researched narrative, not only of Webb's experiences in battle but also of the larger military and political events that drove the war forward."

Max Byrd. *NYTBR,* Nov. 16, 2003: 9.

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Balzac, Honoré de

Balzac, ou Les hiéroglyphes de l'imaginaire. Anne-Marie Baron. Paris: Honoré Champion, 2002. 208 pp. EUR40.

In this essay Freud's psychoanalytical theories are used to explore Balzac's subconscious through the symbolic, philosophic and hieroglyphic system that he elaborated in his early novels. This investigation allows an evaluation of the influence of Champollion's discoveries during the Napoleonic Empire on Balzac. Recurrent key-metaphors such as the beggar and the pariah are examined along with dichotomies established by Balzac between the martyr and the dandy, his fear of animalism, the relationship that he establishes between writing and painting, etc. The author perhaps too peremptorily concludes that Balzac "wanted to decipher his era like an armorial," and that the Comédie humaine should be read like a "mystical work similar to the Book of the Apocalypse."

Philippe Andrés. *Studi Francesi,* May-Aug. 2003: 466.

Baquaqua, Mahommah Gardo

The Biography of Mahommah Gardo Baquaqua: His Passage from Slavery to Freedom in Africa and America. Ed. Robin Law and Paul Lovejoy. Princeton: Markus Weiner, 2001. 272 pp. $19.95.

"*The Biography of Mahommah Baquaqua* is an oral narrative by an African of limited formal education that was compiled and formally written up by a paid writer, who, as an abolition activist, had a vested interest in the propaganda value of the narrative, and was published in Detroit in 1854. . . . [Baquaqua] was shipped to the Americas and enslaved in Brazil in the 1840s. ... Baquaqua's narrative . . . deals with socioeconomic and political conditions in his region of origin (the northeast of the modern Republic of Benin in West Africa) during the Atlantic slave trade era, as well as the conditions of enslaved Africans in the Americas and the role of Christian missions in the process of abolition."

Joseph E. Inikori. *Journal of World History* 14.4 (Dec. 2003): 571–75.

Barghouti, Mourid

I Saw Ramallah. Mourid Barghouti. London: Bloomsbury, 2003. 184 pp. £12.99.

This autobiographical memoir by a prominent Palestinian poet is a sensitive contribution to the experience of exile. Barghouti left his native Ramallah, then a sleepy suburb of Jerusalem, in 1966, only to be denied permission to return by the Israeli occupying forces until some thirty years later following the Oslo accord. Even so, it is no longer his land. Much of this evocative book is a lamentation on the conditions of exile, the confused emotions and sense of insurmountable loss. Barghouti's account is surprisingly free of rancor,

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though occasionally his controlled anger at evident injustices bubbles to the surface. Like so many other exiles, he now knows that he has "become uprooted for ever" and that there can be no return to the past.

Avi Shlaim. *The Guardian Weekly,* Apr. 29-May 5, 2004: 15.

Barnard, Christiaan

Celebrity Surgeon: Christiaan Barnard—A Life. Chris Logan. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball, 2003. 340 pp. R169.95.

Celebrity Surgeon is a fascinating read. Logan interviewed more than 100 people to gain the insights he did, including Barnard's last wife, Karin Setzkorn, and his daughter Deirdre. The book is a serious look at an astonishing event—the world's first heart transplant—that happened in Cape Town largely because of one man's determination. The book is no hagiography, and Barnard is portrayed charm, warts and all.

Vivien Horler. *Cape Argus,* Nov. 14, 2003: 12.

Perhaps the most extraordinary aspect of the world's first heart transplant was the 2.20 am argument the three South African surgeons had at its most critical moment when about to remove the donor's heart. Denise Darval was declared "brain dead," but after she had been taken off the ventilator her heart continued beating for at least another twelve minutes. The doctor who insisted that they wait until the ECG was flat eventually won out. The mid-operation argument is one of many revelations and insights in an objective and highly readable biography of the world's first heart transplant surgeon. Chris Barnard was complex and contradictory, and this was as apparent in his treatment of people as in his politics. In the late 1960s and early 1970s he was critical of apartheid, comparing Afrikaner Nationalists to Nazis, but then later defended South Africa's policies and even published a propaganda book which described "one-man-one-vote" as national suicide. Later still, he supported the opposition Democratic Party.

John Scott. *Cape Times,* Nov. 28, 2003: 16.

Barnard, Deirdre

Fat, Fame and Life with Father. Deirdre Barnard. Cape Town: Double Storey, 2004. 243 pp. R150.

This is the first book of champion waterskier and daughter of pioneering heart surgeon, Chris Barnard, simultaneously published in English and in Afrikaans. In this wise and funny book, Deirdre tells it like it is—about life in the Barnard family as they coped with the successes and losses that befell them, about the painful intrusions into privacy that were the flip-side of fame, about bereavement and true friendship and the sustaining power of family. An entertaining and courageously forthright storyteller with a wicked

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Here, Deirdre has woven a moving account of her sometimes painful but ultimately uplifting personal journey. Its compassion and humour will touch us all.

Pretoria News: Interval, Oct. 31, 2003: 1.

Fat, Fame and Life with Father is not well written; the book is sorely in need of a good editor. But it provides interesting details about one of South Africa's most famous sons, and that of his extended family, and to the more cynical among us, is a reminder of the redeeming qualities of love, loyalty and devotion.

Vivien Horler. *Cape Argus,* Nov. 14, 2003: 12.

This is one of the most disarmingly honest books I have ever read. And it is not only the sheer honesty about her life that Deirdre shares with her readers, it is also her honest, no-nonsense style. Deirdre's story is as much about the confusion of being famous heart surgeon Chris Barnard's daughter, as it is about being in the spotlight as a champion waterskier, and then a fat girl. The sense of being a daughter doing the right thing, in the right way to unite a family and bury a man who loved many, was loved by many and disliked by many, is conveyed exquisitely in *Fat, Fame and Life with Father.* In this book she pays tribute to her father and shares her vision of what it is to be human, and a very good and joyful vision it is.

Jennifer Crocker. *Cape Times,* Dec. 2, 2003: 7.

Barnard's book is utterly disarming and delightful, although, at times, appallingly written. Some sentences are absolute clangers, non sequiturs abound, she leaves an idea at a tangent never to return and repeats entire themes quite regularly. Thankfully, the publishers saw fit to leave it that way. The end result is a book that you hear, rather than read. This biography is proof that a book doesn't need to be immaculately written to be an unputdownable read.

Katy Chance. *ThisDay,* Dec. 11, 2003: 8.

Bartlett, Elaine

Life on the Outside: The Prison Odyssey of Elaine Bartlett. Jennifer Gonnerman. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2004. 368 pp. $24.00.

"What jumps out at you from 'Life on the Outside' is the extent to which imprisonment has been normalized, not just for adults from poor communities but for children who visit their parents in prison. Spending holidays and birthdays behind bars for years on end, these children come to think of prison as a natural next step in the process of growing up."

Brent Staples. *NYTBR,* Mar. 21, 2004: 7.

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Beadle, George

George Beadle: An Uncommon Pioneer. The Emergence of Genetics in the Twentieth Century. Paul Berg and Maxine Singer. Cold Spring Harbor, NY: Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory, 2003. 383 pp. $35.00.

This book is "a meticulously investigated historically contextualized and finely written biography of one of the central figures of twentieth-century genetics. . . . Berg and Singer have used an impressive amount of archival material and conducted numerous interviews with persons who knew Beadle. . . . Except for [a few] small flaws, the book is a most valuable contribution to our understanding, not only of Beadle's life, but also of the transformation of genetics in the twentieth century."

Bruno J. Strasser. *American Scientist* 92.2 (Mar.-Apr. 2004): 176–78.

"The authors have done their homework, reading the old literature and conducting hours of interviews. The result is a full, accurate, authoritative, and balanced biography. And their writing is splendid as well. . . . One of the delights of Berg and Singer's informative biography is their vivid portrayals of the real Beadle."

James F. Crow. *Science* 302.5644 (Oct. 17, 2003): 394-95.

Bearden, Romare

The Art of Romare Bearden. Ruth Fine. New York: National Gallery of Art/ Abrams, 2003. 346 pp. $50.00.

"Romare Bearden was 'probably the most saintly person I have ever known,' recalled the owner of Books & Company on Madison Avenue near the Whitney Museum; the artist spent almost every Saturday afternoon at Books until his death in 1988. Bearden sliced up many of his beloved books for the sake of his collages, in which he always stayed close to black American culture in subject matter while stylistically roaming the lexicon of modern art. Yet we are given these vivid details only on the last page of Ruth Fine's studious text in the 'The Art of Romare Bearden,' which, disappointingly, does not make the man leap off the page as palpably as his images—pieced together with the sensibility of jazz or quilting from photocopies, sandpaper, fabric, foil and his own paintings."

Hilarie M. Sheets. *NYTBR,* Nov. 30, 2003: 24.

Beaton, Cecil

The Unexpurgated Beaton: The Cecil Beaton Diaries as He Wrote Them, 1970–1980. Hugo Vickers. New York: Knopf, 2003. 508 pp. $35.00.

"Picasso might, he [Beaton] thought, be for the ages; 'lesser fry' like himself would prove perishable. But it is often the lesser fry of literature and politics and art who write the better diaries. The genre allows writer and reader a

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holiday from complex structure and sustained reflection; cleverness generally does better on its pages than brilliance. As a nervous, if arrogant, striver seeking anxious heed of everyone's doings and detached note of everyone's looks, Beaton was dressed for success in the form. There's no epic sweep to the life he lives and gives us; it's only the daily grind. And he regrinds it fine enough to glitter."

Thomas Mallon. *The New Yorker,* Nov. 10, 2003: 116–20.

"Five years after Beaton died in 1980, Vickers used his access to the original diaries for a mammoth, juicily detailed biography. Now, in 'The Unexpurgated Beaton,' he has brought out the last 10 years of those originals, starting in 1970. Considering that the final six years, following a stroke, are covered in 20 quavery pages in a 500-page volume, and that the first four years begin with a drastic prostate operation that dried up much of the juiciness (as far as any personal contribution goes), we may wonder what this new publication can provide. Something unexpected, it turns out: a sadness, if not precisely a gravity. It is the butterfly at dusk, stretched on a wheel of time, and letting the wheel show. Beaton's self-plumbing, his malice, his twittering obsession with the old names and the new fashionables of his day, are often insufferable. Further, those figures are dead by now, or yellowed without quite having died."

Richard Eder. *NYTBR,* Dec. 7, 2003: 50.

Beaufort, Henry Somerset, Duke of

Beaufort: The Duke and his Duchess 1657–1715. Molly McClain. New Haven: Yale UP, 2001. 262 pp. $35.00.

McClain "provides a useful and interesting portrait of one family's rise, within a single generation. . . . [Her] approach is to write the biography of a marriage. . . . Unfortunately, her subjects' lives complicate this interpretive strategy. . . . [T]he most serious disappointment with this otherwise admirable work is that there is not more of it, that it is a biography of only one generation. . . . Still, this book is a worthy first step; one hopes that the author will, in future years, bring her considerable knowledge and skills to this broader story."

Robert Bucholz. *The Historian* 66.1 (Spring 2004): 191–92.

Beaumarchais, Pierre-Augustin Caron De

Lettres galantes à Mme de Godeville. Beaumarchais. Presented and annotated by Maurice Lever. Paris: Fayard, 2004. 216 pp. EUR18.

A hundred or so amorous letters to an adventuress covering a period of two years (1777–1779), in which Beaumarchais does not open up easily but shows himself now teasing and flippant, now generous: these letters help us

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measuring the importance the lady had in his affective life at a time when his virile powers were on the wane.

Ph.(ilippe) J.(ean) C.(atinchi). *Le Monde des Livres,* June 11, 2004: 4.

Beauvoir, Simone de

Correspondance croisée. 1937–1940. Simone de Beauvoir and Jacques-Laurent Bost. Edition established, presented, and annotated by Sylvie Le Bon de Beauvoir. Paris: Gallimard, 2004. 982 pp. EUR35.

She was twenty-nine and teaching philosophy. He was twenty-one and had become Sartre's friend. At the approach of World War II, Simone de Beauvoir and Jacques-Laurent Bost lived an intense passion, as can be seen from their correspondence.

Josyane Savigneau. *Le Monde des Livres,* April 30, 2004: 1.

Begag, Azouz

Le marteau pique-cœur. Azouz Begag. Paris: Seuil, 2004. 256 pp. EUR18.

Contrary to the Lebanese Amin Maalouf, Azouz Begag, doctor in economics, novelist and sociologist, son of Algerian immigrants, doesn't feel compelled to write about his origins on pure biographical or autobiographical lines. But behind the transparent fictional veil, the quest for his identity is intense. "What's important is to be conscious of one's origins" remains a key notion for him.

Carole Bibily. *Le Monde des Livres,* May 14, 2004: 5.

Benedict, Ruth. See **Mead, Margaret.**

Bishop, J. Michael

How to Win the Nobel Prize: An Unexpected Life in Science. J. Michael Bishop. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 2003. 271 pp. $27.95.

"According to J. Michael Bishop, science is widely misunderstood, and this poses a threat to its future. . . . [T]his curious book [is] part autobiography, part history of science and part intervention in current debates about science. . . . For him the problem is that scientists are very poor at talking to those outside their field. . . . *How to Win the Nobel Prize* advocates a vision of science as a means to social progress, built on values of honesty, truthfulness, disinterestedness and intellectual passion."

David Cantor. *American Scientist* 91.6 (Nov.-Dec. 2003): 569-70.

"J. Michael Bishop is a man of discerning erudition lightly concealed behind a thin veil of the simple country boy who, through a series of accidents, made it in the select world of high scientific achievement. . . . Bishop shared the 1989 Nobel Prize for Physiology or Medicine with his colleague, Harold

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Varmus, for their 'discovery of the cellular origin of retroviral oncogenes.' . . . If we were to provide a Polonian classification of the book, it is decidedly comical-historical in both the autobiography and the historical accounts of microbiology and cancer research."

Sidney Bremer. *Science,* Sept. 12, 2003: 1483.

Blair, Tony

Tony Blair: The Making of a World Leader. Philip Stephens. New York: Viking, 2004. 265 pp. $25.95.

"Even before Sept. 11 and still more after, Blair struck a chord with many Americans. To the 'liberal hawks' he became a hero—the 'leader of the free world' for Paul Berman—and those Blair Democrats find the prime minister's justification of the Iraq war through progressive internationalist rhetoric more soothing than the naked power politics of their own president. They are the obvious audience for 'Tony Blair: The Making of a World Leader,' a biography based on years of observation and on long interviews with its subject. There are plenty of other books about Blair, but Philip Stephens's is the first by a London political journalist specifically intended to explain him to Americans."

Geoffrey Wheatcroft. *NYTBR,* Feb. 29, 2004: 10.

"Where Bush uses Old Testament language, Stephens suggests, Blair prefers the New. 'George W. Bush would cast out evil; Tony Blair would do good in the world.' . . . Yet the more dispassionate reader who wants to understand Blair in all his complexity and contradiction, rather than simply to identify his response to the greatest international challenge of his premiership, will turn to Stephens, who has written easily the best—as well as best informed—modern summary of Britain's still brilliant but now increasingly beleaguered prime minister."

Martin Kettle. *WP,* Apr. 12–18, 2004: 32.

Blum, Léon

Le dernier mois. Léon Blum. Presentation by Antoine Malamoud and Pierre Vidal-Naquet. Paris: Arlea, 2004. 112 pp. EUR6.

This short volume is a new edition (the fourth) of the harrowing narrative of the last month (Apr. 3–May 4 1945) of Léon Blum's captivity. The socialist leader kept a diary: one discovers with him the concentration world, his emotion after the bombing of Munich, his sorrow when hearing of Roosevelt's death, his incredible encounters with other famous political prisoners: Schacht, who was chairman of the Reichsbank when Blum governed France, or chancellor Schuschnigg—encounters redolent of certain Venitian suppers in Voltaire's *Candide*—but above all we admire the high dignity of a man less interested in his own safety than in the [illegible] of his [illegible], and who does not

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need to diabolize the Germans to deliver his lesson of courage and express his faith in man.

Ph.(ilippe)-J.(ean) C.(atinchi). *Le Monde des Livres*, May 7, 2004: 5.

Boswell, James G.

The King of California. Mark Arax and Rick Warztman. New York: Public Affairs, 2003. 560 pp. $30.00.

"This meticulous narrative of the rise of the cotton magnate James G. Boswell begins in the nineteen-twenties, when his family was driven from Georgia by boll-weevil infestations and brought its plantation ways to California's San Joaquin Valley. . . . Arax and Wartzman strive for even handedness but acknowledge the costs of Big Ag—such as the evaporation of ponds with selenium levels so high that ducks were born with corkscrewed beaks and no eyes, and the recurrent 'hundred-year floods,' stubborn attempts by the old lake to reassert itself."

The New Yorker, Nov. 10, 2003: 121.

The Brontës

The Brontë Myth. Lucasta Miller. New York: Knopf, 2003. 368 pp. $26.95.

"Miller provides a corrective—a biography of a biography—showing how successive generations, including Stracheyan, Freudian, feminist, and post-structural critics, remolded the Brontës to fit their own agendas."

The New Yorker, Jan. 19, 2004.

"There is little to find fault with in 'The Brontë Myth,' except perhaps for its failure to bring the ghostly Anne out of the mists so as to give her the benefit of its respectful but vastly amused scrutiny. It suffers, too, from a somewhat tentative organizing principle, which slightly undercuts its ambitious agenda. But these are quibbles. The Brontës are an endlessly intriguing subject—as a 1931 novel about them put it: 'what a family! Even if they'd never written a line, what a story!'—and Miller's book is a superbly unmuddled contribution to the continuing literary conversation."

Daphne Merkin. *NYTBR*, Feb. 29, 2004: 6–7.

Buchan, John

John Buchan: The Presbyterian Cavalier. Andrew Lownie. Boston: Godine, 2003. 364 pp. $18.95.

"In his thorough and lucid biography, Andrew Lownie, a Scottish journalist and editor of several collections of Buchan's stories and poetry, sympathetically evokes this 'highly complex and private man who may not always himself have understood his own motivations and abilities.' Buchan's heroes, men of ratiocination and action, reason and romance, duty and adventure,

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Lytton maintains, best reveal and imaginatively reconcile the contradictions that both impelled and thwarted Buchan during his lifetime."

Sherie Posesorski. *NYTBR*, Feb. 15, 2004: 24.

Bulwer Lytton, Edward

Bulwer Lytton: The Rise and Fall of a Victorian Man of Letters. Leslie Mitchell. New York: Hambledon & London, 2003. 320 pp. $34.95.

"Mitchell maintains that 'his [Lytton's] rehabilitation as an undoubtedly eminent Victorian is long overdue,' but this attempt is only intermittently successful. The decision to organize the biography thematically ('A Writer and the Public,' 'Ghosts and Artists') is ill-considered. And its defenses of Lytton's gaudy prose seem strained. Still, it's hard to make the man dull."

The New Yorker, Jan. 12, 2004: 84.

Burr, Martha. See **Johnson, Woodward (Hootie).**

Bush, George H. W., and George W. Bush

American Dynasty: Aristocracy, Fortune, and the Politics of Deceit in the House of Bush. Kevin Phillips. New York: Viking, 2004. 397 pp. $25.95.

"In this angry, devastating examination of 'the House of Bush,' Kevin Phillips asks the question that seems to have occurred to no one else: How did these people get so entitled? . . . Phillips study is valuable less for what it says about the altered American political landscape (though much of what he says about that is astute) than for what it says about the Bushes themselves. Tracing the family lineage through four generations—beginning with the president's great grandfathers, George Herbert Walker and Samuel Prescott Bush, moving along to his grandfather, Prescott Bush, then to his father and himself—Phillips paints a portrait that can only be deeply disturbing to anyone concerned about how power is now gained and maintained in this country. . . . It is a gloomy and even frightening picture: 'global oil ventures, national security, sophisticated investments, arms deals, the Skull and Bones chic of covert operations, and committed support of established business interests' now compounded by the 'religious impulses and motivations' that the born-again George W. brings to the mix. It operates not in the free market its rhetoric prattles about, but in 'crony capitalism' that gives every advantage to the cronies with enough capital to buy their way into the game. . . . *American Dynasty* is an important, troubling book that should be read everywhere, nowhere more so than in Washington."

Jonathan Yardley. *WP*, Jan. 26-Feb. 1, 2004: 32.

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Bush, Laura

The Perfect Wife: The Life and Choices of Laura Bush. Ann Gerhart. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2004. 206 pp. $23.00.

"Gerhart has written an interesting book that at times makes Mrs. Bush seem a modern version of those 19th-century Edith Wharton wives, finding their own rich private lives amid the hard conventions of marriage and motherhood. Gerhart does what any good reporter does when her subject declines to cooperate. She talks to friends, acquaintances, others who grew up in the same world of Midland, Tex., in the 1950's and 1960's. By Gerhart's telling, that world had many of the virtues of a small town, but it was also rigidly segregated, bound by strict gender stereotypes and so ideologically polarized that the diners at one of the best restaurants in town burst into applause when the owner announced that John F. Kennedy had just been shot."

Robin Toner. *NYTBR*, Feb. 15, 2004: 30.

This book "is really . . . an interface between our author, a high powered working mom (spurred on by like-minded acquaintances—the Washington 'many', the in-the-know people whose never-specified voices often resonate in the background) and her subject, a woman whose traditionalist lifestyle stumps, angers and maddeningly provokes Gerhart and her companions, inspiring a kind of bilious wistfulness that creeps through every page. . . . The first lady expresses happiness, and Gerhart hears 'an ache.' She responds to the Sept. 11 attacks with pragmatism, and Gerhart worries about the damage her 'stoicism' will do her 'enormous capacity to feel.' Eager for signs of 'personal growth' and finding none, she turns against her subject: 'It was as if seizing an opportunity were opportunistic, as if transformation meant one was no longer faithful to one's roots, and one's self.'. . . The more Gerhart points to Laura Bush's emotional and psychological limitations, the more sympathetic, authentic and compelling a person the first lady seems. . . . Gerhart is a wonderful observer, with a keen eye for detail and an excellent ear for conversation. ('Bushie are you gonna git 'em?' she has Laura Bush remark to the president after he promises that Osama bin Laden will be brought in 'dead or alive.')"

Judith Warner. *WP*, Feb.16–22, 2004: 32.

Byron, Robert

Robert Byron. James Knox. London: John Murray, 2003. 493 pp. £25.00

Byron (1905–1941) was a travel writer and architectural critic. A "workmanlike biography." "Knox uses letters, diaries and published works to create a detailed but somewhat flat-footed calendar of Byron's life and travels."

Robert Irwin. *TLS*, Dec. 5, 2003: 24.

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Califano, Joseph A. Jr.

Inside: A Public and Private Life. Joseph A. Califano, Jr. New York: Public Affairs, 2004. 560 pp. $30.00.

"Joe Califano has had a finger in more, and bigger, pies in Washington than anyone else of his generation. . . . [A] thirtyish protégé of Robert Mcnamara and Cyrus Vance . . . as a domestic policy counselor he helped design Lyndon Johnson's Great Society, then under Jimmy Carter [he moved] to Health, Education, and Welfare, of which he was first Secretary . . . with comfortable timeouts in law firms headed by such figures as Thomas E. Dewey, Paul Porter, and Edward Bennett Williams. . . . Califano's withdrawal into a quieter life has neither dulled his sense of mischief nor clouded his memory of many colorful maneuvers and manipulations whose recall makes this book memorable."

Edwin M. Yoder, Jr. *WP*, May 10–16, 2004: 32.

Calvet, Esprit-Claude-François

Calvet's Web: Enlightenment and the Republic of Letters in Eighteenth-Century France. L. W. B. Brockliss. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2002. 471 pp. £55.00.

"This attractively presented book is a detailed and meticulous study of a single individual, Esprit-Claude-François Calvet, a very successful physician in Avignon in the second half of the century, who was evidently also a man of some standing in the scholarly community in that part of France. His interests embraced archaeology, numismatics, classical antiquarianism, natural history and scientific books, but he also painted and, for a little while, played the flute. . . . Calvet was neither a significant author nor an original thinker, but his well-preserved archive has enabled Laurence Brockliss to reconstruct his intellectual world in quite remarkable detail. He has identified three-hundred-and-fifty or so correspondents whom Calvet contacted during his lifetime, among them savants and lesser philosophers, various local dignitaries (including the uncle of the Marquis de Sade), a variety of officeholders and collectors, as well, of course, as a number of medical practitioners. Precisely because Calvet lacked any real intellectual distinction of his own, the nature of his contacts within this mini-republic, Brockliss suggests, is not so much representative as illustrative of how the wider networks operated: highly personalized, at times very formalized—yet dependent on mutual goodwill, a fairly liberal attitude to distinctions in social status, and tolerance of those personal and political quirks which it was considered improper to probe. . . . How typical, in this respect, is his brand of provincial scholarly activity? Brockliss does not probe [this question] in any depth, so it is perhaps fair to say that this book is much more about the Republic of Letters, as it operated (and had operated for generations) across Britain and the rest of Europe, than about the Enlightenment, however defined."

Thomas Munck. *French Studies* 57.4 (2003): 540–41.

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Capitein, Jacobus Elisa Johannes

The Agony of Asar: A Thesis on Slavery by the Former Slave, Jacobus Elisa Johannes Capitein, 1717–1747. Jacobus Elisa Johannes Capitein. Commentary and trans. Grant Parker. Princeton: Markus Wiener, 2001. 182 pp. $16.95.

"*The Agony of Asar,* whose original title is *Political-Theological Dissertation: Examining the Question: Is Slavery Compatible with Christian Freedom or Not?,* is a rigorous work of scholarship, written originally in the language of scholars at the time, Latin, by one of the most learned Africans of the eighteenth century, Jacobus Capitein of Ghana, and published in Leiden in 1742. . . . [Capitein] was held in slavery on the African coast by the Dutch West India Company in the 1720s, and was subsequently educated at Leiden University in Holland. . . . Capitein, the scholar, examined the Bible with a scholarly rigor to show, essentially in the abstract, that there are no injunctions in the scriptures against slavery. . . . [Capitein is] particularly valuable on early black intellectual history [and] illustrates some important aspects of the globalization process in the eighteenth century."

Joseph E. Inikori. *Journal of World History* 14.4 (Dec. 2003): 571–75.

Catherine de Médici

Catherine de Médici: Five Portraits. Michael G. Paulson. Currents in Comparative Romance Languages and Literatures. New York: Peter Lang, 2002. 126 pp. £31.00.

"In this slim volume Michael G. Paulson considers the presentation of Catherine de Médici in five different fictional works, of which four are novels and one a play: *La Princesse de Clèves,* Balzac's *Sur Catherine de Médici,* Mérimée's *Chronique du regne de Charles IX,* Dumas pére's *La Reine Margot* and the same author's *Henri III et sa cour.* . . . There is no attempt to investigate why a particular author takes a particular line, nor are the fictional representations of Catherine related to the historical or political context in which they were conceived. . . . After a fussy and unnecessarily apologetic introduction, the discussion is marked by repetition, irrelevance, ignorance and, above all, a staggering commitment to stating the obvious. . . . The proof-reading is slipshod. . . . The scholarly community has a duty to protest against such a blatant lack of quality control on the part of the publisher and his series editor, who in this case is none other than the author himself.

Michael Tilby. *French Studies* 57.4 (2003): 568–69.

Chaplin, Charlie

Chaplin: Genius of the Cinema. Jeffrey Vance. New York: Abrams, 2003. 440 pp. $50.00.

"Vance . . . has produced a volume with 500 photographs, some previously

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unpublished, from Chaplin's archives. The photos illuminate Vance's conventional biographical essay, making a parallel visual biography. . . . Manoah Bowman, the book's photographic editor, has assembled a trove of portraits and miscellaneous pictures. . . . [T]aken together, they make a revealing album."

David Freeman. *LATBR,* Dec. 21, 2003: 6–7.

Chapman, Lucretia

The Murder of Dr. Chapman: The Legendary Trials of Lucretia Chapman and Her Lover. Linda Wolfe. New York: HarperCollins, 2004. 304 pp. $23.95.

"Robbed of a trunk full of gold by Parisian police, Carolino Amalia Espos y Muza had begged passage to America and was on his way to New Jersey to seek the aid of Joseph Bonaparte, the former king of Spain and a friend of his wealthy Mexican father. Or so he told William and Lucretia Chapman when he fetched up on their doorstep in Andalusia. . . . Linda Wolfe, the author of several true-crime books, has a regrettable habit of planting unknowable thoughts in her characters' heads, but she succeeds in writing an arresting portrait of a desperately romantic woman and an audacious, inept con man.

Mark Essig. *NYTBR,* Mar. 14, 2004: 20.

Charles VI

La folie de Charles VI, Roi Bien-Aimé. Bernard Guenée. Paris: Perrin, "Pour l'Histoire," 2003. 324 pp. EUR23.

King Charles VI (1368–1422) became deranged in his early twenties and remained so for the remainder of his life, his crises lasting longer and longer and getting more and more dramatic. This interminable madness was attributed to poisoning, or to bewitchment, or to youthful sexual excesses. (Doctors expected much from regular marital relations; his wife was Isabeau of Bavaria, upon whom they imposed Odette de Champdivers, as King's concubine—a titillating but ineffectual remedy). Likewise, processions and prayers were of no avail: God remained deaf. But, cumbersome and useless as he was, he was not dispatched (contrary to Richard II of England). In fact, in order to preserve the royal majesty, the word "madness" was never used, but "illness," "wildness," or at most "frenzy." Moreover, after his death, he was called "the Most Beloved." Starting from an apparently anecdotal incident, Guenée helps us understand how, because of the coronation in Rheims and anointing with the celestial balm from a Saint's ampulla, French sovereigns were sacred. "The French exception," he says humorously.

Jean-Claude Schmitt. *Le Monde des Livres,* April 16, 2004: 6.

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Charles, Prince of Wales

Radical Prince: The Practical Vision of the Prince of Wales. David Lorimer. London: Floris, 2003. 427 pp. £20.

"As David Lorimer points out, much of what the Prince of Wales has said would have been very welcome to the liberal-minded public if only someone else had said it. . . . Lorimer maps out a wide and well-organized area covered by Prince Charles' thought: quoting freely from the Prince's speeches and filling in the intellectual background. . . . Altogether, his thought, as this examination of it shows, emerges as something substantial, enterprising, and deeply humane. At the end of this intelligent and wide-ranging book, a good many people who did not expect to may find themselves thinking 'This is a sensible man.'"

Mary Midgley. *TLS*, Feb. 13, 2004: 11.

Chiang Kai-Shek

Generalissimo: Chiang Kai Shek and the China He Lost. Jonathan Fenby. New York: Carrol and Graf, 2004. 736 pp. $44.00.

"Fenby might finally bring the English-speaking world to terms with a tyrant many in China and Taiwan have long loathed. Fortunately Fenby does not have an axe to grind and thus gives Chiang the fair historical treatment due to a man who ruled over China for a quarter century and allied with the United States in World War Two. . . . *Generalissimo* is a wonderful achievement."

Macabe Keliher. *Far Eastern Economic Review*, Jan. 8, 2004: 50–51.

"Fenby adds nuances to our received picture, but ultimately does not alter it. The generalissimo remains an enigma."

Jonathan Spence. *NYTBR*, Feb. 29, 2004: 9.

Churchill, Winston. See also **Roosevelt, Franklin Delano.**

Churchill: A Biography. Roy Jenkins. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux. 2001. 1002 pp. $40.00.

"[N]o better biographer of Churchill could be anticipated. . . . This biography of Churchill is obviously a labor of love and a combination of extraordinary personal experience and brilliant and sustained scholarship. . . . Jenkins is particularly informative and authoritative in his analyses of the great Churchillian controversies, presenting detailed background and important perspectives. . . . Jenkins repeatedly 'corrects' the self-serving accounts of many of these controversies presented in the memoir-histories of Churchill."

Eugene L. Rasour. *Albion* 35.5 (Fall 2003): 541–42.

Castles of Steel: Britin, Germany and the Winning of the Great War at Sea. Robert K. Massie. New York: Random House, 2004. 860 pp. $35.00.

"When the clash finally came, in 1916, at the Battle of Jutland, it was a

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somewhat muddled affair and both sides claimed victory. This centerpiece battle springs to life, thanks to Massie's clear grasp of tactics and his successful narration. His portraits of major figures—including Winston Churchill, then a brash First Lord of the Admiralty, and the death-haunted Admiral von Spee—are perceptive and enthralling, and he writes of war's casualties with grim directness."

The New Yorker, Mar. 1, 2004: 88.

Clare, John

John Clare: A Literary Life. Roger Sales. New York: Palgrave, 2002. 195 pp. $55.00.

"Sales' study offers an intriguing view of John Clare; it is not concerned with critically reading Clare's writing but, rather, with critically reading his times. . . . The book, paradoxically, has more to say about the context for Clare's literary production than about Clare himself. . . . Nevertheless, Sales' book contributes much to the cultural study of the early to mid-1800s and it should inspire further interest in John Clare as other than the 'Peasant-Poet.'"

Robin Ikegami. *Albion* 35.5 (Fall 2003): 505-506.

John Clare. Jonathan Bate. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2003. 650 pp. $40.00.

"Clare is generally considered a minor, albeit beloved, poet; Bate's biography does not strain to boost his reputation so much as to straighten it. . . . Bate's intelligence is sane and leveling, suited to a biography that could otherwise have become a caricature. . . . Bate's understated manner and tendency to de-romanticize Clare's life spring from his quarrel with 'the myth of solitary genius.'"

Benjamin Lytal. *LATBR,* Mar. 14, 2004: 9.

"Clare, in Bate's view, is 'the one major English poet never to have received a biography that is worthy of his memory,' and this fine and fair-minded book sets out to remedy that gap."

John Lanchester. *The New Yorker,* Oct. 27, 2003: 98–102.

"'I am—yet what I am, none cares or knows' is the first line of John Clare's most famous poem, and a more irresistible invitation to a biographer would be difficult to imagine. Jonathan Bate, an English academic, has responded with a fat tome that lays out a fair amount of what's known about this strange and often wonderful writer's life, and—almost in spite of itself—makes us care."

Terrence Rafferty. *NYTBR,* Feb. 15, 2004: 8.

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Clark, William

William Clark and the Shaping of the West. Landon Y. Jones. New York: Hill & Wang, 2004. 395 pp. $25.00.

"Clark's life is told with color, panache and authority. . . . Jones is a resourceful researcher. . . . [He] has given us a life of William Clark that rescues him from the dusty pages of high school textbooks and more hagiographic biographies. . . . Above all, Jones allows us to see a familiar and even fusty figure in a wholly new if sometimes troubling light."

Jonathan Kirsch. *LATBR,* June 6, 2004: 2.

Colette. See also **Willy, Henry Gauthier-Villars, Alias.**

Lettres à sa fille (1916–1953). Colette. Collected, presented and annotated by Anne de Jouvenel. Paris: Gallimard, 2004. 538 pp. EUR28.

Colette's daughter accumulated handicaps from the start: she came into this world at a time when her mother's career was in full expansion (the writer would not be a full-time mother), she inherited a first name (Colette) hard to wear, and on top of it, the same pet name (Bel Gazou) as her mother. When at the age of 9, she was boarded out somewhere, she wrote: "I implore you, please mum, come and see me on Tuesday." Four years later, the mother grumbles because the reports are not good: "Where is, in all that, my daughter and Henri de Jouvenel's daughter?" This harshness gets mollified later. Finally it's Colette who moans in her turn: "You bad darling, deaf, brute, rascal, I demand a letter." Cocteau defined well their relationship: "They were constantly calling for each other from a distance, groping for each other as in some game of hide-and-seek." Colette de Jouvenel herself explained: "It's hard for a child to share his mother. . . . I had to learn to share with a Work." A work, now presented by her own niece.

Christine Rousseau. *Le Monde des Livres,* May 21, 2004: 4.

Coogan, Jackie

Jackie Coogan: The World's Boy King. Diana Serra Cary. New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2003. 328 pp. $34.95.

"Cary is especially good at conveying Coogan's early appeal and placing it in its social context. . . . She is also fine in describing Hollywood in the '20s, a scene she has good reason to know. . . . And now Jackie Coogan's story has been rescued, presented with great skill and pathos."

Tom Nolan. *LATBR,* Jan. 11, 2004: 6.

Corcoran, Thomas

Tommy the Cork: Washington's Ultimate Insider, from Roosevelt to Reagan. David McKean. Hanover, VT: Steerforth, 2003. 350 pp. $25.00.

"McKean, a Senate staffer who works for John Kerry, attempts to portray his

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subject [lobbyist Thomas Corcoran] as a fallen idealist—a tough sell, given that Corcoran doesn't seem to have ever had ideals to lose."

The New Yorker. Mar. 8, 2004: 91.

Courbet, Gustave

Courbet, l'outrance. Henri Raczymow. Paris: Stock, 2004. 246 pp. EUR18.

Courbet. Valérie Bajou. Paris: Adam Biro, 2004. 432 pp. EUR98.

Gustave Courbet, peintre de la liberté. Michel Ragon. Paris: Fayard, 2004. 490 pp. EUR23.

Excess-Courbet, freedom-Courbet, and in between, plain-Courbet. Each in their own way, the three books point out the qualities and shortcomings of a man sometimes depicted as an Ogre. A great painter indeed, a revolutionary, a cunning peasant, with a monstrous ego, who dealt with the State as from power to power. In this field, the letter he wrote to the Minister of Fine Arts to refuse the Legion of Honour is an anthology piece.

Harry Bellet. *Le Monde des Livres,* June 11, 2004: 7.

Casey, Mildred Clark

Madam Millie: Bordellos from Silver City to Ketchikan. Max Evans. Albuquerque: U of New Mexico P, 2002. 315 pp. $23.95.

"Evans's work is a fast-paced narrative. It is, however, devoid of any scholarly analysis; worse still, is the decontextualization of history. . . . Evans not only offers few insights into . . . critical questions, but also slights the economic, political, and social changes in that subregion. . . . [A]n introductory essay by historian Andrew Gulliford fills that gap. Scholars will find little in this work that they have not read elsewhere."

Benson Tong. *The Historian* 66.2 (Summer 2004): 347–48.

Darwin, Charles

The Tree of Life: A Book Depicting the Life of Charles Darwin, Naturalist, Geologist and Thinker. Peter Sis. New York: Frances Foster Books/Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2004. 44 pp. $18.00.

"Sis' book 'The Tree of Life' succeeds brilliantly in arresting and educating the eye. Using a very limited but appealing range of hues, tones and geometric shapes, Sis, who won a MacArthur Foundation 'genius award' last month, invites calm and slow movement through his text. His challenge is to translate Darwin's notebooks—the journeyman documents that substantiated his grand theory—into pictures. Darwin regretted that he never learned to draw, but modern readers are lucky to have in Sis an artist whose selections and approach are so intelligent and delicate."

Daria Donnelly. *NYTBR* Nov. 16, 2003: 20.

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De Ligne, Charles-Joseph

Prince Charles-Joseph de Ligne: Fragments de l'histoire de ma vie. Tome II. Établissement du texte, introduction et notes par Jeroom Vercruysse. L'Age des Lumières 13. Paris: Champion, 2001. 624 pp.

"In the present volume Jeroom Vercruysse continues the valuable work begun in the first volume of this work in which he published the most extensive edition of the Prince de Ligne's memoirs, and, in his helpful introduction, Vercruysse sets out the textual problems which any editor will encounter: the Prince left behind multiple versions of the *Fragments,* there is no clear hierarchy between the various manuscripts and the text is unfinished. The challenge for Vercruysse has been to try to establish the different 'layers' of composition by comparing corrections and additions, just as a modern art historian might use X-rays on an Old Master. And there is once again in this second volume an equal challenge for the reader in trying to determine how far the Prince de Ligne is telling the truth about himself and his past experiences. . . . From an everyday point of view, however, the 'readability' of these *Fragments* is not a problem, and indeed the book is hard to put down despite its length. There is a refreshing directness about the Prince de Ligne's relationship with his imagined reader, a no-nonsense frankness, and an irresistible wit that carries one effortlessly along. Some of his picaresque anecdotes—for example (apropos of his dislike of republics) the account of when he was set upon by hired thugs in Amsterdam for unwittingly offending a Polish prince, tied up and thrown into a dungeon—leave one breathless with their cinematic vividness and immediacy (pp. 41–43). Vercruysse makes high claims for the *Fragments* value as examples of the autobiographer's art, suggesting that—together with Rousseau's *Confessions,* Casanova's *Histoire de ma vie* and Alexandre de Tilly's *Mémoires*—they far excel other memoirs of the period, and stating that with them, 'nous atteignons l'un des sommets de l'autobiographie'. On the evidence of this second volume, however, he may well be right."

Dennis Wood. *French Studies* 57.4 (2003): 541–42.

Deffand, Marie de Vichy Chamrond, Marquise du

Madame du Deffand. La lettre et l'esprit. Inès Murat. Paris: Perrin, 2004. 336 pp. EUR21.

The Marchioness was a character. Materialist, but hostile to the "arrogance" of the Enlightenment, her debauched youth clung to her to her dying day (at 84). She corresponded with Voltaire, Montesquieu was her friend, D'Alembert her protégé. All these men brought prestige to her salon. Julie de Lespinasse was for a while her pupil and friend, then, when opening her own salon, her rival. At 69, Mme du Deffand fell in love with Horace Walpole, 48, who had some affection for her. In old age, blind and physically declining, she had to fight boredom and the anguish of nothingness. Posterity

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made her one of the symbols of an epoch "against nature," an epoch when the "reign of women" through the medium of their salons imposed itself on scientists . . . on men.

Ch.Bd. *Le Monde des Livres,* Apr. 9, 2004:6.

Duras, Marguerite

Duras, femme du siècle. Papers gathered by Stella Harvey and Kate Ince. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2001. 311 pp. $69.00.

This collection of papers from the First International Conference of the Société Marguerite Duras, held at the Institut français in London, 5-6 February, 1999, focuses on three topics: the reconstruction of retrospective periods which characterize Marguerite Duras's oeuvre and the broad areas of her public persona; the means of communication that she used, all of her literary writings, her engagement with the image and with theatre (one article defines cinema as the metaphor of the mother in Duras' work); and her representations of the body, sexuality and transgression, and the multitude of critical works that she elicited. Altogether these articles illustrate Duras's place within the major cultural and political events that define modernity.

Chiara Rolla. *Studi Francesi,* May-Aug. 2003: 489.

Einstein, Albert

Einstein in Berlin. Thomas Levenson. New York: Bantam, 2002. 486 pp. $25.95.

"Thomas Levenson has written an enjoyable and highly readable account of Einstein's life in the capital of Germany from 1914 to 1932. Those years were the most eventful in modern German history and witnessed the completion of what was, arguably, Einstein's greatest contribution to science, the general theory of relativity."

Daniel Kenneflik. *American Scientist* 91.6 (Nov.-Dec. 2003): 572–73.

Eleanor of Aquitaine

Aliénor d'Aquitaine. La reine insoumise. Jean Flori. Paris: Payot, 2003. 560 pp. EUR27.50.

Duchess of Aquitaine, Queen of France, then of England, Eleanor fascinated her time, in particular because she assumed male privileges, and defied feudal and clerical morals. Hence fables and legends surround her life. On the occasion of the 8th centenary of her death (April 1, 1204), Jean Flori, a recognized medievalist, far from dismissing controversies, legends, and fantasms, boldly meets them to better weigh and evaluate them. This "essai de biographie raisonnée" is an examplary work.

Jean-Philippe Catinchi. *Le Monde des Livres,* Apr. 9, 2004: 1.

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Ellison, Larry

Software: An Intimate Portrait of Larry Ellison and Oracle. Matthew Symonds, with commentary by Larry Ellison. New York: Simon and Schuster, 2003. 508 pp. $28.00.

Everyone Else Must Fail: The Unvarnished Truth About Oracle and Larry Ellison. Karen Southwick. New York: Crown, 2003. 306 pp. $27.50.

"Matthew Symonds, the political editor of The Economist, wrote his book, 'Software,' with Ellison's cooperation, and the access he got is apparent. . . . The book employs an odd but effective technique of allowing Ellison to comment on the text in footnotes. A few of Ellison's interpositions take genuine issue: when Tom Siebel, one of Oracle's most successful sales managers, is quoted saying he left 'because he thought the big-money days were over,' Other footnotes are offbeat, like Ellison's unhappy memory of having to rename his boat because journalists kept pointing out that the Shinto deity Izanami, spelled backward, is 'I'm a Nazi.' . . . Karen Southwick's book 'Everyone Else Must Fail' is, as its title suggests, squarely in the 'if you have nothing nice to say, pull up a chair' school. Southwick, a technology journalist, builds her Ellison portrait in large part on the diatribes of people he has shoved aside. Readers looking for sinister snapshots will not be disappointed."

Adam Cohen. *NYTBR,* Feb. 15, 2004: 22.

Ellsberg, Daniel

Wild Man: The Life and Times of Daniel Ellsberg. Tom Wells. New York: Palgrave, 2001. 692 pp. $29.95.

"At times, Wells's relentless portrayal of Ellsberg as an egomaniacal, oversexed serial adulterer who openly embraced the drug culture of the Vietnam era is wearying. . . . [O]ne wishes that Wells had better situated Ellsberg's behavior in the larger context of the political and social upheavals of the 1960s and early 1970s. Notwithstanding these reservations, Wells's biography makes an important contribution to unpacking the complexities and contradictions that shaped Daniel Ellsberg and his place in the history of Cold War America."

Mark Philip Bradley. *The Historian* 65.6 (Winter 2003): 1435–36.

Magnus Felix Ennodius

Magnus Felix Ennodius: A Gentleman of the Church. S. A. H. Kennell. Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 2000. 256 pp. $49.50.

The late antique author and bishop of Pavia, Magnus Felix Ennodius (474–521), has been neglected in research for nearly a century. . . . Only within the last ten years, a couple of scholars have rediscovered this elaborate witness of a time when late Roman and Ostrogothic traditions flourished side by side under the reign of King Theoderic the Great. The reason for Ennodius'

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neglect can be found easily: the author always used a tremendously sophisticated language. . . . Kennell tries to replace three types of images: firstly the tradition of Ennodius as a career clergyman and nascent saint, secondly the approach by the spirit of academic thoroughness analyzing specific elements of the corpus with exemplary historical and literary-critical rigor, and finally the division between the writer and clergyman by rendering him into three to produce pedagogical, ecclesiastical, and political Ennodii, each with his own selection of works. "Like Humpty Dumpty," Ennodius needs putting back together again. By looking at the totality of Ennodius' works, one is able to say some things about them and their author as representative of their age (17–18). . . . Kennell has not been able to answer all possible questions about the author and historical person, but in any case she has presented a challenging book, which will serve as a starting point for further discussions and research.

Christian Rohr. *The Medieval Review,* Feb. 4, 2004.

Federman, Raymond

Quitte ou double [*Double or Nothing*]. Raymond Federman. Trans. (from US English) Eric Giraud. Paris: Ed. Al Dante/Léo Scheer, 2003. 280 pp. EUR20.

Born in Paris in 1928, escaping the Gestapo in 1942 (his parents were less lucky), Raymond Federman left France for the US in 1947. He successively worked on an assembly line in Detroit, served in Korea and Japan, studied (thesis on Beckett, who became his friend), taught literature at Buffalo University. He considers that after the Shoah ("the unforgivable enormity"), his own life is but a "gaping hole," therefore unrelatable. So he closed its gaps with "poems, columns and figure": "I don't distinguish memory from imagination". "I demolished that history that I didn't have." (27 publishers refused his conception of biography). Humur saved him from despair."

Emilie Grangeray. *Le Monde des Livres,* Apr. 9, 2004: 3.

Fenwick, Millicent

Millicent Fenwick: Her Way. Amy Schapiro. New Brunswick: Rutgers UP, 2003. 282 pp. $29.00.

Schapiro's biography of Millicent Fenwick, a four-term member of the House of Representatives and the alter ego for Garry Trudeau's Lacey Davenport, is "an able work about a late-blooming aristocrat. . . . She opposed congressional pay raises, fought for Soviet dissidents, and led in establishing a commission to monitor international compliance with the Helsinki Accords on human rights—an effort that forms the most substantive section of Schapiro's book. . . . At her funeral in 1992, a grandson said that Fenwick showed that indeed one can fight for change without breaching decorum.'"

Marie Shear. *Women's Review of Books* 21.8 (May 2004): 16–17.

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Fischer, Bobby

Bobby Fischer Goes to War: How the Soviets Lost the Most Extraordinary Chess Match of All Time. David Edmonds and John Eidinow. New York: Ecco/HarperCollins, 2004. 342 pp. $24.95.

"'Bobby Fischer Goes to War' . . . has been written by David Edmonds and John Eidinow, whose book about a quarrel between Ludwig Wittgenstein and Karl Popper, 'Wittgenstein's Poker,' was popular when it came out a couple of years ago. The authors seem to have started off with the belief that since chess, a game they give no indication of knowing a great deal about, is normally an esoteric pastime, the frenzy surrounding the Fischer-Spassky match must have been due to something besides chess."

Louis Menand. *The New Yorker,* Mar. 1, 2004: 87–90.

"As for the chess itself . . . some of it was quite brilliant. Which takes us to the strengths and shortcomings of 'Bobby Fischer Goes to War.' The authors have certainly done their homework; this is a well-researched book that brings to light many hitherto unknown facts, including quite a few drawn from F.B.I. files on the surveillance of Fischer's Communist-leaning mother. Soviet archives have also been combed, and they yield considerable insight into the highly politicized nature of chess in Communist society. But there are glaring weaknesses, too. Reading a book about a chess match that discusses the games at length without providing the actual sequence of moves is like attending a banquet where the most delicious recipes are discussed yet not a bite of food is served. There is also the padding in which Edmonds and Eidinow unaccountably wrap their subject. This includes boring excursions into Idi Amin's reign of terror in Uganda, the Wimbledon women's tennis final, Allende's Chile and the Watergate break-in, all of which are presented as context but slow things down to a snail's pace."

Gabriel Schoenfeld. *NYTBR,* Mar. 28, 2004: 15.

"This is the definitive history of Fischer vs. Spassky. Edmonds and Eidinow carefully relate the complex turns of the championship while detailing the unseen prodding of the powers behind the Cold War curtains (namely, KGB minders and Henry Kissinger), without allowing the match's twin plots—the moves on the chessboard and the political arena—to eclipse each other. . . . Since 1999, [Fischer] has blazed across the airwaves, in bizarre radio rants, most often from the Philippines. . . . He sounds like an extremist in a liberal talk show. He rails against the Jews, the United States, the Commies, the Russians, Ed Koch, both President Bushes, the chess establishment, even the police in Pasadena. During perhaps his lowest low, in 1981, Fischer was arrested in Southern California. He claims he was tortured and has written a pamphlet detailing his trauma. On Sept. 11, 2001, he hit rare form. Asked about the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, he screamed for joy: 'This is all wonderful news' . . . Chess is something that drives

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people mad' [says William Hairston, an international master and psychologist]. 'Chess is something that keeps mad people sane.'"

Andrew Meier. *WP*, Apr. 5–11, 2004: 32.

Fontanne, Lynne. See Lunt, Alfred.

Fowles, John

John Fowles: A Life in Two Worlds. Eileen Warburton. New York: Viking, 2004. 510 pp. $34.95.

"When Warburton began work on her book, years after her first visit, she found Fowles her wholehearted helper. He was eager to answer everything she asked (though she recognizes that he drew upon memory more for its fictional possibilities than for facts), and encouraged family and friends to talk freely. More important, he let her use the extensive diaries he kept for most of his life. Neither in interviews nor in diaries did he spare himself. So far so good. The problem is the biographer's paradox: an excess of access. So much revelation can swamp the book and the author. For much of the time, in effect, it is Fowles's narration and virtually his voice that we get, almost as if he had used Warburton as his instrument to create a character named Fowles."

Richard Eder. *NYTBR*, Mar. 28, 2004: 9.

Frank, Leo, and Mary Phagan

And the Dead Shall Rise: The Murder of Mary Phagan and the Lynching of leo Frank. Steve Oney. New York: Pantheon, 2003. 742 pp. $35.00.

"The 1915 lynching of Leo Frank remains one of the most harrowing episodes in the history of the American South. . . . For Oney, the case has been a consuming passion; some seventeen years of work went into this vast narrative. If he sometimes overplays the already considerable drama of the story, his careful demonstration that the lynching was no sudden spasm of mob violence but a well-planned operation by prominent Georgians—among them a leading judge and a former governor—is startling."

The New Yorker, Nov. 24, 2003: 108.

Franklin, Benjamin

Benjamin Franklin. Edmund S. Morgan. New Haven: Yale UP, 2002. 340 pp. $24.95.

"This new book is no less worthy of praise than many of Morgan's earlier works. . . . Regrettably, though, one cannot praise it without reservation. . . . [I]t is not a true biography. . . . Still, this is a fine piece of historical writing by a distinguished historian. In spite of its minor flaws, *Benjamin Franklin* is highly recommended and a must-read for Franklin enthusiasts."

David T. Morgan. *The Virginia Quarterly Review* 80.2 (Summer 2004): 361.

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Ben Franklin's Almanac: Being a True Account of the Good Gentleman's Life. Candace Fleming. New York: An Anne Schwartz Book/Atheneum Books for Young Readers, 2003. 120 pp. $19.95.

"Franklin was a wonderful man—the genius we like to think we could be ourselves with little more discipline and a few more hours to every day. Candace Fleming has made him more interesting and inspiring than ever."

Ted Widmer. *NYTBR*, Nov. 16, 2003: 11.

Galileo Galilei

Galileo in Rome: The Rise and Fall of a Troublesome Genius. William R. Shea and Mariano Artigas. New York: Oxford UP, 2003. 226 pp. $28.00.

"Galileo Galilei (1564–1642) traveled to Rome six times during his storied career. His stays there are retraced, with plenty of fresh details, in Galileo in Rome, a new biography that focuses on the astronomer's relations with the Catholic Church. . . . The book is brilliantly written for a lay audience, without critical notes. Sources are first-hand but consist almost entirely of Galileo's correspondence."

Pietro Redondi. *American Scientist* 92.3 (May-June 2004): 289–91.

Gautier, Théophile

Théophile Gautier: militant du romantisme. Martine Lavaud. Romantisme et Modernités 45. Paris: Champion, 2001. 638 pp. EUR102.

"Lavaud examines not only literary works but also their prefaces, art and theatre criticism, travel writing, correspondence, and a wide range of newspaper articles to portray a writer deeply engaged in conversation with an array of esthetic and cultural issues. This totalizing approach is intended to show not so much where Gautier's polemics are situated in his oeuvre—they are everywhere—but how he wrote his romantic militancy into a new kind of language in which the visual immediacy of the image becomes a kind of unifying antidote to the perverse, alienating tendency of categorizing conceptualization. . . . Lavaud's book itself is neatly compartmentalized into three parts of six chapters each, but she avoids a conventional chronological or generic approach in favor of a deeper analysis of the role of Gautier's activism in the development of his language and esthetics. . . . Lavaud builds slowly to her conclusion, which is original but seductive. Along the way she takes ample time to examine a broad and sometimes surprising range of texts and brings to light a number of intriguing matters: Gautier's lifelong personal and professional relationship with Hugo, his views on architecture, transportation, photography, feminists, scientists, Jews, and the painter Delaroche, whom he regularly excoriated. Her careful organization of all this material is supplemented by an extensive bibliography and indexes."

William G. Allen. *French Review* 77.3 (Feb. 2004): 590–91.

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Gellhorn, Martha

Gellhorn: A Twentieth-Century Life. Caroline Moorehead. New York: Henry Holt, 2004. 463 pp. $27.50.

"Caroline Moorehead has written fine biographies of Bertrand Russell, Freya Stark, and Iris Origo, but they were historical figures, whereas Gellhorn was a close friend of Moorehead's parents, Lucy and Alan Moorehead, the writer, and Caroline was later one of Gellhorn's "chaps." This lifelong friendship gives the biography a special edge and immediacy, as if Gellhorn were hovering over it, checking out the facts and monitoring the prose, although Moorehead never allows this to cloud her judgment. She deals subtly and sympathetically with her subject's skewed inner life and the implacable demands she made on everyone, especially herself. She knows the woman too well to pretend that her behavior wasn't often inexcusable or that her anger, boredom, and selfishness didn't make others suffer more than she did. Moorehead is as scrupulous and unfooled as Gellhorn could have wished but, unlike Martha, she is forgiving, and that somehow adds to the authority of her book. It is a model biography, at once fond and disabused. Even a writer as hard to please as Martha Gellhorn would have approved of it."

A. Alvarez. *NYRB,* Apr. 8, 2004: 45–46.

Gide, Andre. See **Proust, Marcel.**

Giesbert, Franz-Olivier

L'Américain. Franz-Olivier Giesbert. Paris: Gallimard, 176 pp. EUR15.50.

For a long time, Franz-Olivier Giesbert, Director of the magazine *Le Point,* has constructed plans to "kill" his father, that "American" (a nickname which was also given to the son) who used to hit wife and children. The boy wanted to be a writer, then opted for journalism in order to displease his father. A book would be the solution to do away with him. Paradoxically, the revengeful narrative turned into a fine tribute, without leniency or hatred, for a man he had not loved, coupled with a sorrow: understanding the father only now.

Jo.(syane) Sa.(vigneau). *Le Monde des Livres,* Apr. 9, 2004: 4.

Gournay, Marie de

Marie de Gournay: Un cas littéraire. Giovanna Devincenzo. Paris: PU de Paris-Sorbonne, 2003. 350 pp. EUR19.

Until recently Marie de Gournay was considered only as the editor and corrector of Montaigne's *Essais.* Today with the influence of feminism and "Ecriture feminine," there are works on Marie de Gournay considering her as a literary character. Hence, this monograph written by Giovanna Devincenzo, whose aim consists of reconstructing Gournay's intellectual character,

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dissipating her reputation as a pedantic woman, and showing her many talents as moralist, pedagogue, and linguist. Her relationship with Marguerite de Valois and her salon, Maynard, Desportes and indeed the poet Malherbe and his school (La nouvelle bande, les modernes) is also examined: here she distinguishes herself with her "refutation of the 'Èpuration linguistique' foundation of the classical reformation." A section of the book is dedicated to her intervention on Montaigne's text, the translation of his quotes in particular. Another section deals with the feminist aspects of her work from the angle of the *querelle des femmes,* "which really is a thread through French culture from the Middle-Ages to the Renaissance and the Baroque and classical age." The bibliography is "rich and useful."

Michele Mastroianni. *Studi Francesi,* May-Aug. 2003: 435–36.

Goya, Francisco

Goya. Robert Hughes. New York: Knopf, 2003. 429 pp. $40.00.

"You may resist this, but don't be fooled into thinking this fine, superbly illustrated book is self-indulgent: the modernity is deliberate and the personal note gives Hughes's scholarship and technical analysis a raw, quick edge. We feel the painful immediacy of Goya's work, as if we had one skin less."

Jenny Uglow. *NYTBR,* Nov. 23, 2003: 10.

"Spain may have lost her American empire, but dead Spanish painters lately rule the hemisphere of art: Picasso going mano a mano with Matisse at MOMA Queens; Velazquez and Zurbaran at the Met this spring, soberly showing Manet the way to modernity; this fall at the Met, the heaven-oriented El Greco megashow; and now a thick, lovingly produced book, 'Goya,' by Robert Hughes. Hughes, a native of Australia who moved to the United States in 1970 and was, until 2001, the chief art critic for *Time,* has been a robust, even rambunctious writer, unabashedly opinionated and flamboyantly metaphorical and aphoristic: I have seen his prose characterized as of the Muscle Beach school, which, transposed to the higher cultural tone of Sydney's Bondi Beach, seems fair enough. He has done the workouts to get himself into shape, and if he turned a few handstands and kicked sand at a few ninety-pound weaklings, his pleasure in his own strength and suppleness of mind and pen was infectious. . . . [But] it is a wounded critic who portrays an artist wounded, in 1792, by an illness that left him stone-deaf and, in 1808, by Napoleon's conquest of Spain."

John Updike. *The New Yorker,* Nov. 3, 2003: 88–91.

Grant, Ulysses S., and Mark Twain

Grant and Twain: The Story of a Friendship that Changed America. Mark Perry. New York: Random House, 2004. 294 pp. $24.95.

"Mark Perry's *Grant and Twain: The Story of a Friendship That Changed*

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America is a good book dragging a silly subtitle behind it. Mark Twain beat out powerful competition and secured Grant's *Personal Memoirs* for the young publishing firm of Charles L. Webster, the publisher of his own *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn,* and a firm that he basically capitalized, but this success hardly changed Mark Twain, much less America. The huge popularity of the *Memoirs*—Grant had 70 percent of the profits—of course greatly eased Julia Grant's widowhood, but if it changed anything it was the way American publishing houses came to reckon royalties: even Stephen King's not pulling in 70-percent deals these days."

Larry McMurtry. *NYRB,* Apr. 29, 2004: 19–20.

Hall, Dawn Langley (Gordon)

Peninsula of Lies: A True Story of Mysterious Birth and Taboo Love. Edward Ball. New York: Simon and Schuster, 2004. 288 pp. $24.00.

"In 1968, an eccentric middle-aged English writer named Gordon Hall scandalized his adoptive home town of Charleston, South Carolina, by undergoing a sex change. . . . Ball's genteel detective story, attempting to get to the truth behind Dawn's self-invention, charts the course of an almost absurdly colorful life."

The New Yorker, Mar. 8, 2004: 91.

"The desire to take Dawn and her vicissitudes seriously without betraying her posthumously or ridiculing her fragile exercise in self-construction (not to mention sympathy for the daughter and her children) is at war with the high-camp tone of Dawn's own self-dramatizing persona. Standard biography, from which we expect some shape and edification, seems the wrong genre. Perhaps for this unflappable, unknowable creature, we need a Cole Porter song, a Monty Python skit or an old Playhouse of the Ridiculous rendition of "Gone With the Wind," starring Jackie Curtis in crinolines and curls."

Molly Haskell. *NYTBR,* Apr. 4, 2004: 10.

Hamilton, Alexander

The Federalist: Alexander Hamilton. Ben Chernow. New York: Penguin, 2004. 818 pp. $35.00.

"In *Alexander Hamilton,* Ron Chernow, the author of *The House of Morgan, The Warburgs,* and *Titan,* a biography of John D. Rockefeller, has brought to life the Founding Father who did more than any other to create the modern United States. . . . In this magisterial biography, Chernow tells the story not only of Hamilton but also of his wife, Eliza, a remarkable woman, who died at the age of 97 in 1854. . . . [Chernow's] verdict is persuasive: 'If Jefferson provided the essential poetry of American political discourse, Hamilton established the prose of American statecraft'"

Michael Kimmelman. *NYR,* May 17–23, 2004: 32.

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Harryhausen, Ray

Ray Harryhausen: An Animated Life. Ray Harryhausen and Tony Dalton. Billboard Books, 2004. 304 pp. $50.00.

"The handsomely illustrated 'Ray Harryhausen: An Animated Life,' written with his longtime friend Tony Dalton, is, in a sense, his final word, a living legend's summing up—part warmly written autobiography, part richly detailed explanation of how he achieved his best effects, part tribute to the many tantalizing visions for which he could not get financial backing."

Richard Schickel. *LATBR*, May 16, 2004: 2.

Hawa

Hustling Is Not Stealing: Stories of an African Bar Girl. John M. Chernoff. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 2003. 432 pp. $22.50.

"While studying West African music in the early seventies, Chernoff befriended Hawa, a high-spirited, illiterate Ghanian woman whose street-smarts and garrulousness inspired him to record a series of autobiographical interviews, which he has transcribed and edited. . . . Casually weaving urban folklore into her engaging tale, Hawa displays an eye for detail and a narrative exuberance that mark her as a gifted storyteller."

The New Yorker, Feb. 9, 2004: 81.

Hearne, Samuel

Ancient Mariner: The Arctic Adventures of Samuel Hearne, the Sailor who Inspired Coleridge's Masterpiece. Ken McGoogan. New York: Carroll & Graf, 2004. 336 pp. $25.00.

"Although he began his career as a sailor, Samuel Hearne is better known as the first European to make an overland excursion across northern Canada to the Arctic Ocean, an exploit that he chronicled in a posthumously published journal. . . . The detailed narrative of Hearne's trek north with a band of Dene Indians is absorbing, despite the insertion of some clumsy scenes. But McGoogan fails to make the case for his most arresting claim: that Hearne's compulsive recounting of a massacre he once witnessed inspired the figure of the haunted sailor in Coleridge's 'The Rime of the Ancient Mariner.'"

The New Yorker, Mar. 1, 2004: 88.

Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich

Vie de Hegel [*Georg Wilhem Friedrich Hegels Leben*] and *Apologie de Hegel contre le Docteur Haym* [*Apologie Hegels gegen Herrn Dr. Haym*]. Karl Rozenkranz. Trans. Pierre Osmo. Paris: Gallimard, "Bibliothèque de philosophie," 2004. 720 pp. EUR36.50.

It is now possible to read in French the first biography of Hegel . . . 160 years after its publication in Germany. Coming after recent biographies (Jacques

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J Hondt, Calmann-Lévy 1998, Horst Althaus, Seuil 1999), this old book, for an authorized biographer inclined to hagiography, might be superfluous. Ultimately, it is useful. Rozenkranz was the first to have writings, notes, and correspondence at his disposal; he knew the master, and he paints a first-rate portrait of German intellectual life in the XIXth c. On the other hand, if, as Hegel himself put it, "when one has found a function and a woman he loves, there's properly speaking nothing more to be expected from life," one understands that if that man had not written so many major books and lived so many unheard of spiritual adventures, his well-ordered life would interest nobody.

Roger-Pol Droit. *Le Monde des Livres,* May 14, 2004: 8.

Henrietta Maria

Henrietta Maria: Charles I's Indomitable Queen. Alison Plowden. Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton, 2001. 290 pp. $27.95.

"This biography is timely, as nothing else remains in print, but it is very disappointing. Alison Plowden seems to have derived her account mainly from previous biographies, and the very words and phrases of other (and better) works are visible. But, she is a practiced popular biographer and provides a clear organization and smooth writing, the main virtues of the book. There are few actual errors, but there is nothing new in content or interpretation."

Caroline M. Hibbard. *The Historian* 65.6 (Winter 2003): 1476–77.

Hepburn, Katharine

Kate Remembered. Scott Berg. New York: Putnam, 2003. 370 pp. $25.95.

Although the representations of the aging Hepburn in particular are haunting, Berg, perhaps because of being too close to his subject, "covers familiar ground and offers few new insights or revelations. . . . We don't need any more biographies of Katharine Hepburn. Nothing new is going to be said. What we do need is to probe more deeply the complicated but exhilarating meanings of her onscreen presence and the off screen persona she so carefully constructed and maintained over the course of her long career."

Susan Ware. *Women's Review of Books* 21.3 (Dec. 2003): 20.

Heraclius

Heraclius, Emperor of Byzantium. Walter Kaegi. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2003. 359 pp. $70.00.

"The publication of a biography of the Emperor Heraclius [575–641] is undoubtedly timely. Not only has there been no such work . . . since the start of the twentieth century, but . . . there has been much discussion of his importance and achievements. Furthermore, new evidence and new ways of analysing the extant sources may now be brought to bear. As those familiar

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with Kaegi's work have come to expect, this biography takes into account, for the most part, the latest scholarship on Heraclius, including several works yet to be published. . . . Kaegi's book has many merits. There are few modern accounts of Heraclius' Persian campaigns and none equipped with the useful maps and plans to be found here. His knowledge of the primary and secondary sources is good, even if there are some important lacunae. . . . For the military historian, this is certainly a useful volume. For the general student of Roman or Byzantine history, it will need to be supplemented by other accounts, dealing (for instance) with institutional history (consciously left to one side by Kaegi) and with church affairs. It is to be hoped that a revised edition will be brought out by Cambridge University Press in paperback.

G. Greatrex. *The Medieval Review* 4.01.28.

In eight chapters of Emperor Heraclius' biography Kaegi, a very experienced scholar in the field . . . tries to "investigate Heraclius as a man and an emperor, who confronted crises in both public and private dimensions of his life" (p. 4). To reconstruct the reign of the seventh-century Byzantine ruler who can be regarded as one of the emperors who accommodated the late antique Eastern Roman Empire to the new environment, Kaegi deploys the corpus of the late sixth-seventh century sources in many languages. He illustrates his text with several maps, plans and figures, which represent one of the considerable advantages of this book. . . . The author strives to analyze how Heraclius progressed from his early, "formative years" in Armenia and Africa, when his father's experience and network might have influenced young Heraclius most, through his successful seizure of power in Constantinople and the victorious war against the Persians, to the catastrophic results of the Muslim incursions which the emperor faced, using tactics perhaps too conservative and obvious for his enemies. . . . Kaegi's book is certainly an attempt to study what Heraclius was personally responsible for, but the author strangely fails to present a wider context of Heraclius' reign.

Vadim B. Prozorov. *Bryn Mawr Classical Review,* Apr. 1, 2004: 28

Highsmith, Patricia

Beautiful Shadow: A Life of Patricia Highsmith. Andrew Wilson. London: Bloomsbury, 2003. 534 pp. $32.50.

"With a subject like Highsmith, tortured by the sense of being bodily misplaced, compelled to thrash out at the world in her anger and misery, a biographer needs to chose his materials with tact and discretion. Above all, he needs to grant her the indulgence of sophisticated interpretation. The reader of this biography can hardly fail to recoil from much that is revealed." Heilbrun notes Highsmith's misogyny, anti-Semitism, and racism, but also calls for a more nuanced examination of her qualities as a writer. "Excessive

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detail and only moderate narrative skill here combine to leave Highsmith besmirched and the reader repelled."

Carolyn G. Heilbrun. *Women's Review of Books* 21.3 (Dec. 2003): 5–7.

Hildegard of Bingen

The Letters of Hildegard of Bingen. Trans. Joseph L. Baird and Radd K. Ehrman. Vol. III. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2004. 240 pp. $55.00.

Hildegard of Bingen [1098-1179] wrote letters to an astonishing number of people. She was no respecter of persons, answering queries from common people as well as admonishing popes and kings. The translations by Joseph L. Baird and Radd K. Ehrman make all this available to a much wider audience in clear and readable translations. The first two volumes appeared in 1994 and 1998. The third and final volume of English renderings of the letters has now appeared. This third volume shows the widest range of correspondents, containing letters between Hildegard and Church officials, kings and nobles, and regular lay people. . . . Baird and Ehrman have produced translations that are very useful in the classroom. The sheer size of the accomplishment alone deserves admiration. The three volumes of letters in English make the whole of the correspondence of Hildegard widely available in an approachable form that will help introduce many readers to one of the great figures of the Middle Ages.

Stephen D'Evelyn. *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 2004.06.06.

Hill, Joe

Joe Hill: The IWW and the Making of a Revolutionary Workingclass Counterculture. Franklin Rosemont. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr, 2003. 640 pp. $35.00.

"Rosemont seems to have hunted down every available detail of Hill's short life and abiding legend. . . . But he's hardly content to write a mere biography. . . . [He] wants the [IWW] to finally receive its due—not merely from scholars on the left but from anyone who desires a noncapitalist future. . . . Rosemont tries to make defeat sound romantic. . . . Still, [his] childish politics don't quite tarnish the sparkle of his research. He has spent decades accumulating the lore of his beloved union, and the passionate, bric-a-brac quality of the collection has its own charms."

Michael Kazin. *LATBR,* Feb. 22, 2004: 10.

Houdon, Jean-Antoine

Jean-Antoine Houdon: Sculptor of the Enlightenment. Ed. Anne L. Poulet. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 2003. 400 pp. 144 color plates; 225 black and white. $85.00.

Houdon's "remarkable career, which spanned the Enlightenment, both the

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American and the French revolutions, and the Directory and the Napoleonic era in France, is the subject of the essays by Anne L. Poulet, an emeritus curator at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, and others in 'Jean-Antoine Houdon: Sculptor of the Enlightenment.' They detail Houdon's artistic development and provide insights into his working methods and his relationships with his subjects, a group that included Moliere, Diderot, Voltaire, Franklin and Napoleon."

Katherine Zoepf. *NYTBR*, Feb. 15, 2004: 24.

House, Edward H.

A Yankee in Meiji Japan: The Crusading Journalist Edward H. House. James L. Huffman. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003. 309 pp. $24.95.

"James Huffman's well-written biography of E. H. House and his involvement in Meiji journalism provides us with new insights into this unusual group of men and women who went to Japan in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Edward House initially made his reputation as one of Horace Greeley's group of gifted reporters at the *New York Tribune* in the 1860s. . . . House's strong support for Japan, particularly of the government's positions, endeared him to his Japanese hosts, including political leaders such as Okuma Shigenobu. . . . To increase his effectiveness, House was staked to his own paper, the *Tokio Times,* by the Japanese government."

F. G. Notehelfer. *Pacific Historical Review* 73.2 (May 2004): 31–37.

Howe, Julia Ward

Diva Julia: The Public Romance and Private Agony of Julia Ward Howe. Valarie H. Ziegler. Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2003. 228 pp. $24.00.

"Ziegler . . . is the first biographer to consult the extensive papers of Howe's daughter, Laura E. Richards," as she examines Howe's painful and frustrating marriage and her experiences as a mother. While the organization causes the narrative flow to suffer, "the great strength of the book is Ziegler's portrait of the marriage, or rather Howe's experience of it. This is detailed and compelling." Though the biography also discusses Howe as a a philosophical lecturer, and a social reformer, "[u]nique among Howe's biographiers, Ziegler has a particular interest in Howe as a writer of poetry, plays, and fiction. . . . Julia Ward Howe was a complex, multifaceted person to whom no single biographer can do full justice. . . . Ziegler's work brings the passionate, determined Howe once again vividly before us and for that we can be grateful."

Louise W. Knight. *Women's Review of Books* 21.8 (May 2004): 9–10.

Hughes, Ted. See **Plath, Sylvia.**

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Hume, Allan Octavian

Allan Octavian Hume, Father of the Indian National Congress, 1829–1912. Edward D. Boulton. New Delhi: Oxford UP, 2002. cii + 165 pp. Rs445.

"Bureaucrats . . . work immersed in reports and memos, and their duties [are] performed mostly in shadowy anonymity. However, the 'guardians' who belonged to the Indian Civil Service did include some officers who remain etched in our historical consciousness as outstanding and memorable personalities. Allan Octavian Hume is surely one of them. . . . Hume is unique for three reasons. First, he was persistent and authentic in his embrace of the interests of the 'native people.' . . . Secondly, he demonstrated a fierce, and for bureaucrats an unusual, independence of intellect, driven on the one hand by philosophical restlessness and on the other by scientific curiosity. . . . Finally, and the reason he is remembered the most, is his confidence in the simple slogan of Trust the People'."

Ahrar Ahmad. *Journal of Asian Studies* 62.4 (Nov. 2003): 1310–11.

Innocent III

Pope Innocent III (1160/61-1216): To Root Up and to Plant. John C. Moore.The Medieval Mediterranean: Peoples, Economies and Cultures, 400–1500, vol. 47. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003. 316 pp. $114.

"Everyone agrees that Innocent III was undoubtedly a great pope—some would say the greatest of all popes—but opinions differ as to what he did that set him apart from and above other popes. . . . Moore, now an emeritus professor of Hofstra University, has devoted an active scholarly life to Innocent's pontificate, and the present book distills his long and extensive experience. In the Preface, he accurately defines the distinctive characteristics of his book: it is addressed primarily to the general reader, whom he hopes "will find here a comprehensive and reliable introduction to Pope Innocent III" (xiv). Moore takes care to balance Innocent's negative, destructive efforts against his positive, creative contributions. . . . I must conclude that, although this well-written book should satisfy the incurious general reader, it presents only a superficial view of Innocent's achievement. The documentation is praiseworthy, and researchers will benefit from the ample and current bibliography."

Richard Kay. *The Medieval Review* 04.04.05.

Jacobs, Rayda

Confessions of a Gambler. Rayda Jacobs. Cape Town: Kwela Books, 2003. 240 pp. R130.

Confessions of a Gambler is a glorious romp. The trials and tribulations of a Capetonian Muslim woman who takes to gambling like a duck to water are heart-wrenching, eye-opening and just plain fun. It's the perfect read for people who take risks when they think no one else is looking.

FairLady, Jan. 2004: 112.

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Jefferson, Thomas. See also **Washington, George.**

"Negro President": Jefferson and the Slave Power. Garry Wills. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2003. 274 pp. $25.00.

Jefferson's Demons: Portrait of a Restless Mind. Michael Knox Beran. New York: Free Press, 2003. 265 pp. $25.00.

Thomas Jefferson. R. B. Bernstein. New York: Oxford UP. 2003. 253 pp. $26.00.

"According to Wills, much of what took place in the early Republic, from locating the capital between two slave states to the election of Jefferson in 1800, from the Louisiana Purchase of 1803 to the Embargo of 1808–9, rested on the peculiar power of the Southern states. This power, Wills argues, was based on the clause of the Constitution that allowed the slaveholding states to count each slave as three-fifths of a person for purposes of representation in the Congress and the Electoral College. . . . Beran's prose is lush and lyrical, and he demonstrates a remarkable degree of learning, especially of the ancient rituals of the classical past. But in the end his rich imagination repeatedly asks of the evidence more than it can bear. . . . It is with some relief, then, that we can turn to R. B. Bernstein's neat little biography of Jefferson. It is authoritative, judicious, clearly written and remarkably complete for a text that covers fewer than 200 pages. It is the best short biography of Jefferson ever written, and is highly recommended for those who want a brief and historically reliable account of this incredibly complicated character."

Gordon S. Wood. *NYTBR,* Dec. 14, 2003: 11.

Jenkin, Tim

Inside Out: Escape from Pretoria Prison. Tim Jenkin. Johannesburg: Jacana. 2003. 333 pp. R205.

On December 11, 1979, three white activists—Tim Jenkin, Stephen Lee and Alex Moumbaris—escaped from Pretoria Central Prison. They had been imprisoned for underground work on behalf of the African National Congress, and were the first and only activists to escape from the jail's "political" wing. First published in the 1980s and banned in South Africa, Jenkin's book has been updated to include his life in exile and return to South Africa. Vivid and pacy, it is well worth reading or rereading.

Anthony Egan. *Mail & Guardian: Friday,* Dec. 5–11, 2003: 6.

Jerne, Niels

Science as Autobiography: The Troubled Life of Niels Jerne [*Hvilken Kamp for at Undslippe*]. Thomas Soderqvist. Trans. David Mel Paul. New Haven: Yale UP, 2003. xxviii + 359 pp. $40.00.

"Both before and after he finished writing this life of the Nobel Prize-winning

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immunologist Niels Jerne, Thomas Soderqvist published essays in which he reviewed his own book, calling it 'an existential biography,' a 'biography a la Plutarch' (by which he means a life seen as an ethical lesson) and a new way of writing the history of immunology. It is a highly unusual biography, and not only for the world of science: its intimacy is startling. . . . This is an outstanding book: it is insightful, methodologically new and really quite riveting."

Pauline M. H. Mazumdar. *American Scientist* 92.1 (Jan.-Feb. 2004): 90–91.

Jesus

Jésus et sa passion. Jean Delumeau et Gérard Billon. Paris: Desclée de Brower, 2004. 164 pp. EUR14.

Jésus, l'homme et le fils de Dieu. Michel Quesnel. Paris: Flammarion, 2004. 232 pp. EUR19.

Les derniers jours de Jésus. François Bovon. Paris: Ed. Labor & Fides, 2004. 118 pp. EUR15.

La Passion du Christ. Jacques Nieuviarts & Jean-Michel Poirier. Paris: Bayard, 2004. 96 pp. EUR12.

Le Christ, hier, aujourd'hui et demain. Bernard Sesboué. Paris: Desclée de Brower, 2004. 86 pp.EUR12.

So many books for the Holy Week! Fortunately, between catholic (and protestant) integrism and neopositivism, there is a place for competence, a demand for accuracy, reason, the refusal of dogmatism. This way is explored by recognized historians and exegetes like Jean Delumeau, Michel Quesnel, François Bovon, Gérard Billon, Jacques Nieuviarts, Jean-Michel Poirier and Bernard Sesboué. One must follow their inquiries, at once warm and strict, on the last hours of Jesus, his arrest, his trial, his passion, his crucifixion, to see how deeply they explore the contradictions and enigmas of the Gospels, finally to affirm, through the mystery of Christian origins, human freedom.

Henri Tincq. *Le Monde des Livres,* Apr. 9, 2004: 7.

American Jesus: How the Son of God Became a National Icon. Stephen Prothero. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2003. 376 pp. $25.00.

"This wide-ranging history traces a dual evolution: of American religion (not only Christianity but Judaism, Hinduism, and Buddhism) in terms of its relationship to Jesus; and of his multiform manifestations in response to changing cultural currents, from Thomas Jefferson's publication of a book of Jesus' life and sayings that excised all mention of the miracles and the resurrection to the Hindu Vedantists' veneration of 'Jesus the Yogi.'"

The New Yorker, Jan. 5, 2004: 85.

Jesus in America: Personal Savior, Cultural Hero, National Obsession. Richard Wightman Fox. San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 2003. 488 pp. $27.95.

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"Fox does not tell this story from a new angle. He has synthesized an inordinate amount of American religious history, however, and this will be of use."

Caleb Crain. *NYTBR*, Feb. 15, 2004: 17.

Joan of Arc

Jeanne d'Arc. Colette Beaune. Paris: Perrin, 2003. 480 pp. EUR23.50

The reverse of Eleanor of Aquitaine, Joan of Arc, the Maid who assumed the part of the Saviour (the judges of 1456 will acknowledge that her itinerary was a Christic mission), is a case, more disturbing still than that of the doublé Queen, of the irruption of women on the stage of History and in the national imagination. [This book is] at once a biography and a submersion into the mentalities and sensibilities of the time. The method used is so stupendous that one has the impression of seeing, delineating themselves under one's eyes, the outlines of the legend, thanks to an immediate—and unparalleled—prodigy. An admirable work.

Philippe-Jean Catinchi. *Le Monde des Livres*, Apr. 9, 2004: 1.

Johnson, Lyndon Baines. See **Kennedy, John Fitzgerald.**

Jones, Inigo

Inigo: The Troubled Life of Inigo Jones, Architect of the English Renaissance. Michael Leapman. London: Review, 2003. 414 pp. £20.

"Michael Leapman, who appreciates the importance of what did not happen or was not said in assessing the texture of a life, has produced a comprehensive biography, researched with energy and open-mindedness, accompanied by well-chosen pictures and useful descriptions of locations. The quality of the book lies in its evocative descriptions of the world in which Inigo's life was lived, and the events and people who 'brushed up' against him, in Leapman's apposite phrase. But even so he has not been able to add anything particularly revealing to the overall picture of the man."

Gillian Tindall. *TLS*, Dec. 5, 2003: 25.

Joyce, Lucia

Lucia Joyce: To Dance in the Wake. Carol Loeb Shloss. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2004. 560 pp. $30.00.

"The life of Lucia Joyce, so Carol Loeb Shloss tell us, 'is a story that was not supposed to be told.' In her attempts to recount the tale of James Joyce's troubled daughter, Shloss met many obstacles, chief among them, she implies, the remaining members of the immediate Joyce family, and particularly Joyce's grandson, Stephen, 'the very person who . . . decided that [Lucia's] story should remain buried in the dark eclipse of "family privacy."'

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. . . As she admits, however, the paucity of primary sources meant that she had to construct the contexts of Lucia's experiences and then put her into them, so that 'the Lucia who is presented here is almost totally refracted through the eyes of others.' All the same, despite what she describes as 'generations of censorship', she has managed to paint a remarkably detailed portrait of Joyce's unfortunate 'Lucylight,' as he dubs her in Finnegan's Wake, and in the process has produced a sharply perceptive and disturbing meditation on the terrible price that great art often levies not only on the artist but on those closest to him. . . . Lucia Joyce's story, which Shloss tells so movingly, not only wrings the heart but stirs one's anger. Whether it was intentional or not, Lucia does seem to have been, as one of Shloss's section headings has it, 'a sacrifice for a book'. This was a great and unforgivable injustice."

John Banville. *NYRB,* Apr. 8, 2004: 38–40

Jung, Carl

A Life of Jung. Ronald Hayman. New York: Norton, 2002. 522 pp. $18.95.

"Hayman's biography of Jung is thoroughly professional. It is written for the most general audience. . . . [It] is readable, and reminds one of the excellent biography of Freud by Ronald Clark. . . . Neither of these works may have notably pushed back the borders of the basic historiographical material, but at the same time, they both succeeded in presenting . . . an excellent overview of the state of the best existing literature on the subject. . . . Hayman's book remains the best study of Jung that one can recommend."

Paul Roazen. *The Historian* 66.2 (Summer 2004): 399–400.

Jung: A Biography. Deirdre Bair. Boston: Little Brown. 2003. 881 pp. $35.00.

"Deirdre Bair's new biography is massive, scrupulously researched, detailed and comprehensive. It seems that everything that Jung ever did of any consequence—and much more besides—is included here. . . . Bair tells the story of Jung's day-to-day life with patience and care. An accomplished writer, she won the National Book Award for her biography of Samuel Beckett, and has also written books on Simone de Beauvoir and Anais Nin. Yet her heart does not really seem to be in this volume. The book claims to bring forward new information. Bair has evidence that Jung was an Allied spy during the war, not the Nazi sympathizer he was sometimes taken to be. And she rebuts claims about his anti-Semitism and his misogyny. But what she doesn't manage to do is to dramatize Jung's ideas. . . . Without the thought significantly highlighted, Jung's life, spying and all the rest included, is—like the lives of most people who live to read and write—rather dull. Bair does very little to give a dramatic shape to Jung's experience."

Mark Edmundson. *WP,* Dec. 22, 2003–Jan. 4, 2004: 33.

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Kauffmann, E. J., and Frank Llyoyd Wright

Fallingwater Rising. Franklin Toker. New York: Knopf, 2003. 496 pp. $35.00.

"According to legend, Wright dallied for months after receiving the commission [for Fallingwater], then drew up the plans in just two hours, as his client, the Pittsburgh department-store magnate E. J. Kaufmann, was en route to Wright's studio to check on his progress. Toker makes quick work of this fiction, tracing the long, careful evolution of Wright's brilliant design. Most important, he tells the story of Kaufmann and his wife, and shows that the house was equally a reflection of these two strong-willed clients and their complex marriage."

The New Yorker, Oct. 27, 2003: 103.

Kennedy, John F., and Jacqueline Bouvier Kennedy

Shooting Kennedy: JFK and the Culture of Image. David Lubin. Berkeley: U of California P, 2003. 336 pp. $24.95.

"'Shooting Kennedy' lives up to its title. Readers who find the title a distasteful pun will probably feel that many of Lubin's interpretations—of Abraham Zapruder's film of the assassination as a New Wave movie—are inappropriate, and inappropriate in a way that, for reasons not easy to articulate, feels somehow blasphemous. But this feeling is precisely what Lubin is trying to understand. It is his point of departure: the grip that photographic images of the Kennedys exert on the American imagination must be due to something more than the individual pictures themselves."

Louis Menand. *The New Yorker,* Jan. 5, 2004: 82–86.

Grace and Power: The Private World of the Kennedy White House. Sally Bedell Smith. New York: Random House, 2004. 608 pp. $29.95.

"Last year Robert Dallek published a thoughtful, well-crafted 815-page biography of John F. Kennedy that created a media sensation because of one brief passage revealing JFK's liaison with a White House intern. In *Grace and Power,* you need more than a scorecard to keep track of all the women, some of them nubile staffers, who hopped into bed with the leader of the free world; you need an adding machine. Some of the revelations are of the sort that usually provide fodder for lurid gazettes at a supermarket checkout counter. A Georgetown University doctor, we are told, tutored Jackie over the phone on foreplay techniques to improve her sex life with Jack who, for all his frenetic activity, was a lousy lover. . . . In more than one respect, however, the narrative is skewed. There is too much on grace, too little on power. . . . There is a saving grace, though. Jacqueline Bouvier Kennedy, pontificated the *New York Times,* handed down 'upper crust habits' to 'common women.' . . . The book is impressively researched and smartly written. It is

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rich in character sketches, anecdotes, and accounts of events. But it should carry a warning label: 'Not for those with a low tolerance for treacle.'"

William E. Lauchtenberg. *WP*, June 7-13, 2004: 32.

Kerry, John

Tour of Duty: John Kerry and the Vietnam War. Douglas Brinkley. New York: William Morrow, 2004. 546 pp. $25.95.

"'Tour of Duty,' Brinkley's 16th book as author or editor, is packaged under a misleading subtitle; the book . . . covers far more than 'John Kerry and the Vietnam War.' Kerry's perilous tour of duty was actually cut short—four months instead of the normal year, but only because he had already taken fire, saved lives and earned his ticket out. One can't help thinking, knowing a bit about Brinkley's politics and considering that this is, after all, a presidential election year, that 'Tour of Duty' was written less as a work of history and more as a brief for President Kerry."

Michael Tomasky. *NYTBR*, Feb. 22, 2004: 9.

King, Martin Luther, Jr.

To the Mountain Top: Martin Luther King Jr.'s Sacred Mission to Save America, 1955–1968. Stuart Burns. San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 2003. 502 pp. $27.95.

"Restoring the context of the insurgency that gave [King's] words meaning is one of the achievements of Stuart Burns's 'To the Mountaintop,' a straightforward history of King's life from the Montgomery bus boycott in 1955–56 to his death in 1968. His portrait is not of the adept speaker or silky smooth apostle of agape but of a tormented prophet adrift in the madness of the 1960's. . . . The author of 'Daybreak of Freedom,' a history of the Montgomery bus boycott and the editor of a volume of the King papers, Burns ably places King in these larger circuits of faith and defiance."

Jonathan Rieder. *NYTBR*, Feb. 8, 2004: 6.

Krog, Antjie

A Change of Tongue. Antjie Krog. Johannesburg: Random, 2003. 376 pp. R180.

"Poet/author/journalist/translator Antjie Krog manages, in this her new book, to blow one away on every level. Krog seems to span all the genres of writing, but also deals with the many intricacies of living in South Africa where a white woman criticising is seen as a racist—but if she didn't point out what she believed could be improved, she would be denying her own truth. It would, in fact, be a change of tongue for this forthright author. She has an illuminating way of capturing the emotional chaos that is part of the South African psyche. *A Change of Tongue* should have exactly the same impact as

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Country of my Skull, and fortunately, Antjie always takes it a step further—a blessing for both author and reader.

Diane de Beer. *Pretoria News: Interval,* Oct. 27, 2003: 3.

In *Country of my Skull* Krog held a mirror to South Africa's fragile, fragmented new society—*A Change of Tongue* is a reminder of how far South Africa has come, without travelling too far. Part biography, part small-town musings, it's a powerful albeit challenging look at where South Africa is, and where it's going. Highly recommended.

Saturday Dispatch, Nov. 22, 2003: 4.

In her acknowledgments, the narrator states that "the 'I' is seldom me" and earlier she quotes Anne Sexton: "I use the personal when I am applying a mask to my face." Thus is the reader warned against simply equating the narrator with the author, alerting us to the fact that what we have here is not so much autobiography as auto-fiction in which known facts about her life are interwoven with fictional techniques. Her theme is transformation, personal and political, and the role of language in this. This is a book that disturbs, that angers and becalms, that provokes tears and laughter. Krog's book opens up a space for difference and community.

Johann Rossouw. *Die Burger,* Nov. 17, 2003: 7.

Kuklinski, Ryszard

A Secret Life: The Polish Officer, His Covert Mission, and the Price He Paid to Save His Country. Benjamin Weiser. New York: Public-Affairs, 2004. 400 pp. $27.50.

"'A Secret Life' is thrilling not only in its chronicle of an honorable betrayal during the Cold War's endgame but also in its portrait of the strangely loving epistolary relationship between the spy [Kuklinski] and his America handlers. There are scenes here that are as tense as any in 'Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy,' and the access that Weiser gained—his sources include both Kuklinski and the Poles he fooled—is a feat of patient and intelligent reporting."

The New Yorker, Feb. 9, 2004: 81.

La Guardia, Fiorello

The Napoleon of New York: Mayor Fiorello La Guardia. H. Paul Jeffers. New York: John Wiley and Son, 2002. 392 pp. $30.00.

"This is a highly personalized story, and . . . it is not written for 'political science,' policy wonks, or political historians. . . . The strength of Jeffers's book lies in its full coverage of La Guardia's life. . . . Reprinting many of the Little Flower's colorful quotes adds value to the book and sheds some light on the personality of America's best big city mayor."

Melvin G. Holli. *The Historian* 66.1 (Spring 2004): 147–48.

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Lamartine, Alphonse de

Correspondance d'Alphonse de Lamartine: 1830–1867, tome IV: 1842–1846. Textes réunis, classés et annotés par Christian Croisille. Paris: Champion, 2001. 773 pp.

"Lamartine did not publish any major works of literature, criticism or history during the early 1840s. This was nevertheless a significant moment in his career on account of the memorable speeches that he delivered in parliament. . . . He aligned himself with the opposition and seriously began the quest for power and high office. His speeches on important questions of the hour, on matters such as the development of the railways or the building of fortifications around Paris, struck a chord with contemporaries such as George Sand (p. 179). The letters contained in this volume testify to his enduring concern for the poor and underprivileged. We see him giving money to charity and responding emotionally to a letter from a peasant reader of *Jocelyn*. At the same time, however, Lamartine's own financial difficulties were becoming increasingly acute. Indeed, as these letters show, it was largely in order to remedy this situation that he worked on his *Histoire des Girondins* between 1843 and 1846. This volume contains exchanges with Sand, Hugo, Michelet, Balzac, Béranger and other prominent figures. Other letters confirm Lamartine's deep attachment to his family (Valentine de Cessiat) and friends (notably Aimé Martin) and underscore the value that he placed on the countryside and on his estates. . . . The next volume of this correspondence is eagerly awaited on account of the information that it will provide regarding Lamartine and the 1848 Revolution."

Ceri Crossley. *French Studies* 57.4 (2003): 549–50.

Correspondance d'Alphonse de Lamartine: 1830–1867, tome V: 1847–1849. Textes réunis, classés et annotés par Christian Croisille. Paris: Champion, 2002. 804 pp. EUR92.

This volume gathers a selection of Lamartine's private and literary correspondence during the crucial years preceding and following the Revolution of 1848. . . . The reader can follow Lamartine's thrilling "intense and complex" trajectory until December 1848, when he fails as a candidate for the presidential elections. From then on starts his "descent into hell": he becomes disillusioned and abandoned, suffers severe money problems, and has to become "a slave of the pen." The correspondence is presented with clarity, each year is accompanied by a chronology, and an autobiographical index of each correspondent can be found at the end of the volume. This correspondence is likely to be appreciated by "a large public since it allows the reader to follow day after day the itinerary of a leading character of an aborted Republic and to discover what happened according to correspondents from a whole variety of social classes."

Aurélie Loiseleur. *Studi Francesi*. May–Aug. 2003: 461–62.

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Lawrence, D. H., and Frieda von Richthofen

Living at the Edge: A Biography of D. H. Lawrence and Freda von Richthofen. Michael Squires and Lynn K. Talbot. Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 2002. $34.95.

"This biography represents the best, and most accessible, portrait of the Lawrence marriage to date. . . . [Squires and Talbot] aim at a popular audience . . . [and] create an entertaining narrative, informed by plentiful speculation as well as abundant factual information. Scholars conversant with Lawrence's work may disagree with some of the interpretations, but are unlikely to find this story of the marriage utterly implausible. . . . [I]n this book the Lawrence marriage generally appears fairly healthy. . . . In their willingness to look generously and appreciatively at a love that never conformed to approved social patterns in terms of its outcomes, Squires and Talbot are most Lawrencian."

Carol Siegel. *Albion* 35.5 (Fall 2003): 531–32.

Leonardo da Vinci

Leonardo: Beautiful Dreamer. Robert Byrd. New York: Dutton Children's Books, 2003. Unpaged. $17.99.

"Refreshingly, Byrd rejects the modern impulse to emphasize the difficulty and ambiguities of such a life. His focus, reinforced by illustrations, is on the thrill of questioning, making and thinking. His book exudes an energy that mimics Leonardo's own restless creativity. But it neglects the awesome stillness provided by all of Leonardo's art, from the Mona Lisa to the humblest sketch."

Daria Donnelly. *NYTBR,* Nov. 16, 2003: 20.

Levi, Primo

Primo Levi: A Life. Ian Thomson. New York: Metropolitan Books/Henry Holt, 2003. 583 pp. $32.50.

"With Levi's papers apparently still closed to researchers, Thomson, a British journalist, built his biography on interviews—more than 300, collected over a decade. My main criticism of this excellent book is how little he draws upon Levi's own writing; mostly what we hear are opinions of friends, family, correspondents and acquaintances."

Michael R. Marrus. *NYTBR,* Nov. 30, 2003: 30.

Levin, Adam

The Wonder Safaris. Adam Levin. Cape Town: Struik, 2003. 222 pp. R143.

Adam Levin's spirit-filled book—spirits of West African marabouts, of lost settlers, of ordinary and extraordinary people, of thug- and human angels—

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is at once weepy, hilarious, and ultimately engaging. Through his travel narrative you realize that Africa is indeed wretched, bloody, intriguing, beastly, but also mysterious, spiritually wealthy, and culturally diverse.

Bongani Madondo. *Sunday Times,* Dec. 14, 2003: 6.

Livia

Livia: First Lady of Imperial Rome. Anthony A. Barrett. New Haven: Yale UP, 2002. 425 pp. $35.00.

"[Barrett] gives a clear chronological account of Livia's life, and his focus on her personality and relationships brings out the range and nature of her influence. This is a readable and rigorous analysis that wears its considerable learning lightly. . . . This nuanced study counteracts monolithic pictures of Livia over her eighty-plus years. Students of the late Republic and early Empire will benefit from its scholarship and fresh presentation, and readers with more general interests in biography and the history of women will profit from and enjoy this book."

Beryl Rawson. *The Historian* 66.1 (Spring 2004): 178–79.

Louis XIV

Louis XIV: Le Roi Bienfaisant. Jean de Viguerie. Paris: Éditions de Rocher, 2003. 439 pp. EUR21.

"This is one of the best biographies of Louis XIV to appear in recent years, based on diligent research in public and private archives by an academic specialist. It is also an easy read."

John Rogister. *TLS,* Jan. 16, 2004: 23.

Lunt, Alfred, and Lynne Fontanne

Design for Living: Alfred Lunt and Lynn Fontanne: A Biography. Margot Peters. New York: Knopf, 2003. 394 pp. $30.00.

"Peters has moved in close, and unlike the camera, her biography is probing yet friendly, a vivid portrait of a dazzling, elusive couple whose subtlety and complex technique was allied to a steely singleness of purpose."

Gavin Lambert. *LATBR,* Dec. 21, 2003: 11–12.

"People interested in the Lunts may wonder why after Jared Brown's seemingly exhaustive book 'The Fabulous Lunts' (1986), which runs to 500-odd crowded pages, Peters's 394 more widely spaced ones are needed. First, because despite new material, her book is more concise; second, because from a greater distance clearer perspective and greater candor are possible; third, because Brown is a conscientious academic, but Peters, author of several fine theatrical and literary biographies, is a writer."

John Simon. *NYTBR,* Dec. 14, 2003: 13.

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Luyt, Louis

Walking Proud: The Louis Luyt Autobiography. Louis Luyt. Johannesburg: Don Nelson, 2003. 352 pp. R171.50.

This is the story of how a very poor boy from the Karoo become one of the richest men in South Africa. Luyt tells of his involvement in the Information Scandal involving top Nationalist Party officials in the 1970s, his experiences as leader of the Transvaal Rugby Union, and other episodes in a life that is almost larger than life-size. Having experienced extreme deprivation and denigration as a child, he becomes obsessed with ensuring that this never occurs again, for himself or his family. The personality that emerges is one of a hardheaded man who will brook no opposition. Some facts seem to be misrepresented, and in the end, this book leaves a bitter taste in one's mouth.

Fritz Joubert. *Die Burger: Boekeblad,* Dec. 22, 2003: 7.

Lynch, Jessica

I Am a Soldier, Too: The Jessica Lynch Story. Rick Bragg. New York: Knopf. 2003. 207 pp. $23.95.

"Bragg organizes the book . . . by shaping Lynch's story as three linked battles. First is the low-intensity economic struggle of growing up working class in rural West Virginia . . . second is Lynch's actual combat and her days as a prisoner in the surprisingly compassionate hands of her Iraqi doctors . . . the book's final struggle is Lynch's attempt to reclaim control of her own story, which ought to be as thrilling as the Iraqi stuff."

David Lipsky. *NYTBR,* Dec. 14, 2003: 8.

Maalouf, Amin

Origines. Amin Maalouf. Paris: Grasset. 2004. 486 pp. EUR21.50

"I have always felt I was the guardian of the memory of my people, but I couldn't write when my father and my grandmother were still alive." Or again: "For me at any rate, the quest for origins appears as a reconquest of death and oblivion. . . . When my grandfather had, towards the end of the year 1880, the courage to disobey his parents, to go and study in a faraway school, it was for me he was opening the ways to knowledge. . . . No matter what he might have hoped himself; as the only traces of his life are now in my hands, it is out of the question that I let him die in oblivion." Hence a superb portrait, centered on the figure of Lebanese writer and 1993 Prix Goncourt winner Amin Maalouf's grandfather. While writing a book of memory, tribute, debt and reconciliation, Maalouf sets interesting theoretical questions concerning the suitable time for writing a Life, or the choice of fiction v. biography for treating facts. Thus: "When discovering that he [his grandfather] had written [play, poems], I told myself I had no right to tell his life through the medium of a novel."

Ch. R. *Le Monde des Livres,* May 14, 2004: 3.

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MacDonald, Ranald

Native American in the Land of the Shogun: Ranald MacDonald and the Opening of Japan. Frederik L. Schodt. Berkeley: Stone Bridge, 2003. 418 pp. $19.95.

"MacDonald's 'extraordinary thing', of course was his sojourn in Japan in 1848–1849, fully five years before Commodore Matthew Perry arrived to 'open Japan' after two-and-a-half centuries of national isolation. To have gone alone, as MacDonald did, into that forbidden land was a remarkable and highly significant deed, yet that was only one moment in this man's long and colorful career. . . . These and many other achievements and adventures are recounted in this comprehensive and meticulously researched study."

Stephen W. Kohl. *Pacific Historical Review* 73.2 (May 2004): 314–15.

MacGregor, Sir Gregor

The Land That Never Was: Sir Gregor MacGregor and the Most Audicious Fraud in History. David Sinclair. New York: Da Capo. 384 pp. $26.00.

"In 1822 and 1823, some two hundred and fifty emigrants set sail from England for the shores of Poyais, in South America. That country, however, was the invention of a man called Sir Gregor MacGregor. . . . Sinclair shows how MacGregor's early experiences as a mercenary taught him skills that proved crucial in his career as a confidence man. He was so persuasive that some of the surviving settlers testified in an affidavit to his worthy intentions."

The New Yorker, Mar. 1, 2004: 88.

Machobane, J. J.

Drive out Hunger: The Story of J. J. Machobane of Lesotho. J. J. Machobane and Robert Berold. Johannesburg: Jacana, 2003. 110 pp. R120.

This co-written autobiography of J. J. Machobane covers the life of a man with a vision: the hungry being able to feed themselves. In the 1940s and 1950s in Lesotho, Machobane spent 13 years in isolation germinating various combinations of crops until he found a way to plant a hectare of land in such a way that it yielded crops all year round. Machobane, Berold says, developed permaculture long before it was called that, but he also had a uniquely African way of teaching and sharing his skills. Machobane's garden is above politics, it is a personal space to grow your own food and to sustain yourself. Nevertheless, due firstly to outgoing British rule and then the new Lesotho government, Machobane and the people applying his agricultural system were forced to go into hiding from the mid-1960s to the 1980s. Both governments were more interested in the people of Lesotho producing exportable harvests. Machobane would not accept this when most of the population was starving. The book has a Zen-like quality; the rhythms make

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it sound like oral literature; the twisted litanies make it sound like grass growing. The ironies make it sound real.

Nadine Botha. *ThisDay*, Jan. 22, 2004: 8.

Magellan, Ferdinand

Over the Edge of the World: Magellan's Terrifying Circumnavigation of the Globe. Laurence Bergreen. New York: William Morrow, 2003. 458 pp. $27.95.

"Prodigious research, sure-footed prose and vivid depictions make for a thoroughly satisfying account of the age in which Iberian seafarers groped their way around the world. Binding it all together is the psychology of Magellan's flawed leadership, the source of constant tension in his fleet."

W. Jeffrey Bolster. *NYTBR*, Dec. 7, 2003: 8.

Magloire, Franck

Ouvrière. Franck Magloire. Paris: Ed. de L'Aube, "Poche," 2003. 162 pp. EUR8.

Franck Magloire overcame her mother's reticence and convinced her to talk about her job. In simple, true words, Nicole Magloire narrates her 30 years spent in the Moulinex works (domestic utensils), with the monotonous repetitive gestures, "the first day sliding into the second one, the second into the third, the third into the fourth, all alike, endlessly." With the ironical logo "Moulinex frees woman" fixed on every wall. Until September 7, 2001, when she was brutally locked out, with 5000 other operatives. A dignified moving account.

Christine Rousseau. *Le Monde des Livres,* March 26, 2004: 5.

Mandela, Winnie

Winnie Mandela: A Life. Anne Marie Du Preez Bezdrop. Cape Town: Zebra. 2003. 287 pp. R199.95.

The author narrates Winnie Mandela's life from her birth in 1934 in the Transkei through her student days in Johannesburg, her career as a social worker, her courtship with Nelson Mandela, the protests of the 1950s and then Nelson's incarceration. In 1969, Winnie herself was detained for 17 months, leaving her 10 and 9 year old daughters without any parental care. In the 1970s, Winnie was first detained and then banished to a town in the Orange Free State. We learn of her estrangement from Nelson a few years after he was released in 1990. One leaves this book wishing the story could have been happier. One wonders what Winnie would have been had she rejected Nelson's advances and had had her life to live fully on her own. It is likely she would have been a force to be reckoned with.

Lisa Combrinck. *Sowetan*, Dec. 12, 2003: 11.

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This second biography of Winnie Mandela is a sympathetic yet realistic look at the life of one of South Africa's most controversial figures. Her life was clouded by the imprisonment of her husband, Nelson, and her own spells in prison. The author tells us that Nelson found his own three-day encounter with solitary confinement "the most forbidding aspect of prison life"; Winnie was held in solitary confinement for 13 months. Then she was banished to Brandfort. But, the author suggests, Winnie's physical and emotional torture turned into post-traumatic stress disorder. Back in Soweto, Winnie would often wear khaki military-style outfits and make highly inflammatory statements, such as, "Together, hand in hand, with our boxes of matches and our necklaces, we shall liberate this country." At the Truth and Reconciliation Commission she would again be implicated in the murder of fourteen-year-old Stompie Seipei. An interesting book that gives a human face to one of South Africa's most formidable women.

Christi Naude. *The Witness,* Dec. 22, 2003: 8.

It is ten years since Emma Gilbey's *The Lady*: its sheer volume of detail made it an almost definitive biography of Winnie Madikizela-Mandela. Gilbey barely appears in Du Preez Bezdrob's footnotes, as she eschews academic conventions. If she had referenced her sources properly it would become quite obvious that this book rests quite heavily on Gilbey's text and on other standard works, those by Nancy Harrison, Fatima Meer, and Madikizela-Mandela herself. Du Preez Bezdrob has invested very little real research in constructing her narrative. Convinced that Madikizela-Mandela has been unfairly treated by today's political leadership, she has accordingly been very selective in her use of sources. This biographer presents the banished Winnie as displaying unambiguous nobility of spirit; Gilbey, on the other hand, spoke to people who lived in the town she was banished to and tells of a community divided by Madikizela's-Mandela's presence. Instead of any effort to establish the extent of Madikizela's-Mandela's culpability in the affairs of the Mandela United Football Club, Du Preez Bezdrob merely recycles, without comment, the conclusions of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Winnie Mandela certainly merits serious consideration as a public figure but this book does not even begin to engage with her complexities as a tragic heroine.

Tom Lodge. *The Sunday Independent,* Dec. 14, 2003: 18.

Mansfield, Mike

Senator Mansfield: The Extraordinary Life of a Great American Statesman and Diplomat. Don Oberdorfer. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Books, 2003. 596 pp. $35.00.

Thank goodness we have Don Oberdorfer, a veteran diplomatic correspondent who deals in facts and details, not hoopla. . . . Oberdorfer's work is long and impressively detailed. . . . The impressiveness of the life and book come

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not so much from the particular details . . . [but] from the broader portrait of a life. . . . Oberdorfer relentlessly links Mansfield with historic events he helped shape, portraying him not as a one-dimensional TV caricature but as a multifaceted human with values and foibles."

Andrew H. Malcolm. *LATBR*, Mar. 7, 2004: 13.

Marshall, John

John Marshall and the Heroic Age of the Supreme Court. R. Kent Newmyer. Baton Rouge: Louisana State UP, 2001. 508 pp. $39.95.

"Newmyer's book . . . combines a narrative biography with a study of Marshall's jurisprudence. . . . Although clearly sympathetic to Marshall, this book is nicely balanced. Further, it is well written. . . . Newmyer is widely regarded as one of the most important legal historians of the early republic. . . . He enhances that reputation with this masterful study."

Michael S. Mayer. *The Historian* 65.6 (Winter 2003): 1424–25.

Maugham, Somerset

Somerset Maugham: A Life. Jeffrey Meyers. New York: Knopf, 2004. 411 pp. $30.00.

"Despite his [Maugham's] cosmopolitan sheen and his financial success—he lived in style on the French Riviera—he suffered at the hands of critics: Edmund Wilson dismissed him as a 'half-trashy novelist.' Meyers, however, mounts a persuasive defense of Maugham's art, keenly mapping his influence on V. S. Naipaul, George Orwell, and Paul Theroux."

The New Yorker, Mar. 15, 2004: 141.

"Jeffrey Meyers is a staggeringly prolific writer who has turned out, in a decade, biographies of Hemingway, Orwell, Conrad, Lawrence, Poe, Gary Cooper and Edmund Wilson. It would seem impossible that he could, at this pace, produce work of real depth, and in fact the first third of 'Somerset Maugham' is both cursory and banal. Meyers recites events flatly and without engagement; when he does go in for character analysis, he resorts to the most timeworn psychological clichés. . . . But as Maugham ages he comes to life in Meyers's pages. Meyers succeeds, too, in showing how Maugham, even at the height of his fame, never really succeeded in banishing the nervous child from his psyche."

Brooke Allen. *NYTBR*, Mar. 14, 2004: 9.

McCarthy, Eugene

Eugene McCarthy: The Rise and Fall of Postwar American Liberalism. Dominic Sandbrook. New York: Knopf, 2004. 400 pp. $25.95.

"McCarthy is portrayed as an unlikable self-promoter brimming with jealousy

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and void of generosity. . . . The great mistake [Sandbrook] makes in this workmanlike biography is analyzing McCarthy solely through the lens of American liberalism. From that perspective, he is correct: McCarthy failed as a standard-bearer. But in truth, McCarthy was never a real player in the liberal movement. . . . So as a biographer, Sandbrook, who is a conscientious researcher, fails in his primary task. His McCarthy, for the most part, is a one-dimensional jerk whose single moment of meaningful glory occurred in 1968. . . . This is a shortsighted analysis."

Douglas Brinkley. *LATBR*, May 2, 2004: 5.

Mead, Margaret, and Ruth Benedict

Intertwined Lives: Margaret Mead, Ruth Benedict, and Their Circle. Lois W. Banner. New York: Knopf, 2003. 524 pp. $30.00.

"Using archived materials from the Library of Congress and Vassar College only recently made available to scholars, historian Lois Banner has crafted a dual biography that examines the personal and professional relationship between the two women, their contributions to the male-dominated discipline of anthropology, and their lasting influence in the social sciences. And Banner's biography is exceptional. . . . Banner explores the two women's lives in relation to the 'geography of gender,' defining the concept as 'the complex terrain of gender and sexuality that they negotiated during their lives—political, social, professional, familial, or individual.'"

Rebecca Maksel. *Women's Review of Books* 21.4 (2004): 15–16.

Meiji Emperor

Emperor of Japan: Meiji and His World, 1852–1912. Donald Keene. New York: Columbia UP, 2002. 922 pp. $39.50.

"Keene . . . examines the emperor's life and actions and the extent to which Meiji helped to shape, not merely symbolize, Japan's modernizing experience. Keene embeds his argument within a narrative biography of extraordinary richness. . . . This book is as close to being a definitive biography of the Emperor Meiji as we are likely to see in Western languages. It is an important addition to our understanding of Japan's modernizing experience."

W. Dean Kinsley. *The Historian* 66.2 (Summer 2004): 379–80.

Mendelssohn, Moses

Moses Mendelssohn. La naissance du judaisme moderne. Dominique Bourel. Paris: Gallimard, 2004. 642 pp. EUR29.50.

"If Mendelssohn was a self-taught man, he was also a genius, gifted in languages and philosophy. He wrote a Phaedo which updated Plato's dialogue on the immortality of the soul and which was extremely well received. He was explicitly admired by Kant in his Prolegomenons. Then, after an

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imbroglio with Lavater, he was enjoined either to demonstrate that Jesus was wrong or to renounce Judaism. But he refused at once to criticize Christianity or to give up the religion of his forefathers. Then, he devoted himself to Jewish studies. He embodies the peaceful coexistence, nay the symbiosis of Jewish and German cultures. Dominique Bourel illuminates magisterially this exceptional figure.

Roger-Pol Droit. *Le Monde des Livres,* June 6, 2004:8.

Miller, Henry, and Lawrence Durrell

Correspondance 1935–1980. Lawrence Durrell and Henry Miller. Ed. Ian S MacNiven. Trans. Bernard Willerval and Frédéric Jacques Temple, with Françoise Jaouen. Paris: Buchet Chastel, 2004. 782 pp. EUR34.

Henry Miller. Frédéric Jacques Temple. Paris: Buchet Chastel, 2004. 246 pp. EUR17.

Two friends, two brotherly minds, mutual admiration, a correspondence extended over forty-five years. Very soon Miller and Durrell understood that their correspondence might be published. Accordingly the letters turned into well-constructed essays in which they expressed their own vision of the world and of artistic creation. They use lavishly the words "bones," "blood," "guts." In the field of boldness, Miller, who is the elder by twenty years, is the bolder, and the mentor. "One must accept oneself in toto. . . . One must not try to please or to fit in." he professed. . . . Temple's study is the indispensable complement to the Durrell-Miller correspondence. It retraces the adventurous youth of Miller, when with June his wife, he wandered across America and Europe, suffering tortures, crippled with debts, always running away, going from one job to another, ready to dynamite the world through his writings, but not knowing yet how to do it: "Where begin when one is a stifled volcano?"

Christine Jordis. *Le Monde des Livres,* May 21, 2004: 3.

Mina, Carlino Amalia Espos y. See Chapman, Lucretia.

Montaigne, Michel Eyquem de

Montaigne ou la verité du mensonge. Gisèle Mathieu-Castellani. Geneva: Droz, 2000. 160 pp. FS40,00.

"Mathieu-Castellani's new book on the essayist is both an extended commentary on his seductive rhetoric and a sustained inquiry into his complex relation to, and multifaceted attitude towards truth—and its other: lies (*mensonge*)—carried out with a focus on his poetics of the essay. . . . Mathieu-Castellani succeeds in bringing together in this remarkable volume a series of important issues about Montaigne's essayistic practice that are often alluded to or treated only in passing. Two chapters, in particular, will retain

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the interest of Montaignistes: 'Le cénotaphe de La Boétie' (chapter 6) and 'Absence et présence des *Confessions*' (chapter 7). Chapter 6 revisits the perplexing question concerning the apparent 'bad faith' surrounding Montaigne's exclusion of La Boétie's works from the *Essais*, whose original purpose, it is recalled, was to serve as a 'tombeau'—and not as a cenotaph—for his ideal friend. . . . Chapter 7 makes the provocative claim that Montaigne knew and had read all too well Saint Augustine's *Confessions*. . . . Montaigne's resistance to making his knowledge of Augustine's *Confessions* explicit, Mathieu-Castellani suggests, stems from his desire to safeguard the singularity of his project of self-portraiture, 'La radicale nouveauté d'une entreprise sans exemple' (124). Yet, also consistent with the humanist ethos of imitatio, Montaigne's altered confessions (his *Essais*) might be seen as continuing the humanist practices of rewriting and critically rethinking Augustine's seminal text inaugurated by Petrarch's *Secretum*. . . . Like her previous studies, Mathieu-Castellani's contributions to the fields of early modern rhetoric and Montaigne studies are informative, well argued, and likely to seduce readers for years to come."

Zahi Zalloua. *French Review* 77.2 (Dec. 2003): 372–73.

Morse, Samuel F. B.

Lightning Man: The Accursed Life of Samuel F. B. Morse. Kenneth Silverman. New York: Knopf, 2003. 503 pp. $35.00.

"The most important aspect of 'Lightning Man' is its relevance to the way we live now. Before the telegraph, as Silverman points out, communication was a function of transportation."

Richard Brookhiser. *NYTBR*, Nov. 16, 2003: 15.

Napoleon

Napoleon: A Political Life. Steven Englund. New York: Scribner, 2003. 575 pp. $35.00.

"Englund has written a most distinguished book recounting Bonaparte's life with clarity and ease, drawn from an enormous body of documents, letters, books and publications. The author's sly comments accompanying this display of erudition add to one's enjoyment. . . . [But] Englund can also disappoint. . . . [A]lthough Englund's magnificent book tells us much that we did not know and gives us a great deal to think about, we want to know more—because it's Napoleon Bonaparte."

Douglas Johnson. *LATBR*, June 20, 2004: 8.

"There can surely be no more challenging subject for a biography than Napoleon Bonaparte. . . . Steven Englund faces up to these challenges with consummate elegance. During his final years, Napoleon described his life as a 'novel,' and Englund's fluent and engaging narrative perfectly captures its

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epic and dramatic qualities. *Napoleon: A Political Life* is a veritable tour de force: the general reader will enjoy it immensely, and learn a great deal from it. But the book also has much to offer historians of modern France."

Sudhir Hazareesingh. *TLS*, Feb. 20, 2004: 8–9.

Napoleon III

Napoléon III. Pierre Milza. Paris: Perrin, 2003. 706 pp. EUR25.

Thanks to Hugo's ferocious pen, there has been a black legend about Napoleon III. A recent book of rehabilitation (Philippe Séguin's *Louis-Napoléon le Grand,* Grasset, 1990) was disputable. Today, thanks to a rigorous approach, the recognized historian of Italian fascism Pierre Milza sets himself above and beyond historiographical controversies about the Second Empire. He restores the coherence of a character, the atmosphere of an epoch, and at the same time establishes the importance of a major political trend of our history. Food for thought for the specialist, pleasant reading for the amateur.

Jean Garrigues. *Le Monde des Livres,* Apr. 16, 2004: 7.

Nehru, Jawaharlal

Nehru: A Political Life. Judith M. Brown. New Haven: Yale UP, 2003. 407 pp. $35.00, £25.00.

" . . . a reasonably broad and fruitfully critical view of Nehru as anti-colonial leader and Prime Minister does emerge from Brown's book. She does not abuse the advantages of hindsight. . . . But what Brown's study reveals is how even the most benignly paternal and successful among the great post-colonial modernizers (Nasser, Sukarno, Nkrumah) has left a bewilderingly mixed legacy for his country."

Pankaj Mishra. *TLS,* Dec. 5, 2003: 24–25.

AND *Nehru: The Invention of India.* Shashi Tharoor. New York: Arcade, 2003. 282 pp. 24.95.

"Oxford University academic, Judith Brown, and United Nations diplomat, Shashi Tharoor, have published fresh biographies. . . . Brown's biography is a serious, dispassionate work . . . aimed firmly at scholars. In contrast, Tharoor has written a lucid and accessible essay that is devoid of footnotes. . . . Brown concludes her biography tentatively, only saying that Nehru was 'central to the making of modern India.' . . . [Tharoor] identifies four pillars of Nehru's legacy: democracy, secularism, non-alignment and socialism. The overall picture that emerges from the books and which is an accurate one is that for all his faults, Nehru got the fundamentals right."

Salil Tripathi. *Far Eastern Economic Review,* Feb. 12, 2004: 52–53.

"Brown's political biography, drawing on access to new papers from Nehru's years as prime minister, offers a nourishing and balanced life, largely symp-

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ostic but willing to acknowledge Nehru's errors. A longtime British schol-
r of Indian politics at Cambridge University, Brown writes with confidence
and authority, although her style is bone dry and there may be more detail
than some general readers would prefer. . . . A novelist and political
essayist, Shashi Tharoor is the better writer, full of verve and flashing insight.
He offers not a traditional biography, however, but what he calls a 'reinter-
pretation' of Nehru's life based on a reading of previously published schol-
arship. The result is a short, accessible, intelligent and lively book, but also
one that feels at times dashed off and opinionated like an extended lecture."

Steve Coll. *WP*, Jan. 19–25, 2004: 32–33.

Nero

Nero. Edward Champlin. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 2003. 346 pp. $29.95.

"Champlin, a professor of classics at Princeton, makes a persuasive case that
immediately after his death and for many centuries thereafter, Nero 'had an
afterlife that was unique in antiquity.' . . . Champlin's *Nero* will not dimin-
ish my fondness for Suetonius in the splendid Robert Graves translation, but
it is a compelling reminder that historical 'truth' is usually a lot more com-
plex and elusive than we realize and that history is rarely written without bias
or hidden motives, conscious or otherwise."

Jonathan Yardley. *WP*, Dec. 22, 2003-Jan. 4, 2004: 32–33.

Newton, Helmut

Autoportrait. Helmut Newton. Trans. Anatole Muchnik. Paris: Robert Laf-
font, 2003. 312 pp. EUR21.

Helmut Newton is a great, if controversial, photographer. The first part of
his *Autoportrait* is indeed the history of his life (the second part being devot-
ed through the medium of 40 stories, to his work, method, and technical
conceptions). With a mixture of optimism, egoism, narcissism and provoca-
tion, he emerges as an engaging though irritating personality.

Michel Guerrin. *Le Monde des Livres*, April 30, 2004: 7.

Newton, Isaac

Isaac Newton. James Gleick. New York: Pantheon, 2003. 284 pp. $22.95.

"He of all people was no Newtonian,' declares James Gleick in the intro-
duction to his new biography, *Isaac Newton*. Paradoxical but true. Sixty years
ago, the economist John Maynard Keynes scandalized the scientific estab-
lishment by announcing that Newton was not the world's first great scien-
tist but instead was the last of the magicians. . . . Now Gleick, one of the
United States's most successful populizers of science, has transformed main-
stream academic research into an exciting story about this revised Newton,
a thinker more akin to Aristotle than to Einstein."

Patricia Fara. *Science*, Aug. 15, 2003: 920.

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Nixon, Richard

Nixon. Iwan Morgan. London: Arnold, 2002. 221 pp. $16.95.

"Based on a wide-ranging and up-to-date critical examination of memoirs, monographs, and even films . . . Morgan's well-written and lively biography is a solid addition to the still burgeoning outpouring of 'Nixonology.' Students, however, may have a little trouble following the narrative at the start, as the first two chapters dealing with historiography and character cover material that is revisited in a more orderly fashion throughout the rest of the biography."

Melvin Small. *The Historian* 66.2 (Summer 2004): 362–63.

Nixon's Shadow: The History of an Image. David Greenberg. New York: Norton, 2003. 460 pp. $26.95.

"[Daniel] Boorstin, Greenberg says, was right to identify image-making as having been central to American politics ever since the Administration of Franklin Roosevelt; he was wrong to associate it with inauthenticity. 'Fears of image-making and jeremiads against inauthenticity rest on the faulty assumption that images are distinct from reality,' Greenberg says. 'These aren't shadows cast upon a cavern wall but the stuff of political experience itself.' Nixon, he thinks, is the key figure in understanding this development. 'No postwar politician did more to educate Americans to the primacy of images in politics,' he says."

Louis Menand. *The New Yorker,* Jan. 5, 2004: 82–86.

"Greenberg is also helpful at bridging the gaps in Nixon's career, and showing how the tensions that dogged Nixon during his presidency were festering long before. Much of the book is centered, appropriately, on the five and a half years he occupied the White House. This era, and it is an era, is obviously crucial to any biography of Nixon, but it also coheres as a compelling moment in American history—easily satirized in movies like 'Dick,' but important. The cultural war that raged throughout his presidency has never entirely dissipated, and there is rapidly mounting evidence that we may be entering a new phase (the prominent wearing of flags in lapels was a signature Nixon policy)."

Ted Widmer. *NYTBR,* Nov. 16, 2003: 11.

Nodier, Charles

L'Arsenal romantique: le salon de Charles Nodier (1824–1834). Vincent Laisney. Paris: Champion, 2002. 840 pp.

"This informative and readable book gives an account of the relations between Nodier and the remarkable group of young Romantics who frequented his Salon after 1824, a time when he was already a successful and established writer. The list of those who came at different times over the

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period from 1824 to 1834 included Dumas, Delacroix, David d'Angers, Musset, Balzac, Sainte-Beuve, Gautier, Nerval and Vigny. The most famous was Hugo, who was much influenced by the ideas of Nodier. . . . The best known accounts of his salon are those of Dumas and Adèle Hugo, and Laisney rectifies their enthusiastic version of events, recalling that Dumas later recycled narrative material taken from Nodier, shamelessly inventing a scene in which the dying writer gave his permission. . . . Laisney writes well about the relations between [Nodier and Hugo]. The friendship cooled when Hugo became a celebrity and went his own way, and Nodier was also disappointed by his political evolution towards sentimental Bonapartism. . . . [Laisney] concludes that Nodier's salon reveals the complexity of the Romantic movement, a phenomenon impossible to define; not so much a doctrine as a state of mind. Laisney tells his story pleasantly and with clarity, drawing on memoirs and letters, and this methodical and substantial study throws much light on the broader literary spectrum of a remarkable era."

Richard Bolster. *French Studies* 57.4 (2003): 546–47.

Norton, Eleanor Holmes

Fire in My Soul. Joan Stienau Lester, as authorized by Eleanor Holmes Norton. New York: Atria Books, 2003. 370 pp. $25.00.

This book "quotes extensively from 54 interviews with [Norton] because, Lester says, African-American women's voices are too seldom heard. . . . The many quotations from Norton . . . are a mixed blessing. They spare us an author's faux omniscience about her subject's thoughts and feelings. But Norton's life-long habit of glossing over conflicts tends to flatten the book. One of only four African-American women in the House when she was first elected, Norton claims that 'there were no male-female difficulties.' Such sunniness or denial . . . makes for bland reading. . . . Yet bland she's not. . . . Quotations aside, *Fire in My Soul* has too many mistakes. . . . Nevertheless, Norton herself, with her formidable intellect, dedication to justice, strategic savvy, foul temper—and joyous, celebratory dancing—makes this account worth reading. But publishers should quit skimping on copy editing."

Marie Shear. *Women's Review of Books* 21.8 (2004):16–17

Pagé, Lucie

Conflict of the Heart. Lucie Pagé. Cape Town: David Philip, 2003. 370 pp. R179.

This memoir is really a story of longing and love with, as backdrop, the South African liberation struggle in its final moments, the transitional period, the historic 1994 elections and first five years of the new democracy. It is a woman's story in a country dominated by men. It is an autobiography which conveys a sense of the larger reality out there, the biography of a people and

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the stories of those who migrate between Canada and South Africa.

Lisa Combrinck. *Sowetan*, Nov. 11, 2003: 27.

This is an awful book. No matter how worthy, how sincere, French-Canadian Lucie Pagé's writing of her love affair with Jay Naidoo in Africa isn't romantic: it's embarrassing. There is some history of the struggle and the new South Africa, but being an electronic media journalist doesn't make a writer. And she is not.

Beverley Roos Muller. *Cape Argus*, Nov. 28, 2003: 18.

Parker, Jim. See **Tulloch, Robert.**

Patrick

St. Patrick of Ireland: A Biography. Philip Freeman. New York: Simon and Schuster, 2004. 256 pp. $23.00.

"In this lively and lucid biography, Philip Freeman, who teaches classics at Washington University in St. Louis, draws on the saint's surviving letters, including the eloquent 'Confession,' to glean personal details of Patrick's life and fit them into what is known of early Irish history."

Allen D. Boyer. *NYTBR*, Mar. 14, 2004: 20.

Petit, Philippe

The Man Who Walked Between the Towers. Mordicai Gerstein. Brookfield, CT: Roaring Brook, 2004. 40 pp. $17.95.

"In 1974, the aerialist Philippe Petit performed a breathtaking feat: he walked a tightrope between the towers of the World Trade Center. Mordicai Gerstein's book about this event, *The Man Who Walked Between the Towers*, reaches its climax with two dramatic foldout spreads. When I opened the first for a kindergarten class, the 5-year-olds gasped with amazement. In imitation of the feat itself, the stunning image took their breath away."

Robin Tzannes. *NYTBR*, Nov. 16, 2003: 31.

Phagan, Mary. See **Frank, Leo.**

Pinagot, Louis François

The Life of an Unknown: The Rediscovered World of a Clog Maker in Nineteenth-Century France. Alain Corbin. Trans. Arthur Goldhammer. New York: Columbia UP, 2001. 269 pp. $27.50.

"Few historians would undertake so audacious a project as a study of an individual so obscure [Louis François Pinagot, 1798–1876] that he remains (in spite of this book) still substantively unknown. . . . [Corbin's] descriptions of clog-making and the effect of clogs on movement . . . are among the most

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memorable. . . . But . . . his intention to explain much more about the relationship of economic change and rural politicization is less persuasive. . . . Corbin puts the pieces of this lifetime together in a way that is rich in insight, but not fully satisfying to a reader seeking an understanding of the larger historical experience."

Theresa M. McBride. *The Historian* 65.6 (Winter 2003): 1451–52.

Pizan, Christine de

Le Livre de l'Advision Cristine. Christine de Pizan. Critical edition by Christine Reno and Liliane Dulac. Paris/Geneva: Honoré Champion, diffusion Slatkine, 2001. 261 pp. EUR59.45.

The last publication of this major autobiographical and political work written by Christine de Pizan dates from 1932. This new edition of the *Advision* is a major event because it is based on an unpublished manuscript, found in a private collection, which includes a gloss written by the author herself in which she gives explanations of aspects of the text. The revision on the texts is correct and conservative. Personally, I would have gone further. . . . [T]his volume provides an ample introduction, rich notes, a useful index of names, of the arguments, and an enormous glossary. . . . Grammatical precisions and references to sources such as Boethius, Thomas of Aquinus, and Aristotle are properly given. Altogether this volume is an excellent instrument of work for the ever increasing number of scholars interested in Pizan.

Gianni Mombello. *Studi Francesi,* May-Aug. 2003: 418–19.

Plath, Sylvia, and Ted Hughes

Her Husband: Hughes and Plath—A Marriage. Diane Middlebrook. New York: Viking, 2004. 361 pp. $25.95.

"[B]y choosing the aperture of their marriage through which to tell their story, Middlebrook manages to give us not just a double life but a distilled life: a sense of the everydayness of Plath and Hughes's extraordinary marriage as well as an understanding of the psychic—one might say occult—lives that catapulted these two souls headlong into their poetry and into their terrible fates."

Nancy Schoenberger. *WP,* Jan. 5–11, 2004: 33.

Pocahontas

Pocahontas: Medicine Woman, Spy, Entrepreneur, Diplomat. Paula Gunn Allen. New York: HarperCollins, 2003. 368 pp. $26.95.

"Rather than establishing new and unknown facts about Pocahontas, Allen focuses on 'the importance of story.' When new information does emerge, not all of it can be verified outside of the oral tradition, which is to say in written, white and/or masculinist sources. . . . Chief Anne Richardson, primary

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leader of today's Powhatan confederacy, calls *Pocahontas* 'cutting edge work. Impatient with the form and the emphasis on story rather than his/story, others will dismiss it out of hand. But as a scholar of women's life writing, I find *Pocahontas* tremendously interesting. As a new form of biography, it interrogates and reinvents a familiar story and articulates it from the persepective of those who have long been voiceless."

Joanne Braxton. *Women's Review of Books* 21.8 (May 2004): 11-12.

Proust, Marcel, and André Gide

Friend and Foe: Marcel Proust and André Gide. Frederick John Harris. Lanham, Maryland: UP of America, 2002. 473 pp. $95.00.

"André Gide and Marcel Proust were born only two years apart, in 1869 and 1871, respectively . . . yet there may be more differences than similarities between the two writers, both in their lives and in their works. The fact that they had such dissimilar relationships to the world around them, and such different ways of expressing their views of it, is as much of interest today as it was when their works were published. . . . At the heart of this study are the personal interactions between Gide and Proust: fewer than a dozen substantiated or supposed meetings and at most twenty-five known or implied letters from each author over a ten-year period. . . . Harris looks at their work and their comments on it (and occasionally on each other's work) in order to highlight their differences. Harris explains in the preface that he aims to make his work accessible to nonspecialists, general readers who have read Proust and/or Gide or who are interested in the period. To that end, all materials are quoted in translation. Copious footnotes direct readers to original sources and include additional information on the views of other critics. The writing itself is straightforward, although the specific examinations of individual letters sometimes repeat unnecessarily excerpts of the correspondence that has already been quoted. Harris provides an extensive bibliography of works by and about each author, individually and together, as well as a substantial index. Though targeting a general readership, the book, with its detailed analyses of these fascinating interactions, its organization (basically chronological but with certain thematic highlights), and its notes and index, should appeal to Gide or Proust scholars as well."

Scott Manning. *French Review* 77.3 (Feb. 2004): 592-93.

Pushkin, Aleksandr

Pushkin: A Biography. T. J. Binyon. New York: Knopf, 2003. 727 pp. $35.00.

"Binyon, a lecturer in Russian literature at Oxford, a senior research fellow at Wadham College and the author of a history of detective fiction as well as mystery novels of his own, invites us in, sits us down and opens the closets

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and the veins. He has practically inhaled all of 19th-century Russian culture, from school curricula to court etiquette to book publishing to adultery. Thus, though he disavows 'literary analysis,' he is not above pointing at Ossian and Ariosto, at Byron, Milton, 'Rob Roy' and 'Tristram Shandy,' as well as Chateaubriand ('Atala'), Stendhal ('The Red and the Black') and Voltaire (whose refusal to fight a duel over Joan of Arc was the subject of one of Pushkin's last sketches). He has read every diary, letter, memoir, report card and dossier, attended every late supper, masked ball and febrile seduction, counted every 'dead soul' serf whom Pushkin inherited as property and every free peasant' he 'mortgaged' to pay his brother's debts, and exhumed every body of every Decembrist the poet might have met at school before they aborted their abortive coup without him. (An unfinished 10th chapter of 'Onegin,' Binyon tells us, would have explained Eugene's involvement with the Decembrists. Pushkin burned it.)"

John Leonard. *NYTBR*, Nov. 16, 2003: 12–13.

Raleigh, Bess, Lady

Bess: The Life of Lady Raleigh. Anna Beer. London: Constable, 2003. 288 pp. L20.00.

"For a feminist biographer, it might appear rewarding to give most attention to Lady Raleigh's long, active, and in every sense rich widowhood. Many more extracts from Bess's own lively letters would have been welcome, as well as a much fuller investigation of her role in the authentication and posthumous publication of Sir Walter's works. Perhaps because this book is aimed at a non-academic audience, Beer has opted for a less literary approach, giving most attention to domestic matters. . . . Scholarly readers will find *Bess* underresearched and underdocumented. It may also be found slightly unsatisfactory by the general reader."

Katherine Duncan-Jones. *TLS*, Feb. 6, 2004: 23.

Raleigh, Walter

Sir Walter Raleigh. Raleigh Trevelyan. New York: John MacRae/Henry Holt, 2003. 622 pp. $35.00.

"Trevelyan's amiable, engaging and thorough 'Sir Walter Raleigh' replaces Robert Lacey's similarly titled book as the best modern biography of the man. . . . Temperamentally fair-minded, Trevelyan's wonderful account steers us through Raleigh's life but leaves us to our own judgments. . . . Trevelyan shows that Raleigh was far more than a mere liar, but he never tells us why his life matters, why we should care. But perhaps a compelling story that gives up subtlety and balance for dramatic sweep is better seen than read: Scriptwriters, to your keyboards."

Marc Aronson. *LATBR*, Feb. 8, 2004: 8.

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Rankin, Jeannette

Jeannette Rankin: America's Conscience. Norma Smith. Helena: Montana Historical Society Press, 2002. 233 pp. $17.95.

"Rankin was an experienced suffragist, the first woman elected to the U.S. Congress, and, most famously, a pacifist who voted against both world wars during two separate congressional terms. She is an important woman in U.S. history, and she deserves a proper biography. . . . This book is based primarily on interviews and correspondence between elderly Rankin and the author between 1963 and 1971. It contains much illuminating or amusing anecdotal information that helps to personalize a reticent subject. . . . It clarifies Rankin's role in early U.S. western suffrage campaigns, especially in Montana in 1914, and her employment as a national suffrage organizer."

Rebecca J. Mead. *Pacific Historical Review* 72.4 (Nov. 2003): 645–46.

Riemann, Bernhard

Prime Obsession: Bernhard Riemann and the Greatest Unsolved Problem in Mathematics. John Derbyshire. Washington, D.C.: Joseph Henry, 2003. 422 pp. $27.95.

"Will the Riemann hypothesis be the next mathematical topic to captivate the general public? . . . The roots of the problem go back to antiquity, when mathematicians started thinking about primes, the integers that are not a multiple of a smaller number greater than unity. . . . Derbyshire begins with a riveting account of Riemann's times, his early life and his university years, up to his appointment at the age of 33 to the Berlin Academy and the publication of his views on the distribution of primes."

Enrico Bombieri. *American Scientist* 91.4 (July-Aug. 2003): 361–64.

Rimbaud, Arthur

I Promise to be Good: The Letters of Arthur Rimbaud. Ed. and trans. Wyatt Mason. New York: Modern Library, 2003. 416 pp. $24.95.

"'I Promise to be Good: The Letters of Arthur Rimbaud' [is] the largest sampling of the poet's correspondence yet to appear in English. In his introduction to this second volume, Mason argues that the letters act as a corrective, serving to 'muddle the sexy myth by clarifying the sober man.' They may clarify all too much. Not only do the letters reveal that Rimbaud could often be obnoxious and demanding; worse, they show that after he stopped writing poetry he apparently never gave it another thought. Camus once wrote, 'To sustain the legend, one has to be unaware of these decisive letters,' and concluded that 'they are sacrilege, as the truth sometimes is.'"

Ruth Franklin. *The New Yorker,* Nov. 17, 2003: 150–53.

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Rol-Tanguy, Henry Tanguy (alias)

Rol-Tanguy. Roger Bourderon. Paris: Tallandier, 2004. 768 pp. EUR28.

In these days when we commemorate June 6, 1944, this biography, in which the biographee's testimony is important, opportunely reminds us of the role played by the Interior resistance during the war. Some questions of interest are posed: how the young communist metalworker, already involved in the International Brigades in Spain, then in clandestine action, came to be the chief, with the rank of Colonel, of the Paris insurrection in the summer of 1944; how this gifted, experienced field officer was underused both by the Republic and by the Communist Party. Indeed, he was awarded the Great Cross of the Legion of Honour in 1994, at the age of 86, but he never tried to take advantage of the prestige acquired in the underground days. A strongly backboned man, a sturdy character.

L.(aurent) Do.(uzou). *Le Monde des Livres,* June 6, 2004: 7.

Romanov, Nicholas Mikhailovich

White Crow: The Life and Times of the Grand Duke Nicholas Mikhailovich Romanov, 1859–1919. Jamie H. Cockfield. Westport: Praeger, 2002. 302 pp. $69.95.

"Cockfield portrays a grand duke, warts and all. . . . This book well relates the life of Grand Duke Nicholas Mikhailovich to the events of Russian history and the other members of the Romanov family. The study is greatly enhanced by the apt quotations. . . . The photographs . . . are well chosen as well."

Gary Hanson. *The Historian* 66.2 (Summer 2004): 391–92.

Roosevelt, Franklin Delano, and Winston Churchill

Franklin and Winston: An Intimate Portrait of an Epic Friendship. Jon Meacham. New York: Random House, 2003. 512 pp. $29.95.

"Meacham's engaging account argues that personal bonds between leaders are crucial to international politics. He draws heavily on diaries and letters to describe a complicated courtship and, at times, seems amazed at what Winston is willing to put up with from Franklin."

The New Yorker, Dec. 22 & 29, 2003: 157.

Franklin D. Roosevelt: Champion of Freedom. Conrad Black. New York: Public Affairs, 2003. 1,280 pp. $39.95.

"Black, who recently resigned under pressure from his post as CEO of Hollinger International, is, his publisher attests, 'a staunch conservative.' Yet, at least in the pages of this book, he understands that Franklin Roosevelt conserved capitalism by saving it from the capitalists. As a result of FDR's achievements, Black contends, 'American capitalism ceased to be a menace to itself and became an unambiguous engine to greater and better-distributed

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national prosperity.' . . . The author holds back nothing in pointing out the numerous Roosevelt shortcomings that made him a less-than-admirable character. Black writes that Roosevelt was given to 'horrible revisionism' and 'unmitigated falsehoods,' was frequently duplicitous,' 'incapable of admitting error,' 'almost compulsively devious' and 'never mastered the art of self-deprecation or even detached comment about himself.' . . . [O]ne of the more striking impressions of Roosevelt that can be gleaned from this biography is how many of FDR's traits were later shared by Ronald Reagan."

Robert S. McElvaine. *WP*, Jan. 12–18, 2004: 35.

"Colorful anecdotes . . . populate virtually every page of 'Franklin and Winston," Jon Meacham's beautifully written and superbly researched dual biography. For the most part it's an anecdotal World War II saga. . . . Though the basic story line . . . is familiar, this is not recycled history. . . . It's hard to take issue with anything in a work referenced that well, a scrupulousness greatly to Jon Meacham's credit. The opposite, alas, also holds true—where in lies the main flaw in Conrad Black's massive new biography. . . . Black's book tries hard but suffers from logorrhea in the guise of scholarship, composed as it is of overwritten paraphrases from a very few secondary sources, most of them earlier hoary biographies."

Douglas Brinkley. *LATBR*, Apr. 11, 2004: 8–9.

Rothschild, Victor

Elusive Rothschild: The Life of Victor, Third Baron. Kenneth Rose. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 2004. 338 pp. $35.00.

"Victor, Third Baron Rothschild . . . seemed to be the man who had everything. . . . What went wrong? Kenneth Rose . . . tries to answer the question, but his 'Elusive Rothschild: The Life of Victor, Third Baron,' though smartly written, lets his subject get away once again."

Benita Eisler. *LATBR*, Apr. 18, 2004: 10–11.

Rubinstein, Helena, and Elizabeth Arden

War Paint: Madame Helena Rubinstein and Miss Elizabeth Arden: Their Lives, Their Times, Their Rivalry. Lindy Woodhead. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2003. 492 pp. $30.00.

"'War Paint' is exhaustingly, admirably researched, which makes it an exhausting book, as Woodhead has poured the lives of these two women into a compressed history of the 20th century. It's all here: two wars, Oskar Schindler, labor laws, the birth of advertising, the Food and Drug Administration, early feminism and 'The $64,000 Question,' which was sponsored by their rival Charles Revson. Woodhead's style is rather rushed; you can sense the presence of hovering editors, eager to whack the manuscript down to its present size of nearly 500 pages. Still, the personalities fascinate

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though Rubinstein comes off best, her grit and toughness more appealing than Arden's breathless phoniness."

Penelope Green. *NYTBR,* Feb. 15, 2004: 27.

Ruge, Walter

Prisonnier n° 8403. De la montée du nazisme au goulag. Walter Ruge. Paris: Ed. Nicolas Philippe, 2004. 260 pp. EUR21.

At 88, having known the rise of nazism, the exile to the USSR, the Gulag (he was denounced by his own father in the name of communism), a return to East Germany in 1958, having made "most willingly" frequent visits back to the USSR and being still a member of the PDS (the party heir to the former communist party of East Germany), Walter Ruge has seen it all before. He feels no nostalgia or Ostalgia. He is not happy with the reunification "which deprives the East Germans of the benefits of socialism." Having earned his living as a photographer or interpreter, he is not an intellectual, clever at theorizing his behavior and conduct. He does not see himself as a hero. He survived because of his appetite for life. He is a simple man caught in a History which was anything but simple. For the millions of victims of totalitarianism, his life is atrociously, appallingly, banal.

Daniel Vernet. *Le Monde des Livres,* May 7, 2004: 8.

Rumsfeld, Donald

Rumsfeld: A Personal Portrait. Midge Decter. New York: Regan Books/ HarperCollins, 2003. 240 pp. $24.95.

"Paper boy, Eagle Scout, high school wrestling champ, Navy flier, Republican congressman, White House chief of staff, business executive, Secretary of Defense—in this biography, the stages of Donald Rumsfeld's career fit together seamlessly, each offered to illustrate the same earnestness and energy.... Decter counsels that 'the experience that comes to Donald Rumsfeld most naturally is that of power and the things that go with it'—yet, she cheerfully concludes, Rumsfeld's newfound glamour reflects 'the vitality and the high humor that can be the rewards of a willingness, even an eagerness, to assume and embrace the burdens of responsibility.' Those judgments might deserve a closer balance."

Allen D. Boyer. *NYTBR,* Nov. 30, 2003: 24.

Rustin, Bayard

Lost Prophet: The Life and Times of Bayard Rustin. John D'Emilio. New York: Free Press, 2004. 568 pp. $35.00

"Bayard Rustin, the subject of John D'Emilio's recent biography *Lost Prophet,* was a striking example of the social reformer. He was black, Quaker, homosexual, pacifist, a labor organizer, a tactician, and a dandy—an odd

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combination of social, biological, and psychological traits and inclinations that perhaps could only have led to a career as a political activist that allowed him to fulfill both his sense of morality and his flair for self-dramatics. What else was Rustin fit to do that might have satisfied him at the time he reached adulthood in the 1930s except engage in the monumental project of changing the United States for the better?"

Gerald Early. *NYRB*, Apr. 8, 2004: 41–42.

Saint-Évremond, Charles de Marguetel de Saint-Denis, seigneur de

Saint-Évremond: A Voice from Exile: Newly Discovered Letters to Madame de Gourville and the Abbé de Hautefeuille (1697–1701). Ed. Denys Potts. Oxford: Legenda, 2002. 92 pp. $25.00.

"Denys Potts writes a particularly full and illuminating account of the life and thought of his elusive subject, who left France after the fall of Fouquet in 1661, never to return. An intellectual nobleman, exiled successively in England, Holland and finally England again, and influenced by Spinoza, his outlook was characterized by a kind of epicurean fideism, promotive of credal tolerance and the primacy of ethics over dogma. Deprived of the company of the *honnêtes gens* of his native France, Saint-Évremond frequented the London salon of the Duchesse Mazarin (who died in 1699), and wrote what we would now call literary criticism (albeit marked by what posterity would judge as somewhat unfashionable tastes, notably in the theatrical domain), as well as reflections on *génie* and on taste. Potts also brings out the complexity of Saint-Évremond's religious thinking, exemplified in the tension present between a quasi-erasmian pragmatism on the one hand, and his revulsion at the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 on the other... [T]here exists a sound twentieth-century edition of his prose works and letters. That is now completed by the twenty-seven present pieces (of which twenty-three are previously unpublished), the period of whose composition corresponds to the last years of his life, when a complicated financial predicament, clearly elucidated by the editor, finds Saint-Évremond writing to those contacts who, he believes, might best contribute to the recovery of his debts. But such mundane concerns are interwoven with a range of reflections on his recurrent areas of concern, most notably on the religious disputes, and in particular Quietism, which continued to mark France."

Patricia Clancy. *French Studies* 58 (2004): 105–06.

Sand, George

George Sand et la politique. Bernard Hamon. Paris: L'Harmattan, 2001. 496 pp. EUR38.

This imposing volume gives a detailed account of the evolution of Sand and politics—politics that she named "this ugly thing." Autobiographical data and a fine choice of Sand's correspondence are provided. Hamon starts

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chronologically with the first phase in Sand's political life from 1804 to 1835: he stresses Rousseau's influence, Sand's relationship with Aurélien de Sèze, Leroux, and Lammenais; he continues with the Second Empire and the Commune, her republicanism (her belief in "Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité et Unité") and anticlericalism. Hamon also comments on Sand's feminism. "This is a precious volume which provides experts and non experts of Sand with an exhaustive instrument of work."

Laura Colombo. *Studi Francesi,* May-Aug. 2003: 471–72.

Santos-Dumont, Alberto

Wings of Madness: Alberto Santos-Dumont and the Invention of Flight. Paul Hoffman. New York: Theia, 2003. 369 pp. $24.95.

"Alberto Santos-Dumont, born in 1873, was a genuine pioneer of aviation. A wealthy Brazilian, he lived much of the time in Paris, and most of his aeronautical achievements took place in France. He started with balloons and advanced to powered blimps. Then in 1906 he made the first public airplane flight. . . . He believed his aerial innovations should be given to the world, and therefore he never applied for patents."

Paul B. MacCready. *American Scientist* 91.5 (Sept.-Oct. 2003): 464-66.

Sassoon, Sigfried, Philip, and Sybil

Sigfried Sassoon: The Making of a War Poet: A Biography, 1886–1918 and *Sigfried Sassoon: The Journey from the Trenches: A Biography, 1918–1967.* Jean Moorcroft Wilson. New York: Routledge, 2004. 600 pp. $35.00.

Sassoon: The Worlds of Philip and Sybil. Peter Stansky. New Haven: Yale UP, 2004. 296 pp. $35.00.

"Wilson's two volumes are an archive, not a literary biography. Even as recounted in her numbing detail and drab prose, Sassoon's vault from the romantic field-and-stream lyrics of the Georgian poets to subversive messenger from Hell is essential reading. . . . Stansky . . . offers an expert tour through these glossier lives. . . . It's no discredit to Stansky to say he writes as a fan. His sympathy for the Sassoon siblings and his zesty pleasure in the high life of the period draws us into a world as remote from our own as the court of Versailles. Sharing their world is more problematic. . . . [H]e never connects their vulnerability to the constellation of attitudes they shared with their class."

Benita Eisler. *LATBR,* Apr. 18, 2004: 10–11.

Schroeder, Pat

Pat Schroeder: A Woman of the House. Joan A. Lowy. Albuquerque: U of New Mexico P, 2003. 216 pp. $24.95.

"When Pat Schroeder's twelfth term in the House of Representatives ended

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in 1997, "Republican zealots, by then in the majority, were frog-marching the House back to the Stone Age, having already razed the congressional women's caucus she had co-founded and led. She was 'weary and disheartened,' Lowy says, and chose not to run again. . . . Lowy is an appreciative, though not uncritical, biographer. She reports that Schroeder 'exaggerated' one cheesy incident with the head of the armed services committee' when she wrote in her autobiography that he forced her and a black male representative to share a single chair when the committee met. Lowy says the incident lasted one day, not two years, though the bigotry was relentless."

Marie Shear. *Women's Review of Books* 21.8 (May 2004): 16–17.

Seferis, George

George Seferis: Waiting for the Angel: A Biography. Roderick Beaton. New Haven: Yale UP, 2003. 512 pp. $40.00.

"For anyone interested in Greek history or in the machinations of the British in the last century, Beaton's behind-the-scenes account of Seferis' diplomatic career makes gripping reading. . . . Beaton's biography is not only definitive but a labor of love, paying its subject the enormous tribute of careful, unprejudiced attention. The man who emerges is not always attractive but recognizably and fully human, caught between hope and pragmatism, wisdom and weakness."

Maria Margaronis. *LATBR*, Jan. 18, 2004: 6

Shah, Saira

The Storyteller's Daughter. Saira Shah. London: Knopf, 2003. 256 pp. $24.00.

"If the clash of cultures was ever to meet on a benign plateau and become the caress of civilizations, Shah would be leading the troops. 'Two people live inside me,' she writes. 'Like a couple who rarely speak, they are not compatible. My Western side is a sensitive, liberal middle-class pacifist. My Afghan side . . . is a rapacious robber baron.' . . . Such a short book . . . could have faltered . . . as it attempted to switch from war to Sufism to the rush of personal anecdote. But Shah manages to construct a rich quilt."

Ahmed Rashid. *Far Eastern Economic Review,* Nov. 27, 2003: 68–69.

Shakespeare, William

Shakespeare. Michael Wood. New York: Basic Books, 2003. 352 pp. $29.95.
Chasing Shakespeare. Sarah Smith. New York: Atria, 2003. 337 pp. $24.00.

"Into this breach [the little-noted difference between what is Elizabethan and what is Shakespearean] comes Michael Wood, a prolific producer of documentary films. His new and gravely flawed 'Shakespeare' is the companion volume to the latest of his documentaries, 'In Search of Shakespeare.' Both of these inquiries focus on the England Shakespeare knew in order to tell, in

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Wood's words, 'the tale of one man's life lived through a time of revolution.'
Largely because of this speculative detective work, Wood doesn't begin
sending young Will off to make his fortune in London's theatres until 103
pages into the book. This is where the clouds begin to lower on his account
of Shakespeare's career. . . . [T]he general readers of Wood's *Shakespeare*
should be cautious about quoting it as an authoritative source in mixed com-
pany, especially if people who don't believe that Will of Stratford wrote the
plays are in the mix—people such as Sarah Smith. . . . Smith is the author
of 'Chasing Shakespeares,' a novel cleverly constructed so that the reader
may join its narrator, Joe Roper, a devout Shakespearean, as he unravels the
veil that had been pulled over his eyes by the Shakespearean orthodoxy. . . .
As Smith says, this book is about 'how imagination meets research.' Put the
emphasis on imagination."

Irvin Matus. *WP,* Jan. 5–11, 2004: 32.

Sharp, Chrystal

In Fool Flight. Chrystal Sharp. New York: Penguin, 2003. 240 pp. R90.

These tales of the experiences of Chrystal Sharp and her veterinary husband Dave continue on from those in her previous book, *Dog in my Footsteps.* Living in South Africa, in the Eastern Cape town of "Dolphin Bay," Sharp and her husband have some amazing relationships with some unforgettable animals. Sharp's writing style and narration are positively charming. Her animals are as human as the people in her life and her descriptions of the beautiful scenery around "Dolphin Bay" are breathtaking. *In Fool Flight* is a must read for anyone who loves animals.

Samantha Bartlett. *Cape Times,* Jan. 16, 2004: 7.

A new collection of Chrystal Sharp stories is reasonably priced and a real treat. If you are an old softie you might shed a tear or two as she relates the stories behind some of the hurt creatures who come into her vet husband's surgery. However, the narrative is leavened with loads of light wit. Sharp has a wonderfully self-deprecating sense of humour and manages to avoid being "twee", a trap that animal writers can all too easily fall into when they are so involved with their subjects—as Chrystal so obviously is. All in all, just delightful.

Gillian McAinsh. *The Herald,* Dec. 24, 2003: 4.

Shriver, Sargent

Sarge: The Life and Times of Sargent Shriver. Scott Stossel. Washington, D.C: Smithsonian: 2004. 761 pp. $32.50.

"At the age of 88 and suffering from the early stages of Alzheimer's, R. Sargent Shriver is as well known for being President John F. Kennedy's brother-in-law and California Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger's father-in-law as he is for being the father of the Peace Corps, Job Corps, Head Start and the

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Special Olympics. In spite of his accomplishments, Shriver has often been labeled a 'lightweight.' His good looks, family connections, aura of celebrity and super-salesmanship all were burdens as well as blessings, conveying the impression that he lacked the political instincts and intellectual capacity to win power on his own and wield it with authority. In this lengthy but lively biography, the journalist Scott Stossel explains in exhaustive detail how Shriver translated vague mandates to found an international service program and wage war on poverty into the creation of some of the most successful social programs of the past half-century. . . . Shriver's public life was also shaped by his family life. In 1946, while wooing Eunice Kennedy, Shriver received a job offer from her father, Joseph P. Kennedy. It evolved into an apprenticeship with a multimillionaire whose machinations rivaled those of Donald Trump today. . . . He didn't win the White House, but he changed millions of lives. Head Start alone has helped prepare 20 million children to do better in school. Few Presidents have accomplished more than the man everyone calls 'Sarge.' If he was a lightweight or a limousine liberal, we could use many more like him."

David Kusnet. *WP*, June 17–23, 2004: 32–33.

Smith, Goldwin

The Controversialist: An Intellectual Life of Goldwin Smith. Paul T. Phillips. Westport, CT: Praeger, 2002. 198 pp. $64.95.

"Mitchell provides a portrait of the irascible Victorian social and political critic. . . . A complete bibliography of Smith's articles and books would have been useful and easily accessible, rather than the selective bibliography included in the book. Phillips makes no claims to like Smith and admits that the exhumation of past figures can be unpleasant."

S. M. den Otter. *Albion* 35.5 (Fall 2003): 518–20.

Spassky, Boris. See **Fischer, Bobby.**

Stalin, Joseph

The Secret File of Joseph Stalin: A Hidden Life. Roman Brackman. London: Frank Cass, 2001. 466 pp. $35.00.

"The book lacks a clear focus. As well as telling the story of the file, the author attempts to write a biography of Stalin as a Machiavellian evil genius . . . The book has several strengths. It tells the main story in a fairly logical way. . . . It is a well-told yarn. . . . [T]his book brings together in a reasonably scholarly way much of the conspiracy literature, updated with some early glasnost-era revelations. However, because the author has found nothing essentially new, the whole is not any greater than the sum of its parts."

Evan Mawdsley. *The Historian* 66.2 (Summer 2004): 385–86.

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Stendhal, Marie Henri Beyle

Une somme stendhalienne. Études et documents 1935–2000. Victor Del Litto. Paris: Honoré Champion, 2002. 2 vols. xxxix + 2236 pp. EUR47,56.

As the title of indicates, this monumental yet elegant volume on Stendhal is an imposing sum of information inasmuch as it gathers all the biographical and critical findings of the eminent Victor Del Litto, in 65 years of research (1935–2000). As stated in the foreword by Michel E. Slatkine: "If one accounts the books, the prefaces, the contributions to reviews and the articles in journals, the number reaches 272, from 1935, year of his first publication in Italian in *La Cultura,* and 1981. From 1981 to 1996, 170 new contributions must be added to reach a total of 442." . . . Any serious researcher on Stendhal will feel fulfilled by this magisterial history of the books and the libraries belonging to Stendhal, an author who possessed an astronomical number of books. New aspects concerning Benjamin Constant and Stendhal can be also be found. The appendix provides readers with an exhaustive list of the inventory of Stendhal's books. A very useful index of the names of persons and of works quoted is also given.

Annalisa Bottacin. *Studi Francesi,* May-Aug. 2003: 462–63.

Stone, Lucy

Woman's Voice, Woman's Place: Lucy Stone and the Birth of the Woman's Rights Movement. Joelle Million. Westport: Praeger, 2003. 360 pp. $49.95.

"In 1858 the most famous and accomplished advocate for women's rights in the United States was Lucy Stone," but that fame has faded over the last century and half. Million's "new biography of Stone is cause for celebration" and "corrects the distortions in the historical record created by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony's *History of Woman Suffrage,* which mentions Stone mostly in passing, or, in a few cases, for her distinctly notorious exploits. . . . Millon's book is impressively researched and . . . in many ways one of the most fascinating I have read in a long time. Yet I had to compel myself to pick it up to finish it. Why? . . . It is confusing . . . [and] also deficient in interpretation. . . . More broadly there is the general absence of a strong narrative voice. . . . At the very least, students and scholars will benefit from her heroic scholarship, while general readers will eagerly wait for the next, perhaps more artfully written, biography to appear."

Louise K. Knight. *Women's Review of Books* 21.3 (Dec. 2003): 16–17.

Stukeley, William

William Stukeley: Science, Religion and Archaeology in Eighteenth-Century England. David Boyd Haycock. Rochester, NY: Boydell, 2002. 290 pp. $70.00.

"Haycock has poured [sic] over every word [of Stukeley's published works

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and manuscripts in various archives] and the results, although uneven in places and tone deaf in others, mean that no one need ever work her way through the mass again. Stukeley is resolutely a minor figure but still very much worth knowing. . . . Subjects of one's research have a way of giving their biographers some of their bad habits. The clergy of the age loved to splice and dice the heterodoxy of enemies, and David Haycock has fallen into their ways."

Margaret C. Jacob. *Albion* 35.5 (Fall 2003): 493-94.

Stuyvesant, Peter, and Adriaen van der Donck

The Island at the Center of the World: The Epic Story of Dutch Manhattan and the Forgotten Colony That Shaped America. Russell Shorto. New York: Doubleday, 2003. 384 pp. $27.50.

"Shorto centers his story on the battle between two critical players in Dutch Manhattan, Peter Stuyvesant and Adriaen van der Donck. Stuyvesant, the wily, flinty soldier who had lost a leg fighting for the company on St. Martin, was mainly concerned with thwarting both the encroachments of the expansionary New England colonies and the demands for self-government from his subjects within. Van der Donck is a less well known but even more intriguing figure; a lawyer with the soul of a poet, punctilious enough to attach eight footnotes to a single sentence, but also a man capable of living for months among the Indians, and who kept breaking into rapturous descriptions of the New World in his neglected classic, "A Description of New Netherland." Van der Donck's quest to remake New Netherland in the republican image of the mother country set him inevitably in opposition to Stuyvesant."

Kevin Baker. *NYTBR*, Apr. 4, 2004: 9.

Taylor, Deems

Deems Taylor: A Biography. James A. Pegolotti. Boston: Northeastern UP, 2003. 410 pp. $40.00.

"James A. Pegolotti, the author, tells us he is a classical-music lover, librarian emeritus at Western Connecticut State University and, as he puts it, 'a neophyte author whose only previous book-length work was a chemistry Ph.D. thesis.' He sometimes seems musically naive, but he has done comprehensive research and tells Taylor's story clearly and engagingly."

John Rockwell. *NYTBR*, Dec. 7, 2003: 56.

Thrall, Will

Will Thrall and the San Gabriels: A Man to Match the Mountains. Ronald C. Woolsey. San Diego: Sunbelt. 2004. 176 pp. $24.95.

"The time and place are evoked with authority and a certain sentimentality in [this book], a biography of an important if now long-forgotten pioneer of

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mountaineering. . . . Woolsey reminds us that Southern California was, then as now, a place where people came to reinvent themselves. . . . It is Woolsey's inspiration to rescue Thrall's life and legend from obscurity, and at that task she has succeeded."

Jonathan Kirsch. *LATBR*, Mar. 21, 2004: 2.

Tinbergen, Niko

Niko's Nature: A Life of Niko Tinbergen and His Science of Animal Behaviour. Hans Kruuk. New York: Oxford Up, 2003. 391 pp. $30.00.

"2003 was a double anniversary for the late Niko Tinbergen. Thirty years ago he, Konrad Lorenz, and Karl von Frisch shared the Nobel Prize in medicine for the development of ethology, the scientific study of animal behavior. In addition, it is forty years since his ground-breaking analysis of the fundamental problems in animal behavior. .. . Kruuk characterizes Tinbergen as 'the brilliant birdwatcher who became a Nobel laureate.' Niko was very much a field man, who did not care much for formal science and academic duties."

Johan J. Bolhuis. *Science* 303: 5661 (20 Feb. 2004): 1140–41.

Tsvetaeva, Marina

Lettres du grenier de Wilno. Marina Tsvetaeva. Translated from Russian and annotated by Eveline Amoursky. Paris: Ed. Des Syrtes, 2003. 140 pp. EUR16.

Fleeing from Soviet Russia, Marina Tsvetsaeva spent a year in France in the mid-thirties. (She returned to the USSR in June 1939; her husband and their daughter were arrested shortly after; she herself committed suicide August 31, 1941.) In Paris with her children, she was moneyless; harassed by the daily chores, she felt lonely and futureless. The present dozen letters, written to a stranger in Wilno alien to the literary world, and found later in an attic, show Tsvetsaeva as an unbending, uncompromising, torn character, who, while addressing a particular correspondent, was preparing or pursuing her poetic work.

Christine Jordis. *Le Monde des Livres,* Apr. 30, 2004: 4

The Death of a Poet: The Last Days of Marina Tsvetaeva. Irma Kudrova. Trans. Mary Ann Szporluk. Woodstock, NY: Overlook, 2004. 232 pp. $29.95.

"'The Death of a Poet' is a compelling account of individual anguish shrouded in national tragedy. The efficient translation from the Russian is by Mary Ann Szporluk."

Natalya Sukhonos. *NYTBR,* Mar. 14, 2004: 20.

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Tubman, Harriet

Harriet Tubman: The Life and the Life Stories. Jean M. Humez. Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 2003. 471 pp. $45.00.

Bound for the Promised Land: Harriet Tubman, Portrait of an American Hero. Kate Clifford Larson. New York: Ballantine, 2003. 402 pp. $26.95.

Harriet Tubman: The Road to Freedom. Catherine Clinton. Boston: Little, Brown, 2003. 272 pp. $27.95.

"Tubman remained illiterate her entire life. She left not a single document in her own hand. To find, as Jean M. Humez seeks to do in 'Harriet Tubman: The Life and the Life Stories,' 'the private woman whose life has virtually disappeared behind the heroic public icon,' is no small challenge. Humez, who teaches women's studies at the University of Massachusetts, Boston, cites the 'advantage of a much larger number of primary sources' than earlier students of Tubman. Indeed, she and Kate Clifford Larson, in her first book, 'Bound for the Promised Land,' have both done extensive and imaginative research in local historical sources that tell us almost more than we want to know about the Eastern Shore in the mid-19th century; in the papers of antislavery activists who interacted with Tubman; in the correspondence of an earlier Tubman biographer who in the 1940's interviewed individuals who had been alive long enough to remember her. . . . Catherine Clinton's 'Harriet Tubman: The Road to Freedom' is much less richly researched and less detailed, but draws on the extensive historical writing of recent years about slavery and the Civil War to place Tubman's life within its times—through descriptions of the black Philadelphia in which she found herself after her escape in 1849, of the history of the Underground Railroad, of the impact and aftermath of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, of the experiences of war in the coastal South. Clinton, whose books include 'Fanny Kemble's Civil Wars,' frequently speculates about what she cannot know. . . . Larson and Humez tend to conjecture less and instead to supply the reader with the considerable information they have collected—sometimes, it seems, more because they have found it than because it adds significantly to our understanding of Tubman's life."

Drew Gilpin Faust. *NYTBR,* Feb. 15, 2004: 9.

Tulloch, Robert, and Jim Parker

Judgment Ridge: The True Story Behind the Dartmouth Murders. Mitchell Zuckoff and Dick Lehr. New York: HarperCollins, 2003. 418 pp. $25.95.

"In January 2001, Half and Susanne Zantop, popular professors at Dartmouth College, were murdered in their home in New Hampshire. . . . Zuckoff and Lehr, who covered the case for the Boston Globe, examine in fascinating detail the ordinariness of the killers." [Robert Tulloch and Jim Parker

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convicted of the murders] grudges—typical high-school controversies about the student council and the debate team—and how, in Tulloch's twisted mind, the idea of random killing became an obsession."

The New Yorker, Nov. 3, 2003: 92.

Twain, Mark. See also **Grant, Ulysses S.**

The Singular Mark Twain: A Biography. Fred Kaplan. New York: Doubleday, 2004. 726 pp. $35.00

Dangerous Intimacy: The Untold Story of Mark Twain's Final Years. Karen Lystra. Berkeley: U of California P, 2004. 342 pp. $27.50.

"Since Fred Kaplan—author of biographies of Henry James, Charles Dickens, Gore Vidal, and Thomas Carlyle—has favored us with 726 pages about Mark Twain I wish he could somehow have persuaded Doubleday to splurge and allow him maybe ten more for a decent bibliography—and I would make the same complaint about Karen Lystra's much shorter book. Mark Twain has provoked a vast secondary literature: What's wrong with a comprehensive, straightforward bibliography? . . . Fred Kaplan's weighty book is not dull—it moves us at a fair pace through Twain's checkered life, but when he's writing about experiences that Twain has also written about . . . it's tempting to shift from Kaplan back to Twain. . . . The Ashcroft-Lyon document, plus a memoir by Clara Clemens (Twain's middle daughter, and the only one of his four children to survive him), plus Kate Leary's account of her years in the Clemens household, are the principal sources that Karen Lystra has mined for *Dangerous Intimacy,* a study of Twain's later years, with particular emphasis on his relations with his secretary, Isabel Lyon, and his business manager, Ralph Ashcroft."

Larry McMurtry. *NYRB,* Apr. 8, 2004: 29–30.

Van der Donck, Adriaen. See **Stuyvesant, Peter.**

Venter, Craig

The Genome War: How Craig Venter Tried to Capture the Code of Life and Save the World. James Shreeve. New York: Knopf, 2003. 403 pp. $26.95.

"The special selling point of 'The Genome War,' by James Shreeve, is that he enjoyed unrestricted access to Venter's company, Celera Genomics, from its founding. So we get the inside story of Venter's ups and downs as he enlisted quirky laboratory personnel, dealt with critical machine failures and politicked nonstop. It all makes for a gripping tale. Venter's sequencing strategy depended on radical techniques, and it was by no means predetermined that he wouldn't fall flat on his face."

David Pauldeau. *NYTBR,* Feb. 15, 2004: 15.

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Volta, Alessandro

Volta: Science and Culture in the Age of Enlightenment. Giulano Pancaldi. Princeton: Princeton UP, 2003. 381 pp. $35.00.

"[I]t was Alessandro Volta (1745–1827), a self-taught citizen of a northern Italian province of the Austrian empire, who invented the voltaic battery in 1799. He did so while trying to reproduce the behavior of the torpedo fish, or electric ray. . . . Volta had an interesting life: at age 18 he refused to attend university and started correspondence with two leading authorities on electricity, Giambattista Beccaria and Jean-Antoine Nollet, writing that he had a 'genius' for electricity."

Fabio Bevilacqua. *American Scientist* 91.6 (Nov.-Dec. 2003): 560–63.

Von Richthofen, Frieda. See **Lawrence, D. H.**

Von Spee, Maximilian. See **Churchill, Winston.**

Wahid, Abdurrahman

Abdurrahman Wahid: Muslim Democrat, Indonesian President; A View from the Inside. Greg Barton. Sydney: U of New South Wales P/Honolulu: U of Hawai'i P, 2002. 414 pp. $19.95.

"This is the first study of Wahid to attempt a more-or-less comprehensive, full-measure view of his life, and the only book-length coverage in English. . . . Barton provides often poignantly detailed accounts of Wahid's early years, his home life, and his struggles within Nahdlatul Ulama, the large (thirty-five million members) and influential political-religious organization that he came to lead. About a quarter of the book is taken up with the presidency, which lasted twenty-one months."

William H. Frederick. *Journal of Asian Studies* 6.1 (Feb. 2004): 247–49.

Warbeck, Perkin

The Perfect Prince: The Mystery of Perkin Warbeck and His Quest for the Throne of England. Ann Wroe. New York: Random House, 2003. 610 pp. $35.00.

"Wroe's exciting and colorful book immerses itself not only in the sources—mainly Polydore Vergil's 'Twenty-Six Books of English History'—but in the costumes and ideological world of the late 15th century. At every point she tells us what clothes Richard Plantagenet, duke of York (for so Warbeck styled himself), was wearing, what cloths and tapestries lined the streets of Malines (now Mechlin, Belgium), where Margaret of York, the dowager duchess of Burgundy, had her court, and what the wild men of the woods in Ireland were eating. Even more usefully, she continually recreates the cultural world of the period, and is particularly detailed in her investigation of

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the new brightness offered by the increasing number, size and clarity of windows and the reflections of that in art and poetry. Detailed too are the accounts of provisions and armaments; those who remember their Latin can enjoy her quotations from the original, compare her translations and enjoy her commentary on the nuances of mood and meaning. The effect of this painstaking scholarship is to provide a vivid sense of authenticity, all the more necessary in a story whose very foundations shift in the treacherous sands of rumor and political opportunism."

Gerard Kilroy. *NYTBR*, Dec. 7, 2003: 6.

Washington, George

An Imperfect God: George Washington, His Slaves, and the Creation of America. Henry Wiencek. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2003. 404 pp. $26.00.

Inventing a Nation: Washington, Adams, Jefferson. Gore Vidal. New Haven: Yale UP, 2003. 198 pp. $22.00.

"In writing 'An Imperfect God,' his honest and compelling study of Washington and slavery, Henry Wiencek came to appreciate only too well that the symbolic significance we attribute to the founders could not survive 18th-century realities. 'Slavery,' he says, 'wrecks the simple heroic narrative of the Founding.' Slavery, in Wiencek's superb telling, certainly makes Washington more of a traditional Southern planter than we have usually been willing to admit. Washington was not a cruel man, but relying as he did on slave labor made him act in a manner that to us can only seem cruel. . . . It is hard to know what to make of Vidal, America's super-satirist. Can he be serious? Yes, sometimes. Probably no American writer since Franklin has derided, ridiculed and mocked Americans more skillfully and more often than Vidal. In this latest effort, which is not one of his lively novels about moments in America's past but his attempt to explain where these great founders came from, Vidal has his usual sardonic fun with the creation of the nation, interspersing his history with some witty remarks about our present dreadful circumstances. Sometimes his foray into history writing contains some shrewd judgments, as, for example, in his descriptions of Jefferson's habits and inconsistencies or of John Adams as the representative of the tortured conscience of the nation. But other times, Vidal's history reads as if it had been written by Dave Barry."

Gordon S. Wood. *NYTBR*, Dec. 14, 2003: 10.

Washington's Crossing. David Hackett Fischer. New York: Oxford UP, 2003. 564 pp. $35.00.

"Fischer argues convincingly that the actions at Trenton and Princeton were the most consequential in American history, for these stunning victories rescued the American cause from what appeared to be certain defeat and thereby transformed the improbability of American independence into a distinct

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possibility, eventually an inevitability. Along the way, Fischer, university professor at Brandeis University, demolishes several myths and misconceptions."

Joseph J. Ellis. *NYTBR*, Feb. 15, 2004: 13.

George Washington. James Macgregor Burns and Susan Dunn. New York: Times Books/Holt, 2003. 185 pp. $20.00.

Burns and Dunn "argue that Washington was a masterly chief executive, well able to manage the most brilliant administration ever assembled, but that his disdain for party politics led Washington to convince himself, wrongly, that he had remained above the fray. Even as he favored Federalists and distrusted Thomas Jefferson's Republican supporters, Washington could maintain that he saw 'no discordance' between the Virginian's agrarian vision and Alexander Hamilton's ambitious business-and-industry program. Washington 'succeeded brilliantly at fostering national unity,' Burns and Dunn conclude, 'but he failed markedly in also trying to foster political unity."

Allen D. Boyer. *NYTBR*, Feb. 15, 2004: 24.

Watson, James D.

Watson and DNA: Making a Scientific Revolution. Victor K. McElheny. Oxford: Perseus, 2003. 363 pp. $27.50.

"In his recent biography of James D. Watson, longtime science writer Victor K. McElheny refers to his subject as 'a detonator in biology.' This characterization reflects Watson's explosive influence on the direction of biology, from his very first detonation, the 1953 *Nature* paper that he wrote with Francis Crick describing the structure of DNA, to his directorship of the Human Genome Project in the late 20th century. . . . His brusque, quirky, contradictory and even cranky behavior has provoked controversy in nearly all these endeavors."

Jon Beckwith. *American Scientist* 91.4 (July-Aug. 2003): 354–58.

Welles, Orson

Orson Welles: The Stories of His Life. Peter Conrad. New York: Faber and Faber, 2003. 384 pp. $25.00, £20.00.

"'Orson Welles' . . . is an amazing book, a fascinating read, a whimsical journey of ideas and speculations that at times will leave you absolutely breathless. Unfortunately, it has little to do with the real Orson Welles: Connections are made, relationships inferred and conclusions drawn that have no basis in fact and nothing whatsoever to do with the man himself. . . . Freely mixing facts and fictions about Orson's real life with the facts and fictions about the unreal characters that Orson created, Conrad seems not to know or care about the differences among them."

Henry Jaglom. *LATBR*, Feb. 29, 2004: 3–4.

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'Avoiding all semblance of a life chronology or even of an analysis of the films . . . *Orson Welles* is concerned with the myths themselves, which Con- rad links to the great cultural texts that shaped Welles. In what could be called a postmodern example of criticism as imitation, Conrad's work suffers from many of the strengths and failings of its subject. It reflects both a wide-ranging, somewhat brilliant allusiveness, and a slovenly, often pretentious exhibitionism. A related problem is that the book provides no historical, psy- chological, or social context for its points."

Paula Marantz Cohen. *TLS,* Jan. 2, 2004: 25.

Wickham, Anne

Anne Wickham: A Poet's Daring Life. Jennifer Vaughan Jones. New York: Madison, 2003. 373 pp. $26.95.

'Jones's biography presents a powerful portrait of Wickham as an unusual and gifted poet, whose sense of loyalty, duty, and puritanical eccentricities warred with her bohemian friendships, lesbian proclivities, and artistic sen- sibility. Perhaps most valuably, Jones deftly captures the central dilemma of Wickham's life: her marriage."

Anne Pender. *TLS,* Feb. 13, 2004: 12.

Wiesel, Elie

The Worlds of Elie Wiesel: An Overview of His Career and His Major Themes. Jack Kolbert. Selinsgrove, PA: Susquehanna UP, 2001. 216 pp. $38.50.

'Kolbert's 'overview' reflects the warm, admiring, and respectful feelings that he has for his subject. There is at times a fundamental dissonance between what is widely known about Wiesel by readers familiar with his work, and what is recorded here. For instance, Kolbert writes that there are 'two or three authors' with whom Wiesel has 'engaged in some fairly stressful rela- tionships' (160), but then refrains from identifying either the people or the issues involved. Likewise, Kolbert concedes that Wiesel, as a writer of the Jewish Holocaust, has many detractors . . . yet he refrains from telling his reader what so rankles Wiesel's many critics. . . . Perhaps most troubling in this resolutely upbeat portrait of Wiesel is the author's ignoring or distorting basic facts about Wiesel's life. An example of the former concerns the only book of enduring value that Wiesel has written, *La Nuit.* Until about fifteen years ago, the book was said to be an 'autobiography' in which . . . the events described 'actually happened.' In recent years, due to criticism, much of it from indignant Jewish voices, ranging from Alfred Kazin in the U.S. to Pierre Vidal-Naquet in France, *La Nuit* has been downgraded by Wiesel's backers to the status of 'autobiographical novel.' Kolbert calls the book an 'autobiographical tale' (30) and avoids the hotly debated topic of the book's veracity altogether. . . . Finally, Kolbert is upset that so many critics consider

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Wiesel to be merely a writer of the Jewish Holocaust and nothing more. He claims that such a view 'severely delimits his true stature among the writers of his generation' (68). Unfortunately, Kolbert does not make a clear case for what Wiesel's 'true stature' should be, and fails to offer a literary analysis of Wiesel's books. Kolhert is to be commended for making a heroic effort to provide a readable, though somewhat flawed, account of his friend's career."

David O'Connell. *French Review* 77.2 (Dec. 2003): 383–85.

Wilkens, Maurice

The Third Man of the Double Helix: The Autobiography of Maurice Wilkins. Maurice Wilkins. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2003. 288 pp. $27.50.

"Like Watson's autobiographical accounts, the book is intensely personal. We are made privy to relationships and events many would leave in the past. But the tone is strikingly different from that of *The Double Helix.* It is considerate, forgiving, and often apologetic. . . . The DNA episode in Wilkins's life strengthened his view that scientific research should be undertaken in a friendly, cooperative, and open manner, rather than competitively and secretly."

Robert Olby. *Science* 302: 5653 (Dec. 19, 2003): 2071–72.

Williams, Ted

Ted Williams: The Biography of an American Hero. Leigh Montville. New York: Doubleday, 2004. 514 pp. $26.95.

"At last, a ballplayer who merits a big biography! And in 'Ted Williams' Leigh Montville has given him one. . . . 'Ted Williams' is a first-rate biography, as far as it goes. The problem is that it goes only about half-way—the point in the book at which Williams is out of baseball. . . . In the end, Ted Williams, both as a man and a ballplayer, is almost buried beneath a mountain of gossip and stories."

Allen Barra. *LATBR,* Apr. 11, 2004: 6.

Willy, Henry Gauthier-Villars (alias)

Willy. Le père de Claudine. François Caradec . Paris: Fayard, 2004. 394 pp. EUR22.

Willy is not remembered because he himself wrote hundreds of forgotten books, but because he was for some years Colette's first husband, and because, he signed his wife's Claudine(s). But he was also a keen, cultivated mind, more tormented than easy-going, with convictions (not always judicious: he was antisemitic), and a valued musical critic, also able to write an inspired review of Proust's *Swann.* His attachment to Colette survived their divorce. One should create a collection of biographies destined to minor figures: one would understand that geniuses are not alone.

Patrick Rechenmann. *Les Monde des Livres,* May 21, 2004: 4.

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Wilson, Bill

My Name is Bill: Bill Wilson: His Life and the Creation of Alcoholics Anonymous. Susan Cheever. New York: Simon and Schuster, 2003. 306 pp. $24.00.

"There is quite a bit of cheerleading in the book, but Cheever embraces the contradictions in Wilson's life and in the organization he founded."

Susan Salter Reynolds. *LATBR,* Feb. 8, 2004: 11.

"Cheever's strong story about the founder of A.A. is nicked by bits of needless repetition about Bill's Yankee temperament, lanky body, great gifts as a storyteller and childhood setbacks. A novelist and a journalist, she writes clearly; however, even more important are the insights and empathy so credibly her own as a reformed drinker who attended meetings of A.A. with her father, the novelist John Cheever."

Michael Kammen. *NYTBR,* Mar. 21, 2004: 14.

Wood, Natalie

Natalie Wood: A Life. Gavin Lambert. New York: Knopf, 2003. 370 pp. $25.95.

"Lambert, a Hollywood veteran, befriended the actress when she starred in 'Inside Daisy Clover,' which he adapted from his novel. He enjoyed extraordinary access to those who were close to Natalie and felt a commitment to telling her story straight, which he does in clean, honest prose. This promises to be her definitive biography."

Jon Boorstin. *LATBR,* Feb. 8, 2004: 5.

Wright, Frank Lloyd. See **Kaufmann, E. J.**

Yeats, William Butler

W. B. Yeats: A Life. Vol. II: The Arch-Poet 1915–1939. R. F. Foster. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2003. 798 pp. $45.00.

"The story of W. B. Yeats's life, Roy Foster observes, 'raises immediate and pressing questions about the relationship between everyday life and creative work.' In fact, the poet's biography is an overwhelming refutation of his insistence that 'The intellect of man is forced to choose/Perfection of the life, or of the work,' since he both lived magnificently and produced one of the greatest bodies of poetic work of the modern age. Of course, the dictum is flawed anyway, perfection being beyond the intellect of man, yet the lines persuade nevertheless as so often in Yeats, by the force of their rhetoric and the harshness of their music. What the poet carried over from the mistiness of the early, Celtic Twilight years into the ebullience and transcendent plainspokenness of his final period, the period covered in Foster's second and

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final volume of the Life, was a calculated disregard for the merely actual. He knew the necessity for myth, and where he could not find myth preexisting he invented. . . . *W. B. Yeats: A Life* is a great and important work, a triumph of scholarship, thought, and empathy such as one would hardly have thought possible in this age of disillusion. It is an achievement wholly of a scale with its heroic subject."

John Banville. *NYRB*, Feb. 26, 2004: 12–14.

Yosano Akiko

Embracing the Firebird: Yosano Akiko and the Birth of the Female Voice in Modern Japanese Poetry. Janine Beichman. Honolulu: U of Hawai'i P, 2002. 264 pp. $23.95.

"Beichman begins . . . with a lengthy, nine-chapter biographical description of tanka poet Yosano Akiko's childhood and young adult years, illustrating the impact of family finances and school experiences upon the will to write in the young life of her iconic subject. . . . We unfortunately hear little of Akiko's pacific activities and contributions to the feminist movement."

Christine Marran. *Journal of Asian Studies* 62.4 (Nov. 2003): 1237–39.

Yoshimasa, Ashikaga

Yoshimasa and the Silver Pavillion. Donald Keene. New York: Columbia UP, 2003. 268 pp. 29.95.

"This enterprising account by the doyen of Japan studies demonstrates that the quintessential Japanese aesthetic—which characterizes Noh drama, sand gardens, monochrome ink paintings, shoji panels, tatami floors, and the tea ceremony—was the creation of a staggeringly incompetent fifteenth-century shogun, Ashikaga Yoshimasa. . . . Keene's multifarious learning and engaging manner illuminate the improbable story of the fastidious aesthete whose taste has been so important in forming the look of the modern world."

The New Yorker, Dec. 1, 2003: 111.

Younghusband, Peter L.

Every Meal a Banquet, Every Night a Honeymoon: Unforgettable African Experiences. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball, 2003. 347 pp. R139.95.

In this collection, Peter Younghusband looks back on a long and evidently harrowing career as a foreign correspondent in Africa. The book consists of 23 stories culled from these experiences. There is no easy coherence here: the stories vary from wry insights into the fraught married life of a foreign correspondent to highly colored accounts of farcical and not-so-farcical revolutions and other upheavals all over the continent. But there are also quieter pieces. Some seem to be faithful accounts of Younghusband's own experiences; others are [illegible] of third-person protagonists.

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often with a good deal of imaginative extrapolation. Younghusband does not shirk the excesses, the sleaze, the opportunism of reporting, but he insists on those as the price paid for the conditions under which these people work. His book testifies, in a most engrossing way, to a life of courage and initiative. More unusually, it reflects a humanity sobered but not embittered by experiences so extreme as to be thinkable for the rest of us only as news reports.

Michael Heyns. *The Sunday Independent,* Dec. 21, 2003: 17.

Younghusband is in many ways the quintessential "old Africa hand" that the British media love to romance about. He has been there and done that. But in this wonderful collection of short stories, vignettes, and novellas, he has chosen not to write his own history (this has been done too often, he says), but rather to tell 23 quirky stories from a long history of reporting. The result is a very good book, a cracker, in fact. It's a rollicking, quirky, very funny, very sad, and fairly eccentric look at Africa.

Tony Weaver. *Cape Times,* Dec. 12, 2003: 7.

COLLECTIONS, GROUP BIOGRAPHIES, AND OTHER WORKS OF INTEREST

Adopted Children

Like Our Very Own: Adoption and the Changing Culture of Motherhood, 1851–1950. Julie Berebitsky. Lawrence: UP of Kansas, 2000. 272 pp. $34.95.

Strangers and Kin: The American Way of Adoption. Barbara Melosh. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 2002. 326 pp. $29.95.

"Welcome to the bureaucratic tangle of race, class and 'family values,' and market forces that characterizes adoption in twenty-first century America. And, as these two new studies show us, these issues are by no means recent phenomena. Historians Julie Berebitsky and Barbara Melosh explore the complex history of adoption as a legal and cultural institution that has profoundly complicated our understanding of the American family in the past century. Berebitsky's *Like Our Very Own* examines the social and cultural experience of adoption. . . . Melosh's *Strangers and Kin* overlaps and extends this focus, examining the evolution and shaping of adoption policy and practice from the 1910s to the present day."

Robin Hemenway. *American Quarterly* 56.1 (Mar. 2004): 183–92.

Afghanistan Women

Meena, Heroine of Afghanistan: The Martyr Who Founded NAWA, the Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan. Melody Ermachild Chavis. New York: St. Martin's, 2003. 208 pp. $19.95.

"On the surface, 'Meena, Heroine of Afghanistan' is a very simple book. Since this account of the life of the founder of the Revolutionary Assn. of the

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Women of Afghanistan, or RAWA, is told for girls as well as women, the style is conventional and direct. Yet the narrative will provide a profoundly moving experience for readers of any age. . . . This is a book not only to read but to urge others to read. It provides, in its devastating way, a measure of hope."

Susan Griffin. *LATBR*, Mar. 7, 2004: 8–9.

"It is a good time for Muslim women with a story to tell. Eager to condemn extremism and inequity in the Muslim world, we are in the market for a Middle Eastern Joan of Arc. [Chavis seeks] to capitalize on this prevailing spirit of righteous goodwill [which in this instance] results in an uncritical preaching to the choir and a concomitant loss of texture and complexity. . . . This sentimental tilt does not serve her well when coping with such aspects of the story as Meena's detachment from her children or her 'martyrdom' actually being inflicted by her sister's fiancé. Meena's younger sister later married the man believed to have strangled Meena and two male companions."

Gelareh Asayesh. *WP*, Jan. 19–25, 2004: 33.

American Women

A Is for Abigail: An Almanac of Amazing American Women. Lynne Cheney. New York: Simon and Schuster, 2003. 48 pp. $16.95.

"'A Is for Abigail: An Almanac of Amazing American Women,' far more fun and less didactic than Cheney's first primer, is brimful of heroines—mostly dead and mostly white, although the selection is otherwise varied and entertaining. Great moralizers and goody-goodies get equal time with protesters, politicians, journalists, abolitionists, runaways and other troublemakers."

Rebecca Pepper Sinkler. *NYTBR*, Nov. 16, 2003: 31.

Asian and Pacific Islander American Women

Asian/Pacific Islander American Women: A Historical Anthology. Ed. Shirley Hune and Gail M. Nomura. New York: New York UP, 2003. 426 pp. $24.00.

"Shirley Hune teaches urban planning and Asian American studies, and Gail M. Nomura teaches American ethnic studies. As editors of *Asian/Pacific Islander American Women,* they have compiled a worthwhile anthology of women's experiences in America that reinterprets women's historical experiences through the special lens of women of color. The anthology includes chapters on Native Hawaiian, Chinese, Indian, Korean, Filipino, Japanese, Vietnamese, Hmong and Cambodian, and Chamorro women's historical experiences in the United States. It offers viewpoints of the participants themselves, critical perspectives of scholars of women's history, and bibliographic sources."

Barbara Bennett Peterson. *Pacific Historical Review* 75.2 (May 2004): 320–22.

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Bush Cabinet Members

Rise of the Vulcans: The History of Bush's War Cabinet. James Mann. New York: Viking, 2004. 426 pp. $25.95.

"'Rise of the Vulcans' is an astute group biography of Dick Cheney, Colin Powell, Donald Rumsfeld, Condoleezza Rice, Paul Wolfowitz and Richard Armitage. But it's also a unique history of how the Vietnam-era realpolitik of Nixon and Henry Kissinger gave way to today's pseudo-Wilsonian campaign to make the Middle East safe for democracy—the journey from Saigon to Baghdad. These officials (Rice excepted) began their careers during Vietnam: Powell and Armitage served, while the rest, as Cheney once said of himself, 'had other priorities,' and worked in government. All constructed lessons from Vietnam that informed their critiques, and later their practice, of American foreign policy. Unfortunately, by omitting Bush, Mann gives us the doughnut but not the hole."

David Greenberg. *NYTBR,* Mar. 14, 2004: 8.

Cambodians

Not Just Victims: Conversations with Cambodian Community Leaders in the United States. Ed. Sucheng Chan, interviews conducted by Audrey U. Kim. Urbana: U of Illinois P, 2003. xxx + 299 pp. $19.95.

"Once again, Sucheng Chan has given us a work of great substance and value, building upon the fine collection of personal histories she edited in *Hmong Means Free* (1994). Her fifty-eight page introduction is really composed of two parts, the first on the methodology of oral histories used here versus sociological interviews, and the second a historical overview of the fall of Cambodia, the genocidal Khmer Rouge period followed by the decade long Vietnamese occupation, and the phases of refugee movements to the United States and elsewhere. She provides a convincing case for the quality and reliability of oral histories, which can 'give voice to the voiceless' (p. xvii)."

Elliott Robert Barkan. *Pacific Historical Review* 72.4 (Nov. 2003): 666–67.

First-person Narratives in France

Le Roman à la première personne: du classicisme aux Lumières. René Démoris. Titre courant 25. Geneva: Droz, 2002. 510 pp. EUR22.

"When this study appeared in 1975, Vivienne Mylne welcomed its comprehensive coverage of a genre whose importance was then still insufficiently recognized. The extent of the updated Bibliography, which is the one change made by the author for this re-edition, demonstrates how radically this situation has changed. René Démoris's study now stands revealed as a seminal work. It aims to trace the evolution of first-person narration in France from its first stirrings to its triumph in the novel of the 1730s, with the central thesis that the genre reflects the crisis of an artistic conscience fettered by absolutism

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and, later, the rising bourgeoisie. . . . Fiction and memoirs begin to measure themselves against each other and, from 1680 to 1728, fiction is forced to invent its own documentary status as the genres become confused. The pivotal figure is Courtilz de Sandras, a man of modest literary pretensions, whose *faux mémoires* duped the public less than is sometimes supposed, but capable of great variety, and a significant critic of the monarchs, generating a range of literary types with a long future ahead of them. . . . As well as offering penetrating studies of the leading figures, Démoris's work covers an impressive range of lesser-known texts, embracing utopias, travellers' tales and the special category of women's memoirs. He brings alive a period and class of writers who deserve serious attention, and he has done much to help us see Manvaux and Prévost as the high points of their own fictional genre, rather than mere precursors of nineteenth-century realism."

Richard A. Francis. *French Studies* 58 (2004): 102–03.

French HIV Narratives

HIV Stories: The Archaeology of AIDS Writing in France, 1985–1998. Jean Pierre Boulé. Liverpool: Liverpool UP, 2002. 184 pp. £17.95.

"Boulé selects a particular Western site in which AIDS discourse has come into existence—France—and addresses the very earliest phase of its formulation. Adopting what he terms an archaeological approach, he excavates a set of previously neglected 1980s texts in which French AIDS discourse found its first voice. Having mapped out the social, political and national-cultural framework within which those texts emerged (one unconducive to AIDS activism and prevention), he dissects the variant voices that resonate within and across them, adopting a critical approach nourished by psychoanalysis and, more broadly, by various forms of poststructuralist reading practice. The works he chooses to study are categorized either as AIDS fictions . . . or as AIDS testimonies. . . . Boulé's more politicized AIDS testimonies have identifiable authors: Michel Simonin, Jean-Paul Aron and Alain Emmanuel Dreuilhe. However, his AIDs fictions—*Pourquoi moi?* (Juliette); *SIDA: Témoignage sur la vie et la mort de Martin* (Hélène Laygues); and *Bienvenue dans le monde du sida!* (Mike Winer)—are the work of writers obscured behind pseudonyms. This phenomenon constrains Boulé's analysis of the gendered voices of AIDS discourse, and prevents him from being able either to assess the function of authorial positioning in the texts listed above, or to take his investigation of their manipulation of genre as far as he would clearly wish to do. Boulé's readings, more especially of the AIDS testimonies, are proficient and illuminating, if marred on occasion by an over-reliance on psychoanalytic/poststructuralist critical discourses whose mining is not always helpful. His *HIV Stories* is of significant use to scholars of AIDS writing, and is a very welcome addition to the corpus of studies of that discourse."

Alex Hughes. *French Studies* 57.4 (2003): 563–64.

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Historical Pretenders

The Great Pretenders: The True Stories behind Famous Historical Mysteries. Jan Bondeson. New York: Norton, 2004. 326 pp. $25.95.

"Bondeson, a British rheumatologist with an engaging sideline in the more sensational byways of history, sifts evidence with a keen understanding of the difficulty of establishing the truth: 'Kings and queens are mere mortals but it is difficult to kill off a good story.' DNA testing has felled a few hypotheses, but mysteries persist, in part, Bondeson believes, because they are bound up with larger questions of national identity."

The New Yorker. Feb. 16 & 23, 2004: 192.

Iraqi Women

Mayada, Daughter of Iraq: One Woman's Survival Under Saddam Hussein. Jean Sasson. New York: Dutton, 2003. 304 pp. $24.95.

"This Iraqi version of 'Lifestyles of the Rich and Famous' is loaded with narrative embellishments that rob it of credibility. Every other woman in Mayada's prison cell is a raving beauty, their leader is angelic, and all pay homage to Mayada's famous ancestors. . . . Mayada is a woman of flexible convictions. . . . In jail she lamented that a close family friend was no longer Hussein's head torturer."

Gelareh Asayesh. *WP,* Jan. 19–25, 2004: 33.

Japanese Americans

Japanese American Celebration and Conflict: A History of Ethnic Identity and Festival in Los Angeles, 1934–1990. Lon Kurashige. Berkeley: U of California P, 2002. xxii + 274 pp. $18.95.

"Lon Kurashige's study of Nisei Week celebrations in Southern California's Little Tokyo from 1934 to 1990 is a sweeping look at one ethnic group's internal and external debates about their identity through the lens of festivity. It therefore adds a great deal to the growing scholarship on ethnic celebrations and their role in the making (and unmaking) of ethnic identity. The study illuminates the significant connections between racial formations, foreign policy, and immigrant and ethnic communities."

April Schultz. *Pacific Historical Review* 72.4 (Nov. 2003): 665–66.

Manhattan Project Women

Their Day in the Sun: Women of the Manhattan Project. Ed. Ruth Howes and Caroline L. Herzenberg. Philadelphia: Temple UP, 2002. 264 pp. $21.95.

"[W]hile preparing a chapter for *Women and the Use of Military Force* (1993), [Howes and Herzenberg] followed 'the links of a number of old-girl networks' (p. 3) to obtain personal recollections from about 150 women, most

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older than eighty, and about 150 others no longer alive who worked at the three major Manhattan Project sites—Los Alamos, New Mexico; Hanford, Washington; and Oak Ridge, Tennessee. They also talked with supervisors, husbands, children, and friends and explored the accessible literature about the Manhattan project. . . . Their book gives separate chapters to female physicists, chemists, mathematicians and calculators, biologists and medical scientists, technicians, and 'Other Women of the Manhattan Project.'"

Charles T. Morrissey. *Pacific Historical Review* 73.2 (May 2004): 334–35.

Mormons

More Wives Than One: Transformation of the Mormon Marriage System. Kathryn M. Daynes. Urbana: U of Illinois P, 2001. 305 pp. $34.95.

"This is one of the most important books ever written about polygamy among the Mormons (believers in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, headquartered in Salt Lake City). Its greatest strength lies in its 150-year study of community, religious values, marriage dynamics, and polygamy in Manti, Utah, from the town's formation in 1849 by a polygamous associate of founding LDS prophet Joseph Smith to the 1999 activities of Manti's schismatic Mormon group, the True and Living Church of Jesus Christ of Saints of the Last Days (shortened to TLC). . . . Daynes provides a sympathetic and cogent analysis of the pioneer Mormon belief system that enshrined polygamy as the highest form of marriage. The analysis of polygamy's problems is clear-eyed, but the author demonstrates an institutional basis."

D. Michael Quinn. *Pacific Historical Review,* 73.2 (May 2004): 327–28.

Oulipo Group

Literary Memory, Consciousness, and the Group Oulipo. Peter Consenstein. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2002. 252 pp. $56.00.

Consenstein explores memory, not as a "simple instrument of erudition but as a theoretical foundation of the rules defining the Oulipian novel." Among other works examined is Jacques Roubaud's *La Boucle,* an example of demolition of the autobiographical genre whose tripartite macrostructure follows the structure of memory: "physiologically speaking, memory is itself a three-stage process: an event is encoded, stored, then retrieved." Because it uses conscious memory in its literary constraints as a theoretical starting point, the Oulipo group offers a unique example of a new mnemonics which may enlighten an element central to the biographical genre.

Sandra Garbarino. *Studi Francesi,* May-Aug. 2003: 487.

Photographers of the American West

Print the Legend: Photography and the American West. Martha A. Sandweiss. New Haven: Yale UP, 2002. 416 pp. $39.95.

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River of Shadows: Eadweard Muybridge and the Technological Wild West. Rebecca Solnit. New York: Viking, 2003. 305 pp. $25.95.

"The long exposure time and the inherent difficulty of preparing and developing wet-plate negatives onsite meant that neither of the war's [Modoc Indian War of 1872–73] two photographers—Louis Heller and the more famous Eadweard Muybridge—could document actual battle scenes. But they did produce an impressive range of images that show soldiers' army camps; regional landscapes, including battlefield sites; Indian scouts who worked for the U.S. Army; and captured Modoc Indians after the conflict. . . . Both books tell intriguing stories about the nineteenth-century American West. . . . Reading them in tandem offers insights into the role of photography in visualizing stories of that time and place . . . visual technologies, social power, and the material conditions of everyday life."

Steven Hoelscher. *American Quarterly* 56.1 (Mar. 2004): 201–211.

South African Children

The Story of My Life: South Africa seen through the eyes of its children. Han Lans. Cape Town: Kwela Books, 2002. 132 pp. R175.

This is a most unusual and wonderful book. Twelve South African children, aged between ten and thirteen, tell their stories. They invite the reader into their homes and schools to see their daily lives. These children, from all over South Africa, are from different cultural backgrounds, speak different languages, and have different religious beliefs. They are the epitome of the rainbow nation. . . . The compiler, Han Lans, a professional photographer, in collaboration with Annari van der Merwe of Kwela Books, compiled a list of children, all chosen by someone in their communities. Lans provided each child with a camera and instructions on how to use it. They had to keep a diary and write down what they had photographed over three months. All the photographs are reproduced as they were taken by the children, and the captions and short family histories were also written by them. Each section begins with a brief description of the region or town in which each child lives, written by Annari van der Merwe. The book is beautifully produced. . . . It is highly recommended for public library collections, schools and as a model for other countries, regions, and towns to emulate and think about.

Cécile Lomer. *African Book Publishing Record* 29.2 (2003): 125.

South Asian Americans

Suburban Sahibs: Three Immigrant Families and Their Passage From India to America. S. Mitra Kalita. New Brunswick: Rutgers UP, 2003. 170 pp. $23.95.

"A staff writer for The Washington Post and the daughter of Indian immigrants, Kalita profiles three Indian-American families pursuing their sometimes elusive dreams in the New World. The Rotharis, the Patels and the

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Sarmas are in many ways quite different, but together they exemplify a vibrant new force in American life, the growth of ethnic enclaves in America's suburbs, in this case, Edison, Woodbridge and a few other communities in Middlesex County, N.J. Thirty years ago there were hardly any Indians at all in Edison; now they make up some 20 percent of the population."

John S. Major. *NYTBR*, Dec. 14, 2003: 16.

World War II Service Women

La guerre n'a pas un visage de femme. Svetlana Alexievitch. Paris: Presses de la Renaissance, 2004. 398 pp. EUR22.

Because she had enough of heroic stories harped upon at school, at university, in literature, she decided to do a chronicle about women. Ex-service women. "Men count the dead, they speak of the fights, of the arms. Women don't speak of victory. They speak of sufferings." One of these told her: "I can't speak of it. For years I was unable to go to market: I couldn't stand the sight of flesh." Another: "You come back from the war with a sick soul." A third one: "The ships had gone down. The sailors' caps floated on the water, the sea looked like a communal grave." Women also speak of the great Soviet utopia: "There will probably never be a people as naive, as sincere, as the Soviets."

Brigitte Breillac (conversation with the author). *Le Monde des Livres*, June 18, 2004: 10.

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LIFELINES

Call for Papers. "Life Writing and the History of Economics." Hope Conference 2006. Duke University, April 2006. Historians of economics are profoundly ambivalent about life writing. Should biography be a part of what we do? We make use of autobiographical material in the construction of our histories but we haven't, as a discipline, reflected upon how and why that material was constructed and preserved, and how it ought to be read and interpreted by contemporary historians. This conference is designed to facilitate that conversation. Suggested topics include: How should we treat autobiographical material in the construction of histories? How are heroes and villains created for popular (economists', historians') consumption? What relationship exists between scientific biography and literary biography in the history of economics? What do we need to know about property rights and ethical issues surrounding the use of non-public material, particularly material that concerns living subjects? How do people generally, or scientists in particular, present their lives in autobiographical material? Do economists present their lives in a similar fashion? How is autobiographical material subsequently used to reconstruct history? With respect to oral histories and interviews, can (and should) we systematically collect and interpret autobiographical material? Are there particular issues related to living subjects and recent history? Why and how do economists write autobiography? What relations exist between biographer and subject? Biographer and reader? Reader and subject? What can historians of economics learn from scholars in other disciplines? All conference sessions will be plenary, and the number of papers will be limited to 15 to 20 to ensure adequate time for general discussion. All papers will be circulated to all conference participants in advance of the conference. Papers will be refereed for inclusion in a special supplement to *History of Political Economy* (HOPE), and will be published as a special volume by Duke University Press. Conference organizers will pay local expenses (food, airport transfers, lodging, etc.) for participants, but not transportation of conferees to or from Durham, North Carolina. Send paper proposals (not to exceed five hundred words) and contact information to both conference organizers: Evelyn Forget (Community Health Sciences, Faculty of Medicine, University of Manitoba, 750 Bannatyne Ave., Winnipeg MB CANADA R3E 0W3; forget@cc.umanitoba.ca), and Roy Weintraub (Department of Economics, Duke University, Box 90097, Durham NC, 27708-0097; erw@econ.duke.edu). **Deadline for proposals**: 15 Oct. 2004.

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Call for Papers. "The Vietnam War, Thirty Years On: Memories, Legacies, and Echoes." University of Newcastle's Research Group for War, Society, and Culture. 14–15 Apr. 2005. Keynote Speakers: James Westheider, University of Cincinnati, and Peter Stanley, Australian War Memorial. Papers and panel proposals are invited on any aspect of the theme. Please send 200 word proposals, or requests for information, to Chris Dixon, History Discipline, School of Liberal Arts, University of Newcastle, Callaghan NSW 2308, Australia (chris.dixon@newcastle.edu.au); or Nathalie Nguyen, School of Language and Media, University of Newcastle, Callaghan NSW 2308, Australia (nathalie.nguyen@newcastle.edu.au). **Deadline:** 29 Oct. 2004.

Call for Papers. "Women's Texts and Cultural Contexts: Eighteenth and Nineteenth-Century British Women Writers Conference." University of Louisiana at Lafayette Department of English. 14–17 Apr. 2005. Keynote Speakers: Catherine Burroughs (Wells College), Linda Hughes (Texas Christian University), and Susan Staves (Brandeis University). Suggested topics include women writing culture, performing culture, sensation fiction, religion and women's writing, women and science, women's professions, women in journalism, new women and their impact, domestic ideologies, writing for children, images of the woman poet, subversive women, women's bodies, bodies of women, mothers as cultural icons, women and empire, women and the public sphere. Please submit a 1–2 page blinded abstract, and a cover letter with contact information and affiliation, to British Women Writer's Conference, Department of English, University of Louisiana at Lafayette, P.O. Box 44691, Lafayette, LA 70504; bwwc@louisiana.edu; www.louisiana.edu/bwwc. **Deadline:** 31 Oct. 2004.

Call for Articles. "Teaching through Testimony." Special Issue of *Transformations: The Journal of Inclusive Scholarship and Pedagogy.* The editors seek articles (3,000–8,000 words) and media reviews (1,000–3,000 words) examining approaches to teaching testimony in various contexts: creative writing, oral history, women's and gender studies, anthropology, literature, history, psychology, sociology, art, photography, geography, religion, environmental studies, philosophy, working-class studies, ethnic studies, cultural studies, and so on. Multidisciplinary approaches and discussions of non-Western cultures are especially encouraged, as are autobiographical criticism, narrative scholarship, photo-essays, and experimental work. Suggested topics include how teaching through testimony can be implemented from K-12 to higher education; how teaching through testimony can be relevant to progressive education; how teaching through testimony relates to topics such as war

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genocide, domestic abuse, conflict resolution, poverty, racism, citizenship and civil rights; teaching through testimony in nonacademic spaces such as prisons, shelters, and so on; how to incorporate trauma theory and theory of witness into the syllabus; and hybrid genres. Send two paper copies to Jacqueline Ellis and Edvidge Giunta, Editors, *Transformations,* Grossnickle Hall Room 303, New Jersey City University, 2039 Kennedy Boulevard, Jersey City, NJ 07305; or email submissions as MS Word or rtf format attachments to transformations@njcu.edu. **Deadline:** 15 Nov. 2004.

Call for Papers. "Paradoxes of Citizenship: Environments, Exclusions, Equity." The Canadian Association for Commonwealth Literature and Language Studies (CACLALS) at the Congress of Social Sciences and Humanities. The University of Western Ontario. 27–29 May 2005. CACLALS invites proposals for papers and panels on such themes as citizenship and belonging; here and not (t)here; the diasporic experience; displaced generations, ambiguous identities; transforming/multiple identities; eco-criticism and decolonization; representations of disability in decolonizing literatures and theory; language, identity and citizenship; linguistic and cultural identity of minority writers; changing allegiances of cultural community; narratives of globalization; genre equity in postcolonial literary criticism; postcolonial autobiography; music in this era of anxiety and terror. Please submit suggestions for special sessions or paper proposals of not less than 500 words, and a bio of approximately 100 words, to program chair Ranjini.Mendis@kwantlen.ca, or cc.caclals@kwantlen.ca. Proposals will be blind-vetted by a committee and you will be informed by the end of January. Please note that proposals will be considered only from paid-up members of CACLALS, and we request that you send in proposals only if you plan on attending the conference. **Deadline:** 30 Nov. 2004.

Call for Papers. "Self and Subject: African and Asian Perspectives." Open University Ferguson Centre for African and Asian Studies. 20–23 Sept. 2005. Edinburgh Conference Centre, Heriot-Watt University. This conference seeks to foreground recent innovative reflections on the status of the individual subject through a questioning of different disciplinary approaches. It asks how the recognition that individual lives are formed in increasingly complex multicultural and transnational contexts demands new methodologies for rethinking the subject within and across disciplinary boundaries. Papers are invited from literary theorists, historians, anthropologists, philosophers, art historians and other specialists of Africa and Asia who have an interest in such domains as life histories, post-colonial literature, autobiography,

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visual representation, material culture, aesthetics, the media, ethnicity, ethnography, migration and diaspora studies, and the politics of identity. The conference will be divided into eight panels, each organized around a particular theme: 1. Life Writing/Reading Lives: to examine the processes by which the colonial and post-colonial subject is rendered into textual form and the reception of those textual selves. Sub-themes include: (a) autobiography, biography; (b) narrative and memory; (c) heroism, hagiography, and the exemplary life; (d) invisible presences—lost lives. 2. Translating Cultures: to debate the relationship between the act of linguistic translation and cultural transmission. Sub-themes include (a) the invisible transportation of the source text; (b) cultural interchange—translating/transferring cultures; (c) translating the self; (d) "cosmopolitics," "glocalisation," and cultural translation. 3. Aesthetic Questions: to examine the conceptualization of the aesthetic dimension of life in African and Asian cultures. Sub-themes include: (a) is transcultural aesthetics possible? (b) insider and outsider views of aesthetic concepts; (c) sense of self/sense of beauty; (d) the search for aesthetic universals. 4. Transcultural Histories: to question the essentialized subject of history and to debate the mutually implicating relationship between "the economic" and "the cultural" in African and Asian histories. Sub-themes include: (a) beyond nation-state histories; (b) material and cultural transactions and interactions; (c) the search for cultural creativity; (d) revisiting the concept of historical agency. 5. Image and Sound: to explore recent approaches to the audiovisual in which cultural processes and subject formation are perceived as practices in sounds, images, and performances, and to reevaluate and recontextualize the status of different disciplinary approaches to the audiovisual subject. Sub-themes include a) image practices; b) sound practices; c) the performative; d) "audiovisualscapes." 6. Cultural Identities/Global Politics: to explore manifestations of nationality, religion, ethnicity, class and gender in the 21st century. Sub-themes include: (a) identity post-9/11; (b) cosmopolitan citizenship; (c) margins and metropoles; (d) post-colonial futures. 7. Body Forms: to explore African and Asian conceptions and expressions of self through a focus on the visual media of dress, body art and related practices, and to evaluate different disciplinary approaches to embodied experience. Sub-themes include (a) interrogating the boundaries of the body; (b) dress as individual expression and social skin; (c) the interplay of globalizing and localizing forces on the body; (d) the relationship between bodily and other modes of visual and sensorial expression 8. Situated Identities, Migrant Cultures, and Contested Locations: to explore the relationship between migrant communities and locations and to examine how local cultural identities, in the process of transformation, are displayed in cultural

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productions. Sub-themes include: (a) being there—ethnography in the 21st century; (b) travelling cultures; (c) border lands; (d) exile. For more information, contact the the Ferguson Centre for African and Asian Studies, Faculty of Arts, The Open University, Walton Hall, Milton Keynes MK7 6AA, UK: arts-ferguson-centre-enquiries@open.ac.uk. **Deadline:** 31 Dec. 2004.

Call for Articles. "The Woman Question in Nineteenth-Century America." *ATQ* Special Issue. Even though one might argue that such a question did not exist because there is no one time when "the question" was asked and answered, nevertheless "The Woman Question" did occur as a specific, a public, and an ongoing debate during the nineteenth and into the twentieth century in the United States. The Question is as relevant at the beginning of the twenty-first century as it was from 1837 to 1915 in part because the debate continues. With this in mind, a re-examination of the Question's causes and effects in light of the twenty-first century as well as recent developments in literary, cultural, and gender studies seems appropriate. Articles might explore but are not limited to the following topics: the influence of science, sociology, psychology, or anthropology; Charles Darwin's, Herbert Spencer's, et al. contributions; the burgeoning of sexology; interrogation of articles from *Popular Science Monthly*; differences within forums of debate, i.e., oratories, news articles, political cartoons; literary reactions; major and minor voices within the debate. Interdisciplinary approaches are especially welcome. *ATQ* will have the capacity to reproduce images for this special issue. Please submit manuscripts (3,000 to 7,500 words, following the *MLA Handbook,* accompanied by return postage) to Theresa DeFrancis, *ATQ* Special Issue Editor 2005; Department of English, Independence Hall; 60 Upper College Road, Suite 2; University of Rhode Island; Kingston, RI 02881. **Deadline:** 15 Jan. 2005.

Call for Papers. "Creating Literary Space(s) for Self and Other." SCMLA Convention. Houston. 27–29 Oct. 2005. This session welcomes original creative nonfiction, or critical essays that employ one or more creative writing strategies to address literary space(s) in general—texts, writing strategies, and/or writers—as emotional, intellectual, and/or temporal space(s), or to discuss creative nonfiction writers such as Tim O'Brien, Joan Didion, Annie Dillard, John McPhee, Terry Tempest Williams, and other writers who employ creative techniques to explore the space(s) where the realities of self and other merge and/or diverge. Email abstracts or papers to Stella Thompson (Department of Languages and Communication, Prairie View A & M University) at jthompson39@houston.rr.com. **Deadline:** 15 Feb. 2005.

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New Publication Series. *Journal Intime.* Limited edition chapbook series from Éditions des Cendres (8, rue des Cendriers, 75020 Paris). Issues to date include *Ariane, ou le Prix du Journal intime,* by Philippe Lejeune, an account of the Prix du Journal intime, sponsored from 1957 to 1970 by Marguerite Grépon and the journal *Ariane*; *Journal de Jallez,* by Jules Romains, which contains excerpts from Romain's *La Douceur de la vie,* and *La Tapis magique* and *Biomètre,* by Marc-Antoine Jullien, which recreates Jullien's (1775–1848) tablettes, which "appliqué à la vie journalière, à l'étude de nous-mêmes et à la connaissance du coeur humain, fournit les moyens de perfectionner le caractère moral, d'exercer les facultés intelectuelles, d'augmenter les forces physiques, de conserver et d'affermir la santé, la moralité, le jugement, et méme la fortune et le bonheur."

Prosopography Centre Established. The Modern History Research Unit at the University of Oxford has created a Prosopography Centre. Designed to serve the historical community regardless of chronological emphasis, the Centre's goals are to develop guides to prosopography that will serve as first points of reference for newcomers to the field, and will enable specialists to keep abreast of new developments, including software designed for prosopographical work; to develop teaching programs; and to provide a forum for linking groups or individual collaborators from around the world. For more information, contact the Oxford Prosopography Centre, Modern History Research Unit, Block 11-2 Radcliffe Infirmary, Oxford OX2 6HE, UK: prosop@history.ox.ac.uk; www.users.ox.ac.uk/~prosop.

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GERMAN REDISCOVERY OF LIFE WRITING: INTRODUCTION TO ESSAYS ON GERMAN-SPEAKING WOMEN AS RULERS, CONSORTS, AND ROYAL MISTRESSES IN THE LONG EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

RUTH DAWSON WITH WALTRAUD MAIERHOFER

Biography and autobiography are being rediscovered by German scholars of history, literature, and the social sciences. For most of the twentieth century, biography and autobiography were slightly disreputable non-members hanging around outside the genre clubs of both history and literature in Germany. Although both disciplines simultaneously used and shunned the two forms, the general public displayed an embarrassingly unabashed fondness for them, and effectively encouraged life writing to persist and thrive, despite the lack of scholarly respectability. It seemed clear to many historians that biography and autobiography were a kind of solipsistic and quite unreliable literature masquerading as history, useful mostly as a last resort. It was clear to many specialists in literature—Germanists—that biography and autobiography lacked the creative élan to lift them out of the puddles of pseudo-history; such genres were respectable only in the hands of one of the greats. And then, starting in the 1980s, things began to change (Klein 1–5).

German explanations for the rediscovery of auto/biography include growing dissatisfaction with history-without-people (Kästner), and deepening interest in social history, especially the histories of previously neglected segments of society such as peasants, domestic servants, and in general, women. The search for primary sources about such groups demanded openness to the spurned life-writing genres. Biographies and autobiographies elbowed their way back onto the premises of scholarliness. In the nineteenth century, biography had been central to German positivist historiography, with its focus on political history and the actions of "great" (read "powerful") men (not women). Early in the twentieth century, biographers became interested in the

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women who were close to the "great" men, and women scholars began to write about women authors, but this initial move toward feminist scholarship did not long survive. When interest in life writing resumed six decades later, the nineteenth-century attitudes and theories about greatness were not revived.

Another strand of history, the history of mentalities, also plays a role in the new developments. Often alongside social history but not identical with it, the history of mentalities evolved in Europe for much of the twentieth century in loose connection with the French "Ecole des *Annales*." Searching for sources to document the effects of history on the individual and society, European scholars found fresh questions to ask of life writing, and fresh ways to analyze the literary accomplishment and historical usefulness of biography and autobiography. Meanwhile literary scholars were grappling with complex problems about subjectivity, about how an intended audience influences the representation of self, about breaks and gaps in the narrative—all issues connected to life writing. In this context, biography and autobiography no longer looked so obviously ineligible for literary consideration.

One of the changes broadly affecting both history and literature late in the twentieth century, the "linguistic turn," also influenced the reception of biography and autobiography. Close attention to how language works, including such elements as the importance of genre or the lack of simple relation between sign and signified, made scholars suspicious of autobiography as a straightforward record of any kind, least of all of an authentic self. Yet at the same time that it raised doubts, the linguistic turn suggested that the divide between life writing and other genres was not as sharp as it might have seemed, and gave scholars new tools for theory-enriched readings of these texts.

University politics may well also have played a role in the renewed attention to life writing. Intellectually and financially motivated emphasis on interdisciplinary work at German universities (Jancke), nudged on by competition with the natural sciences (Klein 2), has changed biography and autobiography from disciplinary misfits into interdisciplinary targets of opportunity.

Although this is not mentioned in German scholarly accounts of why biography and autobiography are receiving renewed interest, to an outsider it is impossible not to suspect another motivating element as well: the "Wende," the "turning point" in 1989 when the Berlin Wall came down, gave Germans on both sides of a previously almost impermeable divide an opportunity to get acquainted and to compare life stories. It seems logical that some of the popular fascination with those comparisons spilled over into scholarly interest, especially after the admired writer Christa Wolf's controversial *Was bleibt* (*What Remains*), her autobiographical account of life in the

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DDR in the 1970s, was published in the year of German unification, and their acclaimed self-narratives by Holocaust survivors, such as Ruth Klüger's *Weiter leben* (*Still Alive*), had appeared.

Thus, beginning in the 1980s and gathering force in the 1990s, an exciting and informative reevaluation of both autobiography and biography began, with historians and Germanists talking intensively and eagerly together along with scholars from elsewhere in the humanities and social sciences.

EGODOCUMENT

In 199 a conference, held outside Frankfurt under the auspices of the Werner Reimers foundation (which promotes multidisciplinary scholarly exchange), addressed a concept borrowed from Dutch scholarship: egodocument. This word was first devised by the Dutch historian Jacques Presser in the 1950s; since the 1980s another Dutch historian, Rudolf Dekker, has used the term to gather together diaries, autobiographies, memoirs, travel accounts, and letters under one umbrella concept. Winfried Schulze, however, as organizer of the 1992 conference, startled his audience by expanding Dekker's notion to include both voluntary and coerced self-reports. Schulze argued for a broad use of "egodocument," including such forms as confessions, petitions, and interrogations. In short, Schulze was willing to include documents demanded and even forced by administrative, judicial, and financial authorities, especially when these materials use or purport to use the actual words of the coerced individual and give at least particles of evidence about the self-perception of an individual (28). From the beginning Schulze argued that the expanded understanding of egodocument would give us new access to previously silent or silenced groups, and he specifically mentioned women. He pointed to the use that Heide Wunder had made of wills to enlarge the tools of gender history.

The term egodocument continues to elicit controversy. One criticism is that it has a Freudian ring to it, although the early modern documents that the term designates contain less self reflection and more material about an individual's place in a particular social setting (Rutz par. 4). Literary historians argue that egodocument is a historiographical term that does not transfer well to literature (Heuser). An important charge specifically against Schulze's expanded definition of egodocuments is that coerced statements are so completely adapted to the immediate situation that they are almost useless as evidence about the individual. Thomas Althaus argues that deconstructionist skepticism about access to individual early modern subjectivities via even the least coerced egodocuments means that the historical usefulness of such

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materials is only as a record of mentalities. Rutz considers an advantage of the notion of egodocument to be its ability to include groups that otherwise left no individual personal records, especially illiterate segments of the population, and once again, women as a group (par. 5). As literary scholars emphasize, all utterances are affected by the audience; well-chosen reading techniques may still make them useful. For example, Claudia Ulbrich offers a meticulous reading of a set of juridical egodocuments written by scribes on behalf of illiterate women in confrontation with authorities. Ulbrich teases out the context of each document, the power dynamics affecting each, and the linguistic markers in each text. She convincingly argues that valuable observations can be made about the women based even on these heavily mediated texts.

SELBSTZEUGNIS 'SELF-TESTIMONY'

In addition to the controversies about the Dutch notion of egodocument, another reason for German hesitation in adopting the term is probably that a competing German word was already gaining acceptance and precision. This less inclusive designation for autobiographical types of writing is *Selbstzeugnis* 'self-testimony' (Rutz, English abstract). Gabriele Jancke, describing a major interdisciplinary research project at the Free University of Berlin, uses the term *Selbstzeugnis* "to encompass writing about oneself, about one's own experiences and observations relating to oneself in all literary forms and traditions, including various genres such as travel writing, chronicles, family histories, biographical entries in reference works, diplomats' accounts, etc." Given the emphatically transcultural agenda of the Berlin project, and considering that "autobiographies, narrowly defined, are rarely to be found anywhere before the eighteenth century," Jancke asserts that "it does not make much sense for non-European and for all premodern historical studies to concentrate on autobiographies in a strict sense" (par. 5). For the Berlin project as well as for a series of conferences and essay collections in the 1990s and up to the present, *Selbstzeugnis* has been a much used collective term, more inclusive than autobiography but not as broad as Schulze's egodocument.

Yet, even for groups that have a decided preference for *Selbstzeugnis*, the tussle with egodocument reappears as soon as translation into English is needed. Some German scholars translate the German term with the word egodocument. Daniela Hacke, for example, entitled a conference she organized "Selbstzeugnisse frühneuzeitlicher Städterinnen," and then translated it as "Ego documents of women in early modern German cities."

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AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL TEXTS

Amidst all these changes, the noun *Autobiographie,* with its implication of a fixed genre and certain closure, has lost much of its standing. A number of autobiographical texts of the 1970s were grouped and labeled as the literary movement "New Subjectivity." Some of them applied the old tradition of autobiographical elements in narrative to an explicitly and even aggressively feminist turn. Verena Stefan's autobiographical novel *Häutungen* (*Shedding*), for example, with its quest for a new language appropriate for expressing female desire, quickly assumed cult status among the German feminist movement of that time (Wagner-Egelhaaf). Responding to literary production, Germanists looking at contemporary literature have emphasized autobiographical texts appearing in a variety of genres, rather than autobiography as an idealized genre, and have begun to examine its structural elements, such as non-closure and the function of writing itself.

BIOGRAPHY

The rediscovery of biography has not been accompanied by terminological disputes, but has entailed a new exploration of how current literary and historical theories apply to this genre. Christian Klein, editor of a volume that brings together outstanding examples of the newest scholarship on biography, suggests that a definition of biography has to rely on Wittgenstein's notion of family resemblance, so that members of the category will display some assortment of a set of characteristics. The set for biography might include being a retrospective text (in prose) that represents significant segments of a lifetime or significant realms of a life of a "real" person, and that claims to offer truth (or at least the semblance of truth). It emphasizes the particular history of a person, and although the author and the narrator can be identical, neither of them can be the central object of representation (20). Klein stresses the existence and acceptability of many hybrid genres too (21). Anita Runge, one of the contributors to Klein's volume, reviews the additional difficulties that occur in and around the biographies of women. Thinking about the still unwritten biographies of early modern women writers, Runge wonders whether the "great man" model of individual biography is at all appropriate, or whether "the presentation of a life in relation to others, perhaps a double or group biography," would be better (126, trans. Dawson).

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Christian Klein calls the eighteenth century the epoch of autobiography, and indicates that the nineteenth century is the epoch of biography (6). But when gender is taken into account, does the word "male" need to be inserted before each genre designation? A scholarly feminist German website that attempts to point out productive parallels and contrasts between the approaches of system theories (such as Luhmann) and deconstruction notes the androcentrism of prominent eighteenth-century autobiographies, the most obvious example being Rousseau's *Confessions,* which was read all across Europe (Babka).

But the evident androcentrism of the eighteenth century did not completely suppress other voices, a fact underscored when scholars today deploy the more inclusive conceptualizations of life writing. Two years after Schulze induced energetic discussion of egodocuments, Magdalene Heuser, returning to a narrower definition of autobiography, ran another inspiring conference, also sponsored by the Reimers foundation, about autobiographies by women, which also resulted in an influential volume of essays by a roster of outstanding scholars, including Barbara Becker-Cantarino, Helga Meise (one of the contributors to this issue of *Biography*), Gudrun Loster-Schneider, Eda Sagarra, and Gisela Brinker-Gabler, among many others. Each essay is an individual case study, with subjects ranging from a seventeenth-century seamstress to two twentieth-century domestic servants.

A more recent interdisciplinary exploration of the broader category of women's self-testimonies occurred at the meeting of the *Südwestdeutscher Arbeitskreis für Stadtgeschichtsforschung* ("Southwest German Association for the Study of Urban History") held in November 2000. The conference demonstrated innovative scholarly use of—and struggles with—an array of autobiographical writings by women in Early Modern Germany. Among other presenters, Ulrike Gleixner discussed the kinds of self-testimonies, such as diaries, letters, autobiographies and funeral sermons, that were composed by women within the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century movement of Pietism, and that thereby gave women opportunities to formulate their own identity. Benigna von Krusenstjern, author of an influential essay refining the concept of self-testimony, argued that the common conflation of "woman writer" with woman poet or author is one reason that non-literary texts by women, such as *Familienbücher* ("family-books"), chronicles, biographies, and letters, have often been overlooked. Several speakers offered contributions that demonstrated the usefulness of Schulze's broad interpretation of egodocument. The art historian Annegret Friedrich used Richard Samuel's allegorical group portrait entitled "The nine living muses of Great Britain"

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(1979) to examine the self-representation of female intellectuality in eighteenth century paintings. The literary historian Eva Kormann argued that seventeenth-century convent chronicles express subjectivity through heterophobic self-images—the female and male authors describe themselves by describing the "other"—and in this respect the chronicles, composed during the Thirty Years War, can be recruited as egodocuments. Gesa Ingendhal, exploring marriage contracts, letters of request, and petitions "signed" by literate and illiterate poor widows, read the women as extremely "litigious" persons, successfully tackling the problem of the limits—and freedoms—of their cultural status by their strategic and tactical use of the topos of neediness (Hacke).

In many of the recent discussions, an important theme is the relation between life writing, especially autobiographical life writing, and individual-ism. Jancke warns against "focusing on individuality and thereby excluding other concepts of persons found in these sources," and also urges consideration of "other types of sources for exploring forms and contexts of individuality" (par. 8). At the conference on city history, debate swirled around Bernd Roeck's hypothesis that the processes of individualization and secularization yielded increased self-reflection. For studies of women's literature and history, these issues are likely to be especially prominent.

GERMAN WOMEN IN COURT SOCIETY DURING THE LONG EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

While the revival of German scholarly interest in life writing was closely tied to the search for sources about the least documented, least dominant levels of society, the same tools turn out to be useful for an overdue re-examination of elites as well. How did members of highly ritualized court societies interpret their own lives? Under what circumstances did they write about their lives—or get written about? Most of all, under what circumstances did biographies and autobiographies of royal women—and mistresses to royalty—come into existence?

ROYAL WOMEN AND LIFE WRITING

Three of the four women addressed in the following essays—Catherine the Great, Landgräfin Karoline of Hessen-Darmstadt, and Electress Sophie of Hannover—have at least four things in common. They were members of dynasties, they were important in the culture of the Long Eighteenth Century, they were women, and they were the subjects of life writing. The fourth woman was an upstart, Wilhelmine Enckeville, a woman of no hereditary stature

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who, as mistress to the crown prince, later king, of Prussia, was given a title and many privileges and then sent to prison when her lover died; her life provided excellently scandalous fodder for a long series of biographers.

Where dynasty prevails, life stories matter enormously, and life writing can be a powerful, even dangerous tool. In a complicated and potent interconnection, dynasty affects the life writing of and about these women, and likewise their life writing could impact both the dynasty's political and cultural effectiveness and its success in perpetuating itself. The essays in this issue of *Biography* examine how dynasty pushes, tugs, enables, and marks the life writing by and about high-ranking women. They are the ones in a distinctive insider-outsider position: their sexual behavior and its interpretation can be crucial for the maintenance of a dynasty that is not originally their own. They are high ranking, and yet last in line or even out of line altogether for the throne. The authority of their writing may seem to be correspondingly limited or non-existent, but several of the essays in this cluster challenge that perception.

The essays that follow analyze how eighteenth-century aristocratic life writing by and about *women* in Germany was constructed, as well as by whom and for whom such writing was carried out. In the Long Eighteenth Century, the social, linguistic, and cultural area we call "Germany" was an alchemist's bubbling laboratory of separate political entities. These entities ranged in size from miniscule territories such as Anhalt-Zerbst (to which the father of Catherine II was heir) all the way to expansionist Prussia. These diverse states displayed a corresponding diversity of ruler statuses, from mere counts to princes, kings, and emperors.

Several of the subgenres of life writing discussed in the essays here have seldom been subjected to analysis either for their literary or their evidentiary qualities. They include dynastic calendar-journals, conventional letters of friendship to women at other courts, satirical biography, and deposed husbands' biographies, in addition to the more familiar personal memoirs. The texts we examine here are a mix of biographical and autobiographical, most of them contemporary with their subjects, although the final essay shows how one woman's amazing biography has been recouped and reinterpreted in fiction right up until this century. One of the themes of the essays is to appraise these varied texts as forms of life writing, and implicitly, as sources today for writing lives of women then.

In part, this cluster of essays grows out of an interdisciplinary panel held at the International Congress on the Enlightenment in 2003. Coming together from three disciplines—history, German literature, and women's studies—most of us were working on sources that were previously allocated

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on the bookshelves of other disciplines than our own. We were very attentive to life writing as a sphere for the negotiation of power (especially since we dealt with powerful people). Helke Dreier focuses on three strands in the memoirs by Duchess Sophie of Hannover (mother of King George I of England and mother-in-law of Frederick I, the first king of Prussia) to identify not only the probable purpose of the memoirs, but also the previously unrecognized political dimensions. Dawson explores how British and German news coverage of the coup that brought Catherine II to the throne of Russia raised biographical questions, especially about Catherine's sexual history, a topic with complex implications both for her and for Peter III. Both Corinna Heipcke and Helga Meise discuss Karoline of Hessen-Darmstadt, a woman whose considerable fame in Germany is based, oddly, on a few vague anecdotes by several distinguished men. Heipcke uses a close analysis of what at first appear to be conventional letters of friendship to demonstrate how Karoline promoted the marriage of one of her daughters to the son of Catherine the Great. Meise explores how a particular dynastic genre, the *Schreibkalender* ("journal calendar"), along with the practice of making excerpts from reading, demonstrates Karoline's struggles with both the power and the powerlessness of her situation as consort to a male ruler. Discussing a controversial mistress to the king of Prussia, Waltraud Maierhofer examines how a series of fake and real memoirs at the end of the eighteenth century and beginning of the nineteenth show female power being interpreted with questions of legitimacy and historical memory not only during that period, but also, especially in novels, up until the present time.

LANGUAGE CONSIDERATIONS

Deciding how to treat the personal names, titles, and place names in the following essays involves not just a choice between English and German. Most of the women we are examining wrote extensively in French—and they modified names and titles accordingly. One of them wrote also in Russian; indeed her familiar English name, Catherine, derives from her Russian name (Ekaterina), not her original German name (Sophie Auguste). To deal with this cacophony, we have adopted a hybrid solution. For names and titles of individuals who are already familiar in English, we are using English. For names and titles that are not in routine English usage, we are using German; even where the spelling is very similar, as in Sophie or Sophia, we are using the German choice. Thus one of the names becomes Sophie of Hannover, although it could equally well be written entirely in German as Sophie von Hannover, or entirely in English as Sophia of Hanover.

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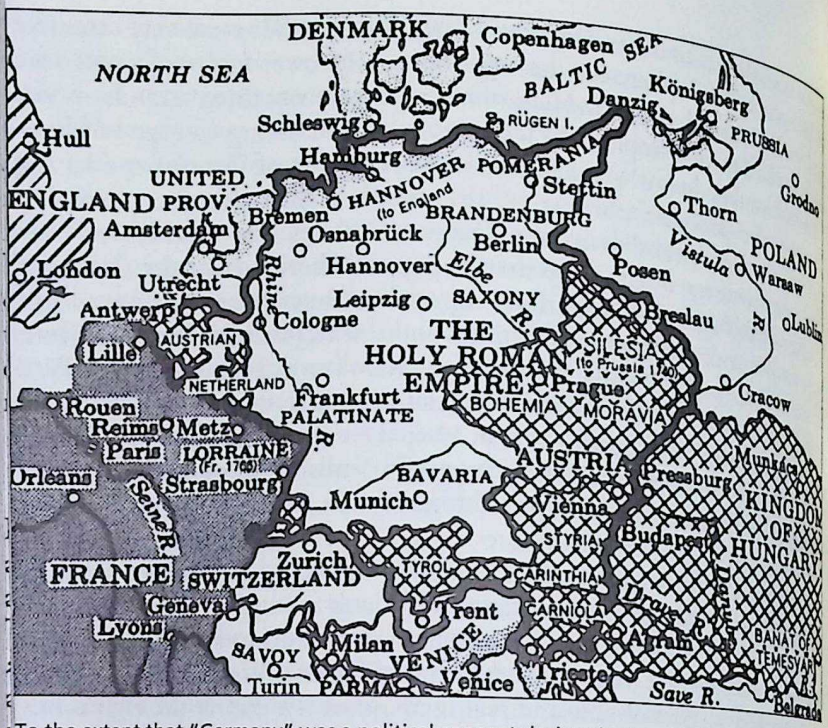

To the extent that "Germany" was a political concept during the Long Eighteenth Century, the name referred roughly to the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, its external boundaries shown here in dark outline (crosshatching marks territories of the House of Hapsburg). For a sample of the maze of internal boundaries, see the map of Hessen-Darmstadt on page 537.

Place names receive similar treatment: we use German unless there is a familiar anglicized version. While there are English versions of the smaller state names, they are little known today in the English-speaking world. In the German-speaking world, many cultural traces of these vanished political entities remain, and their German names are still in circulation. So, on the one hand, we will write about Hessen-Darmstadt, not Hessia Darmstadt. On the other hand, using the principle of familiarity in English, we will use Prussia, since it is a meaningful concept in English, whereas Preussen is not. As a result, the German name of Amalie von Preussen we half anglicize to Amalie of Prussia.

With its assortment of principalities, eighteenth-century Germany had an amazing array of different aristocratic titles. The one that has been especially baffling to deal with in our essays is the one held by the ruler of Hessen-Darmstadt and his consort. He is the *Landgraf,* she the *Landgräfin.* The dictionary offers us English translations as Landgrave and Landgravine, but

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have fallen almost completely out of use. Furthermore, the strange English words seem quite awkward side by side with German spellings of the persons' names. So once again, where an English version of a German title is distinctly uncommon, we have retained the German.

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MEMOIRS AS DYNASTIC MEANS OF LEGITIMIZATION: DUCHESS SOPHIE OF HANNOVER

HELKE DREIER

Electress Sophie of Hannover (1630–1714) was one of the most remarkable European women of the Early Modern Age. Born on October 14, 1630, she was a member of several influential European dynasties by birth and later by marriage.[1] Her parents were Friedrich V (1596–1632), Elector of the Palatinate, and Elizabeth Stuart (1596–1662), a daughter of James I of England. Sophie's father became famous as the "Winter King." After his troops had lost the battle at Weißen Berg in 1620, he lost his electorate (his coveted right to participate in selecting the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation) and the Bohemian crown, and the family fled into Dutch exile. Sophie grew up at the courts of Leyden and Den Haag. At the age of twenty she left the Netherlands to spend the following eight years at her eldest brother's court at Heidelberg. In 1658 she married Duke Ernst August of Braunschweig-Lüneburg, who became Elector of Hannover in 1692. By her English lineage and the British Act of Settlement of 1701, Sophie held the second position after Princess Anne in succession to the English throne. Electress Sophie died in 1714 at the age of 84. In the same year, her eldest son became King George I of England.[2]

In the winter of 1680/81, still in her role as duchess of Braunschweig-Lüneburg, Sophie wrote her memoirs. These memoirs show both how the duchess herself described her role within her dynasty, and how she used self-narrative to foster her dynasty's position within the European system of powers.

To investigate fully these issues it is necessary first to explore memoirs and autobiographies and the differences between them; to elaborate on the history, development, and function of memoirs during the seventeenth century; and to examine the limitations of memoirs as historical sources.

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MEMOIRS AND AUTOBIOGRAPHIES

Both memoirs and autobiographies are historical self-testimonies (*Selbstzeugnisse*) or ego-documents, texts in which someone intentionally or unintentionally discloses something about her- or himself. Whether memoirs and autobiographies can and should be distinguished from each other is much disputed. Some see a marked difference between the two kinds of self-referential writing, and deny that memoirs are even to a small extent autobiographical. They argue that memoirs do not focus on the development of an individual, but on describing external historical events.[3] Others, including myself, perceive a difference between the foci of autobiographies and memoirs, but nevertheless consider memoirs as a form of autobiographical writing.[4] The terms self-testimony and autobiography were not coined by literary criticism until the nineteenth century, and were intended to classify various forms of life writings (diaries, letters, biographies, memoirs).[5] Authors of earlier ages called their life writings *Bekenntnisse* 'confessions,' *Biographie* 'biography,' *Denknisse* 'memories,' *Erinnerungen* 'recollections,' *Erlebtes* 'experiences,' *Leben* 'life,' *Lebensbeschreibung* 'life description,' *Selbstbiographie* 'self biography,' *Memorabilien* 'memorabilia,' and *Memoiren* 'memoirs' (Lehman 169–70).

Life writings cannot be used as straightforward documentation of historical facts. The possibility is too strong that their authors did not accurately remember their life history when writing, or even deliberately "remembered" the past incorrectly in order to describe themselves, their families, or other loved ones more favorably. Even if the writers were intent on describing the past entirely correctly, this could only be managed to a limited degree; an exhaustive and complete reconstruction of one's life is impossible to achieve. When writing, authors know for instance the consequences of decisions and actions taken in the past, and cannot disregard these results (Wuthenow 19). The social code governing a society also influences what authors mention, how they mention it, and what they leave out. Writers who intend to achieve credibility have to stick to rules. Katharina von Hammerstein calls this the *diskursive Zeitgenossenschaft* 'contemporary discursive community' to which autobiographers and memoirists belong (287). In recent years, research on autobiographical writing has been increasingly informed by communication theory, and an approach that considers writing as acting, so that autobiographical writing is defined as *ein Dokument sprachlichen Handelns* 'a speech act document' (Velten 79). Writing their lives, authors choose from the multitude of all the actions and memories constituting their lives. They thereby form a specific kind of relationship with their social surroundings.

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The autobiographical text becomes, in the words of Hans Rudolf Velten, a *Mittel der sprachlichen Kommunikation* 'medium of linguistic communication' (79).

Clearly, autobiographical writings of the seventeenth century were embedded in a particular structure of communication. What the authors wrote and how they expressed it was determined by the social networks into which they were integrated. Not only did they write for a specific public, but this public also influenced the contents of their life writing and the way in which it was written (Jancke-Leutzsch 423). In their texts the authors acted in certain historically and socially determined ways.

Hans Rudolf Velten uses sixteenth-century biography to demonstrate that through their connection with their addressees, self-referential texts became speech acts by which the writers aimed at changing or stabilizing situations (82). The role of language as action, and the communicative structure of autobiographies and memoirs, can be illustrated by examining the situations authors experienced while writing, the intended functions of their texts, and the way the readers were addressed (80). Before and during writing, authors of autobiographical texts selected which facts and deeds to mention. Furthermore, authors decided on the arrangement and representation of these elements, and they defined potential addressees and future readers (84). To a large degree, these decisions were influenced by the situation the writers found themselves in. The historical, social, emotional, psychological, and other conditions in which an author lived while writing her or his life were crucial to the resulting work, and influenced the author's choice of addressees as well (84).

As my work shows, for seventeenth-century writers too the writing situation was decisively linked with choice of addressees. Sometimes, they were mentioned at the beginning of the text or even in its title.[6] In many cases, specific references to addressees were omitted, and today one may only deduce the addressees from the way authors depicted their lives. Of course, addressees mentioned in the text were not necessarily in fact the intended audience. Sometimes parts of the texts signal other addressees; other times the only way to identify the intended audience is to accept the writers' claims.

Besides often naming the addressees, seventeenth-century authors usually explained their motives for undertaking a life narrative. But here too the "stated motives are usually half-truths, attempts to make the writing of an autobiography look respectable or to fit it into some accepted tradition" (Delany 113). Many intentions could acceptably or unacceptably motivate an author's life writing. For sixteenth-century texts, Velten stresses such factors as times of personal crisis, or disagreements in the sphere of work or the family, the

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fear of approaching death, or the demise of loved ones. The retrospective and orderly description of one's life often functioned as an act of self-assertion, and could help to clarify a difficult personal situation (85). To these factors should be added self-justifications, providing instruction to one's offspring, or fostering the author's personal or family fame, or both (Velten 82; Wenzel 9). To fulfill the writer's expectations about the text's effects on the readers, the facts given in the life writing needed to be correct, *and* the public needed to be confident that they were correct.[7] To confirm their truth claims, authors often included in their life writings excerpts from letters, documents, and legal certificates (Velten 83; Neumann 83–89). Mentioning the names of places, dates, famous personalities, surroundings, and discursive systems that were common to the authors and their readers alike also provided verification (Velten 86). Verification was especially important for the authors of memoirs, since their purpose was not simply to remember, but to reconstruct in detail the course of their lives, and thereby to hand down history (Neumann 62).

Yet the events and facts described in memoirs and autobiographies cannot be regarded as historical truths. Rather, they must be considered as descriptions of things past from the subjective point of view of someone who had once been part of that past and who considered his or her evaluation of it to be worthwhile subject material. Authors do not provide us with unmediated truths. Nevertheless, we learn from them about the ways of thinking and feeling during their times—about their values, their views on such topics as religion, politics, literature, the arts. We learn about life circumstances, about the feeling of an epoch or the color of the age, about countries and social strata (Wuthenow 20). Therefore, life writings are to a certain extent historiography, but historiography strongly mediated by the filter of subjective perception (Bruyn 47).

GERMAN MEMOIRS FROM THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

Seventeenth and eighteenth century memoirs from the diverse territories that constituted Germany originated without exception in the surroundings of courts, and were based on examples from France, where we find memoirs as early as the eleventh century (Madelénat 1570–75; Misch 1.1: 762). Memoirs were the genre that European court aristocracy used for literary self-expression; important topics included the ruler, his or her rule, and the world of courts. The connection of such memoirs with aristocratic society differentiates them from other forms of autobiographical writing.

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Like autobiographers, memoirists both recounted and took stock of their past life (Aichinger 801–819). Unlike autobiographers, memoirists did not describe inner experiences in great detail; rather, they focused on experiences in their social and professional world, and on encounters with famous personalities (Lehman 169). In memoirs, the writer's relationships with other people were emphasized, and outer events received more attention (Aichinger 803). This focus on the outside world was one of the characteristics of French and Anglophone life writings,[8] and it corresponded with the way in which people of the Early Modern Age viewed themselves. In life writings of the seventeenth century, the main characters defined themselves more through their participation in outward events than by relating subjective perceptions and personal experience (Wenzel 9). "The focus," as Ingrid Aichinger notes, is on the description of external (often political) circumstances and the traits of famous people from public life; the narrative structure is less dense than the autobiography's, the intrinsic autobiographical motive—the question of one's own existence—is lacking" (803).[9]

Bernd Neumann considers memoirs to be the form of life writing appropriate to the active person. In his view, the author always speaks as the bearer of a certain social role: the history of the narrator's own individuality is minimized in favor of the history of the narrator's times. According to Neumann, the narration focuses not on an author's developing and experiencing, but on the actions he or she takes as bearer of a social role, and on the evaluation of those actions by others (12). Memoirs cease to be memoirs when their author is not yet or no longer socially active. Not being a bearer of a social role, the author can then only report events from his or her private life, which belongs to the realm of autobiography: "By ceasing to be memoirs when touching on the border of the private realm, [memoirs] end where autobiography begins" (13).

Another criterion by which to differentiate between memoirs and autobiographies is the main character. Unlike the protagonists of autobiographies, the author and hero(ine) of memoirs do not have to be identical (Misch 4.2: 17). This distinction can already be found in the first half of the eighteenth century in the encyclopedia of Johann Heinrich Zedler.[10] In the second half of the eighteenth century, a Göttingen history professor similarly differentiated between two kinds of memoir author: "1) Schriftsteller, die selbst Urheber derjenigen Begebenheiten waren, die sie beschreiben, und 2) Augenzeugen in solchen Begebenheiten, die man nothwendig wissen mus, wann man bey denselben zugegen ist" ("Authors who themselves were the cause of the events they describe, and 2) eyewitnesses of events one necessarily knew by being present") (Gatterer 1: 67).

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In view of the fact that the authors of memoirs do not have to be identical with the main characters, Niggl concludes—falsely, I think—that the first-person narrator in memoir writing is not the main character, but only an eyewitness. Therefore, Niggl asserts, memoirs can only be called autobiographies if they have been written by the prince himself.[11]

As his only German examples, Niggl mentions the memoirs of Electress Sophie of Hannover, the various historical works of Frederick II of Prussia, and the memoirs of Catherine the Great—all written in French and belonging to the tradition of French memoir writing (59). While Friedrich II in his books avoids the impression of life writing, and purports instead to give accurate accounts of contemporary history, Niggl regards the writings of the duchess and the tsarina as autobiographies because they are coherent self-authored life writings (60). The duchess and the tsarina both begin with their birth and childhood, and report events that seem important to them. Niggl describes the memoirs of Catherine the Great as the first political memoirs in the fashion of autobiographical writings, a style which will dominate the political memoirs by regents and statesmen of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (60). While the tsarina's writings end with the assassination of her husband and her ascension to the throne, the end of Duchess Sophie's memoirs was not apparently induced by outward events. She concluded her life-narration at the point in time when she actually started writing, at the age of fifty-one (Sophie 173). While Niggl regards Catherine II's life writings as political memoirs, he categorizes Duchess Sophie's as mere stories from a private life, full of anecdotes. In my reading, however, Duchess Sophie of Hannover's text is in fact much better understood as a particular kind of political memoir, perhaps a kind characteristic of a seventeenth-century noblewoman's view of the world and her realm of influence.

THE MEMOIRS OF DUCHESS SOPHIE OF HANNOVER

The memoirs of Duchess Sophie of Hannover were written in the winter of 1680/81 and finished on February 15th/25th 1681.[12] Unfortunately, the original is lost; only a copy made by the philosopher, mathematician, and court official Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz has survived. This was discovered about 1850 by G. H. Pertz in the royal archives of Hannover.[13] The seventy pages of the small booklet are numbered twice, once by hand and once mechanically. The individual pages are partly sewn together out of order. In the nineteenth century, a handwritten title was added on the manuscript: "Mémoires de Madame l'électrice Sophie, née Princesse Palatine," completed by a subtitle indicating that the manuscript is a copy by Leibniz (Cruysse

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(1–18). When the pages are read in reordered sequence, the manuscript becomes a coherent and continuous French text divided neither into paragraphs nor into chapters. Sewn in with the duchess's text is a sheet of notes that Leibniz entitled "Réflexions sur les mémoires de Mad. la Duchesse." Leibniz also added numerous annotations to the manuscript. Some of them are orthographical corrections, and others are suggestions for improvements to the text or comments on obscure or incomprehensible passages.

Leibniz's identification of the author as "Mad. la Duchesse" indicates that he drew up the copy before December 1692—before Duchess Sophie's family received the title of Electors. After that point, Leibniz would have written about "Madame l'électrice." According to Adolf Köcher, who edited the memoirs for publication, another indication of the date of the preserved copy is a letter Leibniz wrote to Landgraf Ernst of Hessen-Rheinfels at the end of 1690. In it, Leibniz describes an episode that occurred in Rome when the duchess met Maria Mancini, the mistress of Sophie's husband Ernst August. Since Leibniz's account of this encounter differs from the description given in Duchess Sophie's memoirs, Köcher concludes that Leibniz did not know the memoirs at that time; otherwise he would have given a version corresponding with the one by the duchess (*Geschichte* 2). If we agree with Köcher, Leibniz must have copied the memoirs between the end of 1690 and December 1692.

Although G. H. Pertz probably planned an edition of the memoirs, their first publication in Germany was Köcher's 1879 edition (Cruysse 17). This edition contains careful annotations and an extensive preface, remaining faithful to the original in matters of punctuation and orthography. The first and as yet only translation of the memoirs into German was accomplished by Robert Geerds and published in 1913. This edition of 30,000 copies includes notes about the people mentioned by the duchess. The most recent and most extensively annotated edition was published in 1994 in Paris by Dirk van der Cruysse. Where important for the understanding of the text, van der Cruysse comments on people and explains historical events. Van der Cruysse did not retain the original orthography, but transposed it into modern French.[14]

THE POLITICAL CHARACTER OF DUCHESS SOPHIE'S MEMOIRS

In her memoirs the duchess deals with many topics. She reflects upon her childhood in the Netherlands and her years at the court of her brother Karl Ludwig of the Palatinate in Heidelberg (1650–1658). She recounts court anecdotes, reports about marriages (including her own), discusses issues of succession and resulting probate disputes, and tells about her journeys to

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Italy, France, and Denmark. The principal theme in Sophie's memoirs is the demonstration of the legitimacy of her dynasty's hereditary titles. This she proves on three levels:

a. in terms of morality, by describing her virtuous conduct;

b. in terms of status display, by signaling her rank within European high nobility as established through ceremony and protocol; and

c. in terms of law, by including original documents, such as letters and treaties, to underline the reliability of the described events.

Focusing on these three aspects makes it possible to investigate the probable intentions of the memoir's author, the purposes she thought her memoirs would serve, and the previously unrecognized political dimensions of her self-narrative.

HER VIRTUOUS MORAL CONDUCT

As a daughter of the King of Bohemia and a granddaughter of the King of England, Sophie of Hannover was very proud of her exalted rank within the high nobility. From the beginning of her memoirs, the duchess uses numerous short references to underline her origin and her resulting rank: "L'on m'a dit que je naquis l'année 1630 le 14 octobre, et comme j'étais le douzième fruit du mariage du Roi mon père et de la Reine ma mere . . ." (37).[15] This pride is reflected in her behavior. A vital aspect of the esteem and respect with which she was treated, and which in performative acts helped constitute her rank, was her unstained reputation. In order to maintain it, she had to behave correctly, in accordance with her rank. This behavior was as much a matter of *conduite,* flawless and virtuous moral conduct, as of countenance, the unperturbed demeanor that a high ranking aristocrat needed to preserve even in difficult situations.

Conduite was a fundamental aristocratic norm to the duchess. In the memoirs, she repeatedly mentions the importance of virtuous moral conduct. One example concerns Mlle. de Manselière, a young woman belonging to Duchess Sophie's entourage, who had attracted the attention of Duke Ernst August, Sophie's husband. Despite the warnings of the duchess, Mlle. de Manselière talked to the duke in tète-a-tètes, a fact that did not go unnoticed at the court, and indeed stained Mlle. de Manselière's reputation. When the young woman finally explained to the duchess that she had not worried about this behavior, and in fact had committed no offense, the duchess replied that refraining from committing sins in secrecy was only one part of virtue. In order to sustain a good reputation, one also had to have the strength to

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restrain one's impulses under all circumstances: "j'étais en cela du sentiment de César qui avait dit qu'il ne suffisait pas que sa femme fût chaste, mais que le monde la crût telle" (118).[16] Years later, the duchess strongly discouraged her husband's suggestion to add Mlle. de Manselière to their daughter's entourage because of Mlle. de Manselière's earlier failure to maintain a virtuous appearance.

As important as *conduite* to the duchess's sense of aristocratic norms was the aspect of behavior called countenance. The duchess uses the memoirs to give several examples of keeping her countenance. One instance occurred during a perilous trip across the Rhine when the boat threatened to capsize (165). While her ladies were screaming with panic, the duchess's ability to keep silent demonstrated her superior rank. At all points in the memoirs when the duchess describes her behavior, she depicts it as in concordance with the nobility's code of conduct: discreet, equanimitous, and exemplary. Duchess Sophie's memoirs justify her fittingness for high rank, portraying herself as equal to every situation encountered, and proud of her lineage.

Although readers today may often perceive the described courtly behavior as stilled, superficial, artificial, and affected, the positive meaning and the intention of these passages would have been accessible immediately to Sophie's contemporaries. By describing her demeanor in difficult situations, the duchess availed herself of a social code which was fully comprehensible to the "contemporary discursive community." To understand the aim of the duchess while drawing up this document requires us to deal with the court of conduct of the early modern age, and with the norms of behavior valid for ladies—and even so, we run the risk of misunderstanding and misinterpreting passages. While our lack of knowledge familiar to Sophie's contemporaries can be diminished by an intensive study of sources and of literature, it can never be eradicated completely. For the addressees of the duchess, this was not a problem. They moved with and within this code of conduct on a daily basis, and the duchess's message was directly comprehensible.

THE DISPLAY OF RANK WITHIN EUROPEAN HIGH NOBILITY

In her memoirs, Sophie of Hannover describes her various travels and meetings with members of the ruling European nobility. In depicting these meetings, the duchess pays great attention to ceremonial detail, and especially to how people of higher rank behaved towards her.[17] Understandably, she focuses on situations in which she received special honors. There were two remarkable events of this sort. The first was a visit to the court of the empress of the Holy Roman Empire during her stay at Regensburg. Sophie's sister-

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in-law, Electress Charlotte of the Palatinate, was invited to the empress's court, and both Sophie and her sister Elisabeth accompanied her. The empress welcomed her guests "au degré au travers de plusieurs antichambres" (Sophie 60). This meant a twofold honor. First, the empress received her guests at the bottom of a stair; second she had approached her guests by walking through several antechambers herself. Duchess Sophie continues her report: "Nous la suivîmes jusque dans sa chambre d'audience, où elle prit sa place sur un fauteuil qui était devant une table sous un grand dais. On donna vis-à-vis d'elle un fauteuil aussi à Mme l'électrice, et des chaises à dos à ma soeur et à moi" (60).[18] Differences in rank were underlined by the various pieces of furniture offered to the guests and the host. While the empress seated herself on a fauteuil under a great dais, Electress Charlotte was allowed to sit on a simpler chair, though also with armrests. Lowest in rank, Sophie (not yet elevated to the status of electress) and her sister were given chairs with backrests only.

In the second event, the question of appropriate seating almost led to an ill-humored scene between Duchess Sophie and Queen Marie Thérèse, wife of Louis XIV of France. While the German duchess was visiting the French court in the autumn of 1679, the brother of the king, with the traditional title of duke of Orléans and commonly called Monsieur, enabled her to attend upon the queen. When Sophie entered the room, she bowed very low, "a lieu de lui baiser la robe, comme elle s'y attendait" ("instead of kissing her dress, as she had expected") (152). After the usual exchange of courtesies the party intended to sit down: "La Reine se mit dans un fauteuil, la Grande Mademoiselle se jeta sur un petit lit de repos, Monsieur prit un tabouret et me montra d'en faire autant. Mais je n'avais garde de l[ui] obéir; je disais à la Reine que Madame m'avait ordonné de l'aller trouver, et je fis une fort grande révérence et m'en allai" (153).[19]

Rather than accept a questionable seating arrangement, Sophie made an excuse to leave. Afterwards, Sophie and the duke discussed the protocol issues of the encounter. The duke told Sophie that her claim to more prestigious seating was justified in the presence of Madame, his wife (who was also Sophie's niece), but not in the presence of the queen, the more so as he himself, the duke, had contented himself with a stool. Sophie disagreed: "Je lui dis que je n'avais osé accepter d'un tabouret auprès de la reine de France, puisque l'impératrice me faisait l'honneur de me donner une chaise à dos" (153).[20] It is noteworthy that Duchess Sophie does not use her own rank to explain her behavior, but considers it an offense to the empress who had attributed a higher rank to her than the queen had.

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INSERTION OF ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS TO UNDERLINE THE TRUTH OF DESCRIBED EVENTS

Understanding the documentation inserted in the duchess's memoirs requires an exploration of her marriage to Duke Ernst August, its circumstances and consequences. Originally, Sophie was betrothed to Ernst August's elder brother, Duke Georg Wilhelm of Hannover.[21] The particulars of the marriage contract had been arranged by 1656, and had been signed by Georg Wilhelm, Sophie, and her brother, Elector Karl Ludwig of the Palatinate. After concluding the contract of marriage, Georg Wilhelm departed for Venice. During his stay in Italy he regretted his engagement. Georg Wilhelm had given a promise which he did not intend to keep, and thus a course of action had to be found which allowed an end to the engagement while maintaining the honor of all involved. Georg Wilhelm suggested that his younger brother Ernst August marry the princess in his place. To express his gratitude, or as compensation, depending on how one wants to regard this arrangement, he offered the estates belonging to his territory as a legacy to his brother. Furthermore, in his marriage renunciation of 11/21 April 1658, he promised never to marry himself, and "die noch obrige zeit meines lebens in Coelibatu gentzlich hinzubringen" 'to live the rest of my life in celibacy' (Köcher, *Memoiren* 60–61).

Everything was contrived in order to show this exchange of brothers in favorable colors. Sophie's brother Karl Ludwig was led to believe that Sophie would rise to "mater patriae" in all the estates of Braunschweig-Lüneburg, as Duke Christian Ludwig von Celle, the eldest of the four brothers, was still without heirs despite his marriage to Dorothea of Schleswig-Holstein in 1653, and Johann Friedrich, the third brother, would in all probability not be able to procreate due to his obesity. If now Georg Wilhelm would swear an oath never to marry, the entire duchy of Braunschweig-Lüneburg would one day fall to Ernst August and Sophie, or to their offspring (Knoop 52). After the estates of Hannover (Calenberg) had given their consent, the contract of marriage between Ernst August and Sophie was signed on June 5, 1658 (Köcher, *Geschichte* 386–87).

The matter would thus have been settled to the advantage of everyone, if during a stay at the court of the Landgrave of Hessen-Kassel in 1664, Georg Wilhelm had not met Eleonore Desmier d'Olbreuse.[22] Apparently the duke fell in love with her at first sight and started to court her. It was not easy for the two lovers to establish a relationship that, on the one hand, upheld Georg Wilhelm's promise to his brother, and on the other, offered Eleonore a future in an honorable, dignified relationship. Sophie especially hoped that

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the inappropriate relationship between Georg Wilhelm and Eleonore would prevent him from marrying suitably and thus begetting legitimate heirs who could have disputed the legacy of her children (Köcher, *Geschichte* 33; Marelle 62–65).

In her memoirs Sophie depicted very thoroughly the events of her own marriage, as well as the developments leading to the final elevation of Eleonore to the rank of duchess by a church wedding and her inclusion into church prayer (1676). For example, Sophie inserts into the memoirs a "Copie de la renonciation au mariage du duc George Guillaume de Hanovre." Composed in Georg Wilhelm's hand, this document confirms the agreement reached with his brother, recognizes his renunciation of marriage, and guarantees that male heirs of Ernst August and Sophie shall govern the duchies. Sophie includes this document in German, and adds: "Comme je n'écris que pour mon plaisir, je ne veux pas prendre la peine de traduire cette renonciation" ("because I write only for my own pleasure, I will not take the trouble to translate this renunciation") (72). I suspect that the printing of this document in its original German, and the omission of a French translation, are designed to underpin Sophie's credibility. This way readers could convince themselves that her information corresponded to the truth.

As a church wedding of Georg Wilhelm to Eleonore was out of the question according to the written promises, at first the couple agreed to a marriage of conscience. This settlement was fixed in writing as well, and was also included by Sophie in her memoirs:

> Comme l'affection que j'ai pour mon frère m'a fait résoudre de ne me jamais marier pour son avantage et celui de ses enfants, dont je ne [me] départirai jamais, et que Mlle d'Olbreuse s'est résolue de vouloir vivre avec moi, je promets de ne l'abandonner jamais et de lui donner deux mille écus par an, et six mille écus par an après ma mort, dont elle promettra ici d'être contente aussi bien que moi, et ayant pris tout deux cette résolution avec l'agrément de mon dit frère, il m'a promis de le signer avec moi. (112)[23]

This contract was signed by Georg Wilhelm, Eleonore, Ernst August, and Sophie. When exactly the marriage began cannot be reconstructed, since neither a wedding celebration nor a church wedding took place; generally it is assumed to have been carried out in 1665. Eleonore received the title Frau von Harburg 'Dame of Harburg,' after a town in the duchy of Lüneburg (Marelle 67; Köcher, *Geschichte* 433).

Significantly, in the passage preceding the document, Sophie claims to quote an oral statement of Georg Wilhelm. After having been informed by his brother Ernst August of Eleonore's intention to marry him

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Sophie quotes Georg Wilhelm as saying "Si elle veut cela, qu'elle s'en retourne d'où elle est venu; je ne ferai jamais une si grande sottise. Mais si elle veut vivre avec moi, je l'entretiendrai une bonne pension durant ma vie, et aussi après ma mort" (112).[24] By printing the agreement that Eleonore should be taken care of financially after Georg Wilhelm's death, Sophie in her memoirs not only seems to confirm this alleged oral statement, but also renders it even more credible. Careful analysis of this relationship and the further course of events, however, casts doubts on the notion that Georg Wilhelm would have expressed himself in such a sharp manner regarding Eleonore's wishes. Duchess Sophie reaches her goal of making this statement appear like an unalterable fact by aptly placing it in the middle of historically undeniable facts.

In a succession of steps, small and large, Georg Wilhelm managed in the following years to strengthen and secure the position of Eleonore and of their daughter Sophie Dorothea, born in 1666. To his daughter he granted the title of Princess of Braunschweig-Lüneburg, to take effect at the time of her marriage. Thus the promise given in April 1658 not to marry was conventually undermined. Indeed, Georg Wilhelm undertook the last step to equalize his wife's status on April 12, 1676, when in the presence of his cousin Anton Ulrich of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel and of Chancellor Schütz the consecration of his marriage to Eleonore took place in a church. In the same month the wedding was made public. From now on Eleonore was Duke Georg Wilhelm's legitimate wife (Marelle 86).

Discussion of elevating Eleonore to the rank of duchess had begun months earlier. On February 1, 1676, Sophie wrote a letter to Georg Wilhelm drawing his attention to the fact that her children's hereditary titles could be questioned if the duke's children were born to a princess. Making the matter more acute was that Eleonore was again pregnant, so that there was a danger she would bear a male heir. Sophie writes:

> On dit qu'elle est grosse, et avec toute la bonne intention que vous avez, vous ne sauriez répondre de la manière dont vos enfants se comporteront envers les miens s'ils se trouvaient nés d'un légitime mariage, enfants d'un prince et d'une princesse. Aussi l'on ne trouve point d'exemple qu'une femme de prince, dont les enfants fussent exclus de la succession, ait jamais porté le titre de princesse. . . . C'est pourquoi il me semble qu'on [se] doit précautionner le mieux que l'on peut, car je serais bien fâchée qu'il y eût jamais aucune dispute ou méfiance entre vos enfants et les miens, comme il pourrait arriver si les vôtre fussent nés d'une princesse. (131)[25]

The duchess interleaved a copy of this letter into her memoirs (130–32), as well as the answer of the duke of Celle, who assured her somewhat harshly that he would stand by the arrangements made by his brother (132–33).

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Eleonore's elevation to Sophie's rank was succeeded by a drastic deterioration of relations between the courts of Celle and Osnabrück (Georg Wilhelm had been duke of Celle since 1665, and Ernst August bishop of Osnabrück since 1662). Not until 1679 can a slow and cautious rapprochement of the two courts be perceived. The court of Celle put forth the suggestion to join in matrimony Sophie Dorothea, the daughter of Georg Wilhelm and Eleonore, with Georg Ludwig, the eldest son of Duchess Sophie. Reactions in Osnabrück to this proposal were not enthusiastic, and negotiations stagnated (Schnath 146–47). Sophie writes in her memoirs: "On proposa le mariage de sa fille avec mon fils aîné, que M. le duc trouva si fort au-dessous de son fils, qu'il se résolut de n'y jamais consentir sans trouver un fort grand avantage" 135).[26] And on June 20, 1679, the duchess wrote to her brother Karl Ludwig that "Der Junge hat Widerwillen gegen die Heirat und wir gegen die alliance d'Olbreuse" ("the boy opposes the wedding and we the d'Olbreuse alliance") (Schnath 147). But as such a wedding would remove all the controversies concerning the legacy of Georg Wilhelm, the thought of it was not repudiated completely; on November 9, Sophie wrote to her brother "Es ist eine bittere Pille, aber wenn sie mit 100 000 Taler vergoldet wird, macht man die Augen zu und schluckt sie hinunter" ("it is a bitter pill, but when it's gilded with 100,000 taler, one closes one's eyes and swallows") (Schnath 147).

Even if in 1680/81 hereditary disputes seemed to be settled finally, obviously it was deemed necessary to present the difficult juridical conditions publicly to the court, and to justify the hereditary titles of Sophie's and Ernst August's children. Demonstrating the legitimacy of a claim was important because in the absolutistic states the lawfulness of deeds remained a central element of the nobility's code of honor, and therefore was a prerequisite of a ruler's glory (Gestrich 79). Otherwise the thorough depiction of these events in Sophie's memoirs, and the word-for-word insertion of the above mentioned original documents—partly in excerpts, partly by fitting in the whole text[27]—cannot be explained. By introducing copies of original documents into her memoirs, the duchess reaches a twofold goal. On the one hand, she authenticates the hereditary claims of her children; on the other, the achieved credibility will have an impact beyond the depiction of these passages. Conversations and events as expressed in the memoirs have the aura of truth.

WHY DID DUCHESS SOPHIE WRITE HER MEMOIRS?

According to her own account, the duchess wrote her memoirs to entertain herself during a period when her husband was absent, and when, because of her age—she was 91—there was nothing else to do but remember the past

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> Comme dans l'âge où je me trouve il n'y a point de meilleure occupation pour moi que celle de me souvenir du temps passé. . . . Je ne prétends qu'à me divertir pendant l'absence de M. le duc mon mari, pour éviter la mélancolie et pour conserver mon humeur dans une bonne assiette, car je suis persuadée que cela conserve la santé et la vie qui m'est bien chère. (35)[28]

But this innocuous claim that her motivation was to entertain herself seems quite incomplete. A further cause may have been the deaths of three close relatives: her brother-in-law, her elder sister Elisabeth, and her brother Karl Ludwig. This emphatic confrontation with death may have confronted her with her own mortality, and impelled her to reflect on her life and to assess it. Like many other memoirists, a heightened awareness of death helped propel her to write about her life.

In addition to keeping herself positively occupied, and absorbing the deaths of family members, Sophie had two more self-assertive purposes: first, to foster the reputation, power, and glory of her family; and second, to offer a version of events that might prevail over accounts made by two other women. Duchess Sophie alludes to two contemporaries who had written or dictated memoirs: her sister-in-law Eleonore d'Olbreuse and Mazarin's niece Maria Mancini.[29] Both played important roles in the life of Duchess Sophie—Maria Mancini as Duke Ernst August's lover, and Eleonore d'Olbreuse as rival in the competition for the hereditary title of the principality of Lüneburg. The way in which Duchess Sophie describes incidents suggests that her memoirs were partly intended as a reply to the memoirs of Mancini and d'Olbreuse. Referring to an event in Rome, for example, Duchess Sophie uses her self-narrative to correct statements made in Mancini's memoirs. Sophie describes how Herzog Ernst August

> trouva bon que je devais partir la première, parce qu'il avait fait un parti avec Mme Colonne pour aller avec elle à la campagne. Elle en parle dans son livre, mais comme elle a plus d'esprit et moins de mémoire que moi, elle s'est méprise au temps, car elle dit qu'il la vit à la campagne comme j'arrivais à Rome, mais c'était comme j'en étais partie. (102)[30]

And even more than Mancini, Eleonore d'Olbreuse plays an important role in Sophie's memoirs.

Mancini's memoirs had appeared in print in 1676/78, d'Olbreuse's in 1679. Whether Duchess Sophie, writing in 1680–81, considered publishing her memoirs cannot be answered definitively, but it is highly likely that her text was known to numerous people close to her. Like diaries, journal calendars (*Schreibkalender*) and letters were read by relatives and officials (Meise

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53); this certainly happened with the memoirs of the duchess. As the surviving manuscript shows, Leibniz read and copied the text in the late 1680s. This may indicate that Duchess Sophie intended to make it available to a larger circle of readers. It could also be that Leibniz, who had been employed as Braunschweig-Lüneburg's court genealogist since 1676 (Finster 20), intended to add Sophie's memoirs to the family history of the house of the Welfen (German branch of the Guelfs), which Duke Johann Friedrich had ordered him to compile. The duke used his genealogist's juridical, political, and philosophical expertise to substantiate via memoranda, certificates, and miscellaneous writings the hereditary titles, elevations of rank, and glory of the princely house (Finster 23). In seventeenth century ruling families, a dynasty's "splendor familias" and their claims to power could not be separated (Basl 30). By enhancing the "splendor familias," Duchess Sophie helped to maintain the dynasty's power. The greater the reputation of a family, the greater were their claims to power, and the more influence and power a family exercised, the greater was their splendor. The memoirs of Duchess Sophie could certainly contribute to increasing the house of Braunschweig-Lüneburg's reputation and glory.

CONCLUSIONS

The historical and genealogical context in which Duchess Sophie composed her memoirs, as well as the way in which she describes various events, seem to indicate that the duchess wrote not merely to entertain herself, as she claimed—and as too many modern scholars have believed. Rather, she used her memoirs to foster the glory and reputation of the ancient Dynasty of the Welfen, and her place in that dynasty. She accomplished this by

- describing her conduct and countenance as virtuous and appropriate to her rank, in keeping with her royal descent;
- using the non-verbal signifying system of the ceremonial to establish and display her rank within court aristocracy; and
- explaining in detail the events that would lead to the acceptance of her husband's or her sons' claims to the hereditary title of duke of Braunschweig-Lüneburg—despite potential counterclaims by her sister-in-law and Mancini.

Affiliation with royal circles of high nobility was of prime importance to the duchess. Even though she was not married to a king, and though her husband had only ascended high enough to be duke of Braunschweig-Lüneburg by the time she wrote her memoirs, Sophie always stressed her own royal and electoral lineage, and maintained her claims to the marks of respect that went

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with these ranks. This lineage not only rendered her privileged, but also obliged her to a strict adherence to the nobility's code of conduct. Her moral conduct had to be above reproach, because the reputation she earned for herself was linked with her family's reputation and was able to raise or harm their glory.

In her memoirs, Duchess Sophie always described herself in relation to others. This self-positioning signified who she was, and defined her rank within court society. In meetings with people of similar rank, hierarchy had to be negotiated. As we have seen, the duchess paid great attention to protocol when meeting members of royal families. On the one hand, this was due to her own lineage, which demanded respect; on the other hand, the House of Braunschweig-Lüneburg's efforts to obtain the Electorship also motivated Duchess Sophie's attention to ceremonial status markers. Even before receiving the Electorate, the House of Braunschweig-Lüneburg aimed at improving its status in international ceremonial events (Schnath 481).

The life of Duchess Sophie was a "Leben in Beziehungen" 'a life in relationships' (Jancke-Leutzsch 427). She used her ties with others as the organizing principle of her life, a characteristic of Early Modern self-portrayals. The contacts one kept with members of one's own lineage, and with others outside the family, defined the self (Zemon Davis 7). Alone, a person did not have much identity, for identity was defined by one's belonging to a group, and lineage defined one's claims to rank.

Duchess Sophie's memoirs are a political speech act, substantiating and complementing her dynasty's claims to power. The domestic authority and rights of succession that she defended were decisive for the future of her lineage's members. Duchess Sophie at fifty-one deployed the memoir genre strategically. She lived another thirty-four years but seems never to have composed memoirs again.

NOTES

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1. Among her ancestors on her mother's side were members of the English royal house of Stuart, and on her father's side the Wittelsbach dynasty. By her marriage, she became a member of the Welfen dynasty.
2. On Sophie of Hannover's biography, see Fester, Heuwel, Kocop, and Schröder.

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3. Philippe Lejeune pointed out this "opposition fondamentale" between memoirs and autobiographies (*L'autobiographie* 15). Bernd Neumann argues that a person is only able to write memoirs if he/she acts as bearer of a social role (60–90).
4. Gabriele Jancke holds that the line between autobiographies and autobiographical texts in a broader sense can hardly be drawn (132–33).
5. On the first use of the terms "autobiography" and "self biography" in Europe, see Niggl 103; Misch 1.1: 785 n. 22; and Couty 115–17. On the history of the term autobiography, also see Neumann 9–10.
6. This is often the case in autobiographies of the sixteenth century. Typical addressees are *Nachkommen* 'descendents,' *Kinder* 'children,' *lieber Sohn* 'dear son,' *Euer Gnaden* 'your honor,' *günstiger Leser* 'dear reader,' and so on (Velten 85–86).
7. Philippe Lejeune calls this the "referential pact" between author and reader. He therefore regards autobiographies as "referential texts" that claim to give information about the reality outside the texts, and that thereby are verifiable. Their aim—according to Lejeune—is not mere probability, but similarity with the real; not the effect of the real, but the image of the real ("Der autobiographische" 244).
8. See Ralph-Rainer Wuthenow, who concludes: "Memoirs of the Anglo-Saxon and the Romanic World are to a far greater extent revisualizations of the conditions which shaped a certain life; even more, a certain acting, achievement, and work. . . . The generality of the internally determined self-experience is opposed by exerting a conscious influence on the epoch, by self-realization within the social world, by an exemplary character and by a specific content of the expressing existence. As well, the 'true' autobiography is opposed by the account of memoirs" (155, 168).
9. Trans. Corinna Heipcke and Diana Kreutzer. See also Misch 1.1: 17 and Wuthenow 168.
10. "MEMOIRES . . . heissen bey den Frantzosen solche Schriften oder Nachrichten, in welchen sie die Beschaffenheit einer Geschicht schlechterdings erzehlen, sie mögen dabey intereßiret seyn oder nicht" (20: 62).
11. This hypothesis leads to Niggl's claim that the memoirs of Wilhelmine of Bayreuth (eldest sister of Friedrich II of Prussia) is not an autobiography. In his opinion the Markgräfin does not tell her own life, but gives an eyewitness's report on the Prussian Hohenzollern dynasty. She certainly does this—she was after all a member of this dynasty— but this is not her prime intention. She records her life, her self. Therefore it is disputable whether the writings of Wilhelmine of Bayreuth are memoirs, as Niggl maintains (59), or if they have to be considered autobiography. On the writings of Wilhelmine of Bayreuth, see Weber-Kellermann, particularly her preface (9–26) and Annette Kolb's epilogue (531–46). On the "I" as eyewitness, see Wuthenow 19.
12. This double date is due to the Gregorian calendar reform introduced by Pope Gregor VIII in October 1582, but not introduced into Protestant states of the empire until 1700. In the duchy of Braunschweig-Lüneburg, time was measured according to the original Julian calendar until February 18th, 1699. Until then the date often was stated in both manners.
13. It can currently be found under the call number Hann. Des. 91 Kurfürstin Sophie, 4 in the Niedersachsisches Staatsarchiv at Hannover.

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14. Comparing the editions of van der Cruysse, Köcher, and Geerds, I found that the modernizing of the orthography neither disturbed the contents nor changed the structure of the text, but facilitates reading by contemporary readers.

15. "I have been told that I was born on the 14th of October 1630, and as I was the twelfth offspring of the marriage of the King, my father, and the Queen, my mother . . ." (37; trans. Diana Kreutzer).

16. ". . . in this matter I would share Caesar's sentiment, who had said that it was not enough for his wife to be chaste, but she also had to be considered chaste by the world."

17. On the working of court ceremonial, see Stollberg-Rilinger.

18. "We followed her into the audience room, where she sat down on an armchair which was situated in front of a table under a great dais. Vis-à-vis of her, the Electress was offered an armchair as well, and my sister and I were offered chairs."

19. "The queen sat down on an armchair, the Grande Mademoiselle threw herself onto a small daybed, Monsieur took a little stool and invited me to do likewise. But I was wary of obeying him. I told the queen that Madame had ordered me to come and see her, made a very deep bow and went away."

20. "I told him that I did not dare to take a stool offered to me by the Queen of France after the Empress had honored me by offering me a chair."

21. At the time Georg Wilhelm was duke of Calenberg with the residence of Hannover. But the term duke of Hannover is more customary, and it is the one that Duchess Sophie used in her memoirs.

22. Eleonore was born on January 3, 1639, at the paternal castle of Olbreuse in the French province of Poitou. Her family did not belong to the reigning houses of France, but they belonged to the "most distinguished nobility of the province" (Marelle 7–11). Whether Georg Wilhelm and Eleonore met each other in the winter of 1664 or had already met in 1663 cannot be determined accurately (Marelle 51).

23. "As affection for my brother led me to the decision never to marry, to the advantage of himself, his children, and heirs, a resolution which I shall never withdraw, and as Miss d'Olbreuse is determined to live with me, I vow never to leave her and to provide her with two thousand Taler every year, after my death with an annuity of six thousand Taler. Given that she concurs with this arrangement with me and with my brother as well, he will sign this document together with me" (trans. Diane Kreutzer; see also Marelle 66; Köcher, *Geschichte* 433).

24. "If that is what she wants, she has to go back to where she comes from; I will never commit such a big imbecility. But if she wants to live with me, I will grant her a good pension for my whole life, and also after my death."

25. "It is said that she is pregnant, and with all the good intentions you have, you should not answer in a way that your children behave against mine, if they find themselves born in a legitimate marriage, children of a prince and a princess. Moreover one will hardly find the example of a prince's wife, whose children were excluded from succession and carried the title of a princess. . . . That's why it seems to me that one has to be prepared the best one can, because I would be very angry if there is any dispute or mistrust between your children and my own, and this could happen, if your children are born by a princess."

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26. "The marriage of her daughter with my eldest son is being proposed, which M. the duke found so much beneath his son, that he decided never to agree unless there will be a very big advantage."
27. The authenticity of the documents the Duchess fit in her memoirs is proven by Schnath 142 n. 18.
28. "Since at my age there is no better engagement for me but to remember the past . . . I have no intention but to entertain myself during the absence of Monsieur the duke my husband, in order to avoid melancholy and to keep my sense of humor, as I am convinced that it will keep my sanity and my life, which is very dear to me" (trans. Diana Kreutzer).
29. The German historian Köcher mentions two memoirs attributed to Maria Mancini. One is entitled "'mémoires de M. L. P. M. M. Colonna, grande connétable du royaume de Naples', Cologne 1676." This Köcher considers to be a fake, while a real one appeared in Leyden in 1678 under the title "apologie ou les véritables mémoires de Mad. Mancini connétable de Colonna, écrits par ellemême." The memoirs of Eleonore d'Olbreuse are entitled "Avanture historique, écrite par l'ordre de Madame ***, Paris 1679." Unfortunately, I did not have access to these works, and therefore rely on Köcher's remarks (*Memoiren* 20).
30. Ernst August "thought it would be good if I leave first, because he wanted to go with Mme Colonna to the country. She talks about it in her book, but as she has got more wit and less memory than me, she was mistaken about the time, because she says that he saw her in the country when I arrived at Rome, but it was after I had departed."

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PERILOUS ROYAL BIOGRAPHY: REPRESENTATIONS OF CATHERINE II IMMEDIATELY AFTER HER SEIZURE OF THE THRONE

RUTH DAWSON

On July 24, 1762, the German poet Anna Luise Karsch wrote to her friend Gleim about a piece of news terrible to her Prussian sensibilities: a rebellion had occurred in Russia, and the tsar, Prussia's friend Peter III, had been deposed. It had taken two weeks for word of this event to travel from Petersburg to Berlin. On July 29, five days after Karsch got the news, the first accurate and detailed accounts for readers further west were being produced in The Hague, although a garbled version was already appearing that same day in the London newspapers (*Gentleman's* 1762: 341). A few months later the American colonists were devouring the scandal in their newspapers too, and the next year a pamphlet reporting about the coup was published in Peru (*Carta*). Among the urgent questions was the issue of whether Russia would again change sides in the hostilities that were surging across many parts of central Europe and far around the world in the conflict later called the "Seven Years War." Another question was how soon it would be before the usurper was herself deposed. Karsch in her letter to Gleim indicated that an informal biography of the new empress was already in circulation. This biography, or composite of proxy biographies, deployed familiar images of immoral and sexually voracious women to locate Catherine in the terrain of illicit female craving for power. "About the tsarina, people tell a whole novel comparing her to the Roman Livia and putting her alongside Mary Stuart," Karsch reported: "The tsarina deserves to be eternally loathed if she had the slightest part in the plot against her husband" (138). Clearly, a woman with a biography so varied and unconventional that it was called a novel could not rule legitimately.

When Empress Elizabeth of Russia had died a few months earlier, her nephew had come to the throne, and to the shock and dismay of Russia's

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allies, had concluded a separate peace with his hero, Friedrich II of Prussia. By the time Karsch wrote her letter, Peter III was dead, although it would take another week for the news to reach Germany. His wife, dubbing herself Catherine II, had seized power on July 9.[1] She had intimidated her husband into abdicating on July 10, and Peter III had died on July 17, 1762.

Two years after her first remarks, Anna Luise Karsch offered an entirely different account of Catherine in another letter to Gleim, and to explain Peter III's death, invoked entirely different terms of biographical comparison: "meanwhile I am not so disinclined toward the ruler of Russia as at first. She seems not to be at all bloodthirsty, and maybe she was forced to that cruel step just as I had to make it happen that the man whose name I carried was laden with weapons and put in danger of [death, struck through] war" (236–37). Karsch's circumlocution for the word "husband" as "the man whose name I carried" clearly distanced her from him, and seems intended to make her organization of his impressment into the army less shocking. Karsch too had put her husband in mortal danger, and thus indicated a parallel between herself and the formerly reviled empress.

In addition to biographical comments about Catherine that appeared in private letters, an examination of the initial published accounts of the coup d'état in official manifestos, in newspapers, broadsheets, and journals, and in the first biographies of the vanquished Peter III shows how Catherine's life history was portrayed at this earliest and extremely perilous stage of her reign. Biography, even the brief biographies within newspaper articles or in private letters, can serve as a record, faded and torn in spots, but legible nonetheless, of the creation and dissemination of a public image that legitimizes or delegitimizes a public figure. Catherine's coup, freighted as it was with political and military significance for West European countries and their far-flung colonies, stirred up vigorous press discussion outside Russia, and created demand for biographical information about the usurper. How vigorous and widespread the interest was, can be seen by examining the coverage offered in publications away from the main urban centers. Provincial papers such as the *Weimarische Wöchentliche Anzeigen* in central Germany, the *Northampton Mercury* in England, Rhode Island's *Providence Gazette* in the American colonies, and the *Belfast Newsletter* in Ireland, exemplify the dissemination of Russian news into the wider world.[2] Yet in the eighteenth century, biographical materials about rulers were not necessarily easy to come by. Monarchs set narrow limits to the kinds of information that could be published domestically about their persons and doings, and thus minimized the possibilities of public criticism within the country. Critical voices came from elsewhere, sometimes ventriloquized through fictitious places of publication, sometimes

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through reimportation from presses abroad, and sometimes of course in forms that simply stayed external, beyond the reach of that particular regime.[3]

Newspaper coverage shows that German sources initially focused only on the immediate events of the coup and its possible consequences, while the English papers promptly added brief biographical information about Catherine. Within a short time, unofficial sources raised new biographical questions, especially about Catherine's sexual history—a topic with complex implications both for her and for Peter III.

The Weimar weekly's "foreign" news section (news from outside the Duchy of Sachsen-Weimar) reported on the events of the Russian coup by citing accounts originally published in a variety of locations representing both sides of the ongoing Seven Years War. Its first two sources were a newspaper from Dresden, in Saxony, which was allied with Austria and France against the Prussians, and another from Regensburg, a seat of the Holy Roman German Empire, which was headed by Austria. Later issues of the weekly drew Russian coverage from papers in nearby Erfurt, in Prussian Berlin, and in cosmopolitan, commercial Hamburg. The Dresden account, dated July 26 and published in Weimar on August 7, contained the elements typical of most of the first reports: Peter III's dethronement; his replacement by Catherine, not Ivan (another Russian-German prince who had been briefly on the Russian throne as an infant); and something about the status of the old alliance with Austria.[4] In fact, the Dresden account wrongly proclaimed that Russia's new alliance with Prussia had been annulled, which would have been welcome news to the Austrian coalition. The next entry in the same issue of the Weimar paper came from Regensburg and cited the Russians' first manifesto about the overthrow. None of this earliest material, neither the Dresden nor the Regensburg report, could be considered biographical. Because both Catherine, who was born a minor German princess, and Peter, who was German on his father's side and Russian on his mother's, had received considerable publicity in Germany since starting their august Russian careers, they probably needed little introduction to German readers.

Throughout most of eighteenth-century Europe, newspapers and periodicals, broadsheets and pamphlets were the swiftest technologies available for narrating and analyzing events such as the Russian coup, and for offering focal elements of the life narratives of usurper and usurped to the emerging general public. Such ephemera, much now untraceable, were mostly anonymous and with no place of publication, though the languages that most of the known ones used, French and German, suggest something about their distribution (Bilbassoff 1: 7–15). Since many provincial newspapers, like the

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one from Weimar, appeared only on a weekly basis, they seem to have been supplemented by these specials that could bring the latest news more quickly.

A typical pamphlet carried the title *Wahrhaffte Nachricht von der am 9ten Julii 1762 in Petersburg vorgefallenen Revolution* ("True News of the Revolution that happened in Petersburg on July 9, 1762"), and was eight pages long. It contained the standard elements of a first report augmented by much narrative detail; although the pamphlet itself was not a biography, it provided information about individuals' behavior at a decisive juncture from which readers like Karsch could extrapolate a more complete sense of the key participants' life narratives.

In this pamphlet, as in other ephemera, biographical topics such as Catherine's involvement in the overthrow and her disputed sexual history were raised indirectly, often in the midst of other material. The "true news" pamphlet emphasized the policy calamities that Catherine used to persuade the guards units, critical to the coup's success, to take her side. But then the pamphlet asserts that such matters were second in importance to troubles deriving from Catherine's and Peter's intertwined biographies: "The Russian Tsar had . . . made the dangerous plan to repudiate his wife, declare his son illegitimate, lock both of them up in a convent or monastery, marry his mistress . . . and introduce the Protestant religion into his whole empire" (*Wahrhaffte* 2). The charge of bastardy against the seven-year-old Paul contained, of course, a significant accusation against Catherine.

Sexual aspects of a royal wife's biography were always implicit in a consort's biography, since the primary function of royal wives was reproduction within the parameters of plausibly certain paternity by their husbands.[5] The "true news" pamphlet raised the question of whether Catherine's reproductive success had occurred beyond those parameters. Another publication that appeared a few months after the coup indicated that even before Peter III's ascent to the throne, he had denied that he fathered Paul, and the denial had leaked to the public, at least outside of Russia.[6] Friedrich Ludwig Anton Hörschelmann, an entrepreneurial writer in a village not far from Weimar, asserted that the infidelity accusation had circulated ever since Paul's birth eight years earlier: "The false and bitter charges that Peter raised against his faithful spouse when she gave birth to the now still underage Grand Duke Paul Petrowitz are well known" (153).[7] Although Hörschelmann cast the assertion in elaborately polite language and denied the charges (with phrases such as, in this instance, "faithful spouse"), his text also repeatedly proclaimed the accusations.[8] Similarly, Karsch's immediate allusions to the "novel" of Catherine's life and her comparison with Livia and Mary Queen of Scots probably corroborate the dissemination in Germany of infidelity allegations

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against Catherine before the overthrow, so that these comparisons were already available when the coup took place. In England, a letter from the acerbic Horace Walpole, written a few days after word of the overthrow had reached him, has a deft satiric touch: "They doubted, that is, her husband did, whether her children were of genuine blood-royal. She appealed to the Preobazinsky Guards, excellent casuists, and, to prove Duke Paul heir to the crown, assumed it herself. The proof was compendious and unanswerable" (Walpole 314–15). Royal biography's sexual strand was clearly in wide circulation—although not necessarily in print, and not in official published documents.

Peter could not march through this discourse with his own sexual performance unscathed. After all, it was his dynastic duty too to ensure that heirs were born. Eighteenth-century observers could readily suspect that Peter had been ineffectual in his duty, for Catherine had been his wife already for nine years before her first pregnancy. If she then finally became pregnant but only by another man, what did that say about Peter's masculinity and fertility? For many years to come this line of thought was raised in print indirectly.[9] In England, the *Gentleman's Magazine,* a monthly that functioned as "an indispensable source of news to its loyal readership scattered throughout the towns, villages, country houses, and parsonages of Britain" (Montluzin), used italics to add an ostentatious wink to its hints: "his private intrigues with one of the nieces of Chancellor Woronzoff, whom, it is said, he loved *as well as he could,* gave umbrage to the Empress whom he had never loved so much purpose; and it was even supposed that he had formed the design of shutting up her majesty in a cloister, and raising the Countess of Woronzoff to the dignity of Empress" (362). Strong intimations of impotence formed part of an undercurrent of discourse that demasculinized Peter III. The implications were profound: gender did not automatically authorize a demasculinized Peter to be tsar.

Indeed, discourse in Germany and further West about the biographies of Peter III and Catherine II tended toward the demasculinizing of Peter III and the slight but sufficient masculinizing of Catherine, all occurring in a context which equated legitimate rule with masculinity. Russians perhaps accepted women as rulers—when Catherine seized power, women had ruled Russia for thirty-two of the thirty-seven years since Peter the Great's death, suggesting, as one German source put it, that Russians liked "the regime of women" (Hörschelmann 154–55)—but for others the notion of a powerful woman required special explanation. If a woman reigned, it was only because there was no male alternative. As a result, "whatever else she may represent, she always represents lack" (Homans xxix). Because Catherine had successfully

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pushed a man off the throne, the lack was reallocated at least in part to the defective man. Representations of Peter III during and after the coup repeatedly and in various ways align him with lack: lack of virility, lack of political understanding, lack of Russianness. Depictions of Peter as impotent, incompetent, and indecisive undermined his manliness; the location of his cause of death in the genital area would reinforce the suggestion of his impotence. Even Peter's treatment of Elizabeth, the deceased Tsarina, became a part of this pattern. On the other hand, depictions of Catherine as powerful, in command, speaking and writing forcefully, and wearing the insignia otherwise available only to men masculinize her, as do references to being dressed in men's clothing and riding astride as she led her troops to a confrontation with Peter. Yet as soon as the overthrow succeeded, her verbal image reverted to femininity: a coup without bloodshed, a weeping and emotional empress, a protective male senate, statements about "our maternal assistance" (*Gentleman's* 437) all contributed to the reinscription of women into the dynasty—which emphasis on Russia's female tradition legitimized.

This mobilization of gender however was not everywhere immediately apparent—for example in British provincial papers. The *Northampton Mercury,* which appeared on Mondays, brought news of the coup on August 9, 1762. Like the Weimar paper, the *Mercury* derived its content from larger, better known daily papers published elsewhere; for Northampton, the source papers were in London, about fifty miles away. Reading a single issue of the *Northampton Mercury* on the day the news of the overthrow was published was effectively like reading five different London newspapers—some repeating each other, some contradicting, all conveying fascination.

Catherine required more introduction to the English public than to the German one; in the *Northampton Mercury* the first account of the coup concluded with the sketchiest of biographies told in reverse order: "Catherine Alexiewna II, who, according to the foregoing Accounts, has been created Empress of Russia, is Consort to the dethroned Emperor Peter III. and Sister of the reigning Duke of Anhalt-Zerbst." Catherine's new situation as empress was connected to her status as wife of Peter III, and then backward to her status as a member of the unimpressive ducal house of Anhalt-Zerbst, and specifically as sister to the current duke, a historical nonentity. German sources, unlike this English one, were far more likely to locate Catherine as daughter of Prince Christian August of Anhalt-Zerbst, who, though long dead, at least had gained a degree of recognition within the Prussian military hierarchy. Either way, identifying Catherine by means of the male side of her family tree did not individualize her, and gave her no character, no

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distinguishing features, and no significant qualifications for running the Russian Empire.

Eighteenth-century newspapers did not yet have informative headlines; articles were arranged by date and by the geographical source of the information. The second page of the Northampton weekly, containing the freshest news, included on August 9 a paragraph that attempted to enlarge Catherine's biography. Since so little was known about her, this life writing, taken from the *St. James Chronicle*, quickly shifted into speculation:

> The Maiden Name of the present Empress of Russia was Sophia Augusta, and on her Marriage with the late Emperor she assumed that of Catherine Alexiewna. As she is a German by Birth, and was bred either Lutheran or Calvinist, she cannot be supposed to have any Partiality to the Greek Church, whose Doctrines are established in that Empire, nor is it reasonable to imagine, that the Russians can naturally have any more Love for her than for her Husband, on account of their being both Germans. If she was engaged to take this extraordinary Step by any ambitious View, it is hardly possible that a Revolution so founded can long subsist, tho' it may occasion much Bloodshed, and be a Cause of lengthening out the War. (78)

As in the previous even shorter account, traditional biographical elements that indicate the narration of a life over time (e.g., marriage) and locate a person socially (e.g., nationality and religion) were addressed as well as limited information would allow, but there was no clue about the subject's skills or education, her fitness to reign or her reputation. On one level, individualizing possibilities were hardly relevant in the dynastic, genealogy-based system that formed the usual conceptual framework for even the briefest royal biographies. The hypothesis being addressed in the *Mercury*'s cribbed and speculative life narrative was that it was unreasonable to expect this German Protestant woman to remain long on the Russian throne. In the absence of dynastic qualification, her relationship to the "Greek" (Russian Orthodox) church loomed large, as did the question of whether the Russian people would "love" her, a generous way of asking if the most influential groups would tolerate her on the Russian throne. Also, ambition, which was usually unwelcome in male rulers, was, the text indicated, anathematized for women.

A few paragraphs later a long entry from the *Whitehall Evening Post* gave Catherine's dates of birth and marriage and named her children, thus adding her reproductive history to the biographical tidbits offered to readers. Casting the information in terms of Peter's production of heirs, Catherine is the woman "by whom [Peter] had Paul Petrowitz, Great Prince of Russia, born Oct. 1, 1754, and Anna Petrowna, born Dec. 21, 1757" (78; the article did

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not mention Anna's death at the age of one). No hint here of a paternity question. Since the issue of the sexual behavior of either Catherine or Peter was absent from the many column inches of Northampton coverage, the sentence taken from the *British Chronicle* that "Some Letters from Petersburgh . . advise, that there had not been any harmony between the late Emperor and Empress of Russia for a Year and a Half past" (78) seemed to be more a political statement than a hint about the legitimacy of Catherine's children. Likewise, the paper more than once named Countess Vorontsov among those detained by Catherine's faction, but left her role as Peter's mistress unidentified. The omissions are especially striking since a second reference to the lack of marital "harmony" is immediately followed by a detailed comparison of Peter III's overthrow with that of the fourteenth-century English King Edward II—likewise deposed by his unfaithful wife and her lover. The policy issues leading to both ousters are outlined, but there is no mention of any lover of the royal consort, nor any labeling of her as unfaithful. Indeed, since the text continued by suggesting that the deposed Peter III must have been comforted "on finding his Son Paul not excluded from the Succession" (83), the thought that Peter might have rejected Paul's paternity was curbed. A week later, a hint, the only indication of a sexual scandal published by the Northampton paper in the first months after the coup, appeared in a report forwarded, significantly, from Germany: "All Political Conversation turns wholly on the important Revolution that has just happened at Petersburgh. Advices of good Credit assure us, that the principal Motive for deposing the Emperor was the Disregard he shewed to the Empress, for whom he openly discovered an Aversion, and the Assiduities he had long paid to a Sultaness" (86). The Cologne source did not get the identity of Catherine's marital rival right, but at least it stated there was one. On the other hand, Catherine's lover, Grigorii Orlov, a man indispensable for the success of the overthrow, was frequently named as one of the conspirators, but never, in any of the immediate German, French, or English post-coup sources I have found to date, was it clear that he had been or currently was Catherine's lover, although later accounts said that his intimacy with the new empress became evident within a few days of the takeover. Published royal biographies of living, reigning monarchs had their rules even in distant countries.

Overall, it is striking that English papers were freer in their displays of overt political skepticism about Catherine and the coup, while German papers and pamphlets expressed their doubts indirectly and more narrowly through accounts of sexual scandal, a common element in unofficial royal biographies. The *Northampton Mercury* quoting the *British Chronicle* provides an example of the kind of unimpressed and ironic commentary about royalty

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was mostly absent from the German sources: "'Princes (says a French Writer) at their first ascending the Throne are possessed of the highest accomplishments;' to this we think may be added, 'so are Princesses.' The Empress of Russia, since she mounted the Throne, has eclipsed all the rising perfections of the late poor unhappy emperor, who has even been loaded with opprobrious Epithets" (183). When the English accounts were transferred to the American colonies, both the political skepticism of the British and the direct and indirect sexual references of the Germans vanish. The *Providence Gazette* offered no ironical references to the standard idealization of newly ascended kings; it published one reference to Edward II, but again without mentioning the parallels of infidelity by either spouse (Oct. 30 [4]).

For a usurper such as Catherine II, and a female usurper at that, the dueling biographies of herself and the husband she deposed struggled over the deployment of authoritative discourses to replace genealogy and thereby delegitimize one contender while authorizing the other. Biography could include attributing preferred monarchical characteristics to the usurper, not the usurped; interpreting the relation of the usurper and usurped to each other in such a way that the deposing one became publicly acceptable; and shifting the emphasis so that the usurped was seen as having defaulted on the throne, and the usurper as putting things right again. At the time of the coup, Catherine's supporters had disseminated a manifesto briefly justifying the overthrow of Peter III; a week later a second manifesto appeared, this one probably basically dictated by Catherine herself and then reworded "into the slightly archaic Russian used in official pronouncements" (Alexander 13). It elaborated the new empress's case for the overthrow by invoking gender and biography in two areas: Peter's alarming treatment of his wife and child, and his insufficient respect for his aunt and predecessor, Elizabeth.

The manifesto aimed to delegitimize Peter, portraying his treatment of Catherine and Paul as a dangerous example of his arbitrariness: "for, having but an only son, which God has given us, the Grand duke Paul Petrowitz, [Peter] would not, when he ascended the throne of Russia, declare him for his successor; that being reserved for his caprice, which tended to the detriment of us and our son." The manifesto especially aimed to legitimize Catherine, first by posing her in conventional gendered terms as caring mother and patient wife suffering in private, but then stating that "the endeavours he made to ruin us, rose to such a pitch, that they broke out in public, and then charging us with being the cause of the murmurs, which his own imprudent measures occasioned, his resolution to take away our life openly appeared" (English translation of the second manifesto as it appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* 438). As a result of Peter III's threats, which the text disconnected

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from any hint of infidelity, both Catherine and "some of our most trusty subjects . . . resolved also either to sacrifice our life for our country, or save it from bloodshed and calamity." The manifesto had opened with a bold and of course self-serving statement in which Catherine strongly eschewed unfeminine ambition: "Our accession to the imperial throne of all the Russias is a manifest proof of this truth, that when sincere hearts endeavour for good, the hand of God directs them. We never had either design or desire to arrive at empire, thro' the means by which it hath pleased the Almighty . . . to place us upon the throne of Russia, our dear country" (437). In this text the gendered relation between the usurper and the usurped was construed to make the usurper into the aggrieved and vulnerable feminine party who was prodded into action only under duress. Her subjects were, the text claimed, "astonished at our patience under these heavy persecutions" (438). After each vilification of Peter, the account of Catherine's correctly feminine responses resumed. She avoided ambition and asserted her courage only indirectly under the rubric of a cheerful readiness for self-sacrifice, to which the various (powerful) societal groups responded by crowding around "to give us assurances of their fidelity and submission." Negotiating amongst the proscriptions of femininity, Catherine portrayed herself in this text as concerned about her son, yet not inclined to interfere even in the destructive plans of her husband, though later reluctantly willing to do so, in a spirit of sacrifice and in solidarity with "trusty subjects," to prevent an even worse outcome.

The manifesto's second explanation for the coup reworked gender issues so that a woman's position of power was normalized, and a man's failure to acknowledge it condemned. Peter had failed to demonstrate sufficient respect for his "most august aunt and sovereign" as she was dying and afterwards (*Gentleman's* 437). The Russian people, the manifesto declared, accepted Peter because he was the great empress's nephew and the successor she had appointed, even though he was not qualified to be tsar. Here the woman ruler Elizabeth, not the man ruler Peter the Great, served as the touchstone for dynastic respect and Russianness. Peter III proved his incompetence by failing to sufficiently acknowledge her. With the Russian throne strongly feminized by means of the emphasis on Elizabeth, Peter III's reign was an aberration and Catherine II's a return to the normal. Elizabeth's rule was maternal; so would Catherine's be. Peter III's place in the family scheme remained merely "nephew." Peter was vilified by emphasizing his contempt for a legitimately powerful woman, and "true patriots" had "soon found out the weakness of his mind, unfit to rule so vast an empire." When it became clear that Peter did not know "his own insufficiency . . . they sought our maternal assistance in the affairs of government." Peter was positioned as a

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wayward and incompetent child, and Catherine as a kind mother who came to "assist" the patriots by restoring the system of "our dearest aunt." The Elizabeth theme also allowed the manifesto to address another objection raised against Catherine outside of Germany: her Germanness. In this text, Catherine claimed Russia as "our native country," insinuated herself into the dynasty of Peter the Great, calling him "our most dear predecessor" (*Gentleman's* 437–38), and especially reiterated her devotion to Elizabeth. These claims functioned chiefly in contrast to Peter III's alleged conduct and preferences.

Mingled with the newly added grounds for the coup—Peter's mistreatment of his wife and son, and his disrespect for Elizabeth—was a strategy of feminizing Russia in such a way that Catherine's identity became closely tied to it. Describing "what our native country has suffered," the manifesto stated: "She [Russia] struggled to be delivered from a sovereign, who, being blindly given up to the most dangerous passions, thought of nothing but indulging them, without employing himself in the welfare of the empire committed to his care" (*Gentleman's* 437). Not only is Peter delegitimized by his character and behavior, but the depicted relation between state and sovereign invoked a woman's struggle against an abusive man from whom "she struggled to be delivered." This was another version of Catherine's own struggle for survival. (In the *Gentleman's Magazine* translation, the use of a feminine pronoun for "our native country" reinforced the parallel.) Because the three widely reprinted manifestos that Catherine issued in her first eight days on the throne, two justifying the coup and one announcing Peter's death, constituted an introduction to the new empress and a hidden autobiography, this evocation of the state as a woman subjected to an abusive man is especially effective.

As for using force against Peter, the autobiographical second manifesto understated it as simply one of the "proper measures" Catherine needed to perform: "Therefore, placing ourselves at the head of the body-guards, regiment of artillery, and other troops in and about the royal residence, we undertook to disconcert an iniquitous design." The press outside of Russia, however, made clear the masculinity of this act, reporting that Catherine rode on horseback to confront Peter, and that she wore a man's military uniform and the tsar's blue cordon. This was also the image of the moment that she later commissioned to be painted and recopied for distribution to other princely courts.[10] It was her brief overt performance of masculinity, which quickly disappeared once Peter was off the stage.

As Catherine rode toward the dithering Peter III, he sent her two letters, which the manifesto characterized as "stuffed with flattering expressions," but she rejected them, claiming to be worried instead about "several persons of great distinction belonging to our court . . . detained . . . as hostages

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at his palace." She asserted that demanding a "voluntary and formal renunciation of the throne, wrote by his own hand, for the public satisfaction" would avert danger to them. In other words, the second manifesto cast the abdication as a humane means of protecting hostages, and not as a way of seizing power. The rare procedure of abdication sealed the accomplishment of a nonviolent coup. In Peter's voice, that document began: "In the short time that I have ruled as head of the Russian Empire, I have learned that my powers are not sufficient for such a burden." He asserted and pledged that he would never try to resume the throne, and according to the final sentence, complied with Catherine's demand that he write the abdication with his own hand (an interesting comment on this text-laden coup). The key issue, according to the abdication document, was personal incompetence. And of course, if competence legitimized and dynasty did not, then Catherine, who is unmentioned in the abdication, could well be a legitimate ruler. The resigning tsar's statement contained nothing about being the grandson of Peter the Great, no allusion to having a son (for whom a regent might be temporarily —not permanently—appointed), and no reference at all to dynasty and its privileging of men.

The abdicating princeling could in no way invoke masculinity. But the shifting gendering of the two contestants, as represented in the manifesto and in newspapers and other sources, did not simply register the actors' behavior or character. It also signaled that societies outside of Russia were restabilizing their prevailing patriarchal ideologies by attributing feminine characteristics to the individual losing power and masculine characteristics to the one gaining power. If Catherine would be tsar, she had to be masculine. And yet, since Catherine was a woman, she had to be feminine. The widely read English year-end review, the *Annual Register,* as prepared for 1762, solved this conundrum by describing Catherine as "a woman with a masculine understanding" (18). To her was thus attributed the intelligence and good sense that Peter was alleged most dismally to lack; because such understanding was necessary for an effective ruler, it was gendered masculine and thereby validated Catherine's position as tsar by reworking her gender position. The bloodlessness of the coup, on the other hand, was a key element for reconciling Catherine's grab for power with womanliness.

Catherine's autobiographical second manifesto, like the one distributed during the coup, was reprinted in pamphlets, in the first hasty biographies of the unfortunate Peter III, and in newspapers—it covered almost the whole front page of the *Providence Gazette* for November 27, 1762.[11] It was a forerunner to the memoirs that Catherine privately wrote for the rest of her life; not published until 1859 when copies were smuggled out of Russia, they exist

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in ten main pieces amounting to almost four hundred pages in print. Yet despite this mass of material, Catherine's memoirs tell and retell, in overlapping narration and shifting detail, the story of Catherine's childhood in Germany and her early decades in Russia, before she seized power. Only one of the fragments gets past the coup and Peter III's death to begin briefly a history of her reign.

Catherine's second manifesto of 1762, the only autobiographical text she actually published herself, had cited Peter's abdication in its entirety before concluding with a series of promises that she made to the Russian people. But because even the most persuasive manifesto could not fully legitimize Catherine's seizure of the throne, Peter remained a danger to her. His demise a week after his abdication was officially represented as produced by natural causes, but the protests and cynical commentary persisted for Catherine's whole life. The announced cause of Peter's death, haemorrhoidal colic, was an invitation to sneers. Peter's death also precipitated two biographies of him—one that appeared in Danzig, the other in Frankfurt, a center of the book trade (*Denkwürdigkeiten, Merkwürdige*). Both biographies had been assembled from minimally revised newspaper articles, and thus replicated the routinely admiring tone adopted in the sources toward, first, the crown prince, and afterward the then-living ruling tsar. Both raised the possibility that Peter had been murdered, although other publications accepted the official diagnosis, surmising that the haemorrhoidal condition from which he had supposedly long suffered was made much worse by the agony of losing his throne (*Merkwürdige* 1st ed. 49–50, Hörschelmann 153). In England, even before it was known that Peter had died, the possibility of his murder had arisen in connection again with the parallel to the murderous rape of Edward II, who died "by Means of a red hot Piece of Iron thrust up his Body" (*Northampton Mercury* 83). The next day's posts brought the news of Peter's death and produced the comment, "that as the last named Prince is since dead of a disorder in his Bowels, the Parallel becomes still nearer, and may serve to confirm the Truth of the Observation of that unhappy Monarch, King Charles I, who was heard to say, 'There is but a short Interval between the Imprisonment of Princes and their Graves'" (*Northampton Mercury* 83).[12] The intended message of death by natural causes is simply overwritten by the parallel to Edward's unmistakable murder. The *Gentleman's Magazine* for July used its introduction to the reprinting of Catherine's announcement of the death to indicate incredulity, stating that Peter's death "occasioned the following most *curious* and singular declaration on the part of her Imperial Majesty, which is here translated literally, that it may appear in its genuine colours" (362, italics in original). Regardless of how the cause of Peter III's

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death was construed, the gendered subtext of the announced cause was important. Not only was the notion of haemorrhoidal colic intimately scatological, but in locating his fatal vulnerability so close to the genitals it was another element in his demasculinization, a reiteration of impotence and lack.

In 1762, when a thirty-three-year-old German woman was proclaimed tsarina of Russia after deposing her husband, the events had immediate political ramifications in the rest of Europe, and were therefore reported as swiftly and as broadly as possible in accordance with the rapidly emerging commodification of culture and recent invention of "news." Within this framework, it is notable that aside from official documents released under Catherine's name, the writers of printed materials about the coup and about its two competing royals are anonymous. Instead of specifying authors, the texts were given sources by geography, by date, and often by previous, equally commodified organ of publication. In print, life narratives of the chief figures in the accounts, Peter III and Catherine II, came first in the form of miniature biographies, a few sentences long, offering the barest of dynastic data, and second in the form of the narrative of the coup itself and the clues it offered to the characters, motivations, skills, and backgrounds of the two contenders. The subtext of each life narrative was the effort to explain the disruptive circumstance of a woman successfully seizing power from a man. Competence was of course the biographical theme that Catherine and her supporters most wanted to stress.

Their success is indicated by the fate of the biography of Peter III published in Frankfurt. *Merkwürdige Lebensgeschichte Peter des Dritten, Kaisers und Selbsthalters aller Reußen* ("Remarkable Life History of Peter the Third, Emperor and Ruler of all the Russias") was successful enough to have a second edition immediately, in 1762, and a third edition in 1763. To the second edition was appended a "Letter from St Petersburg" that energetically attacked Peter and glorified Catherine. The letter extolled Catherine's intelligence, diligence, and dedication, calling her *eine wahre Philosophin auf dem Throne* 'a true woman philosopher on the throne' (*Merkwürdige*, 2nd ed. 63).[13] With this material endorsing the new tsarina attached to the narration of Peter's life, Catherine had usurped Peter's biography as well as his throne.

No wonder then that by 1764, in France, the *Journal des Dames* had allowed Catherine's life narrative to skip over the coup, preferring to sing her praises, especially for her effectively publicized generosity to the *philosophes* (Gelbart 151). And Anna Luisa Karsch had revised her assessment of the empress, claiming the absence of bloodthirstiness from her record, and accepting the proposition that Catherine may have conducted her coup in

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defense. Not only that, but Karsch went on to compare Catherine's dis-
of Peter III with Karsch's own arrangement of her husband's involun-
conscription. No more Livia or Mary Queen of Scots. No more open
tioning of Paul's legitimacy. With Catherine alive and on the throne for
years, her life history as told in the first months of her reign was gener-
retouched.

NOTES

Dates are presented in new style reckoning based on the Gregorian calendar, which was used in France, England, Germany, and a number of other countries in the eighteenth century, but not Russia.

The *Belfast Newsletter* is available on-line in the form of an extremely complete keyword index (Greene). Because of lack of geographical access to eighteenth-century newspapers from other regions and countries, especially France, this study concentrates on German and English sources. It is striking that the nineteenth-century historian Bilbassoff, in his search for all books and pamphlets (not periodical articles) related to Catherine II, found for the first six months after the coup mostly items in German; a pamphlet published in French in Frankfurt was soon translated into German and then published as an appendix to the second edition of *Merkwürdige*. It is discussed at the end of this paper.

In another twist, Louis XIV had commissioned anonymous admiring materials about himself to be written and published outside France so that they would have more credibility (Burke 52–53).

I am grateful to the Stiftung Weimarer Klassik for a fellowship enabling me to use the Anna Amalie Bibliothek where many excellent resources on Catherine II, including this newspaper, are located. It is terrible to note that on September 2, 2004, a fire broke out in the attic level of this treasure-filled and elegant rococo library, and quickly spread. As of now, the preliminary catalogue of thousands of priceless books presumed lost to the flames or the water includes eleven literary and historical volumes by Catherine II and four eighteenth-century works related to her. For further information, see <http://www.anna-amalie-bibliothek.de>.

One historian who in 1767 totally rejected this kind of royal biography was August von Schlözer. Distinguishing between a monarch and a person, he argued: "The life of a monarch consists of a series of deeds, which he has committed as monarch, that is, which stand in a certain relationship to his approval. Recounting these deeds means describing his life" (2). Schlözer then proceeded to produce a "biography" of Catherine II as monarch, comprised of acts, statistics, and economic facts.

I have so far found no text printed before the coup that contains this allegation, but it may have spread through less formal circuits, especially since Peter surrounded himself with Germans.

This claim is repeated almost exactly in another of the first biographies of Peter III (*Denkwürdigkeiten* 70).

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8. The same pretext for discussing Catherine's sexual behavior under the guise of criticizing Peter III also occurs in other works; see Dawson, "Eighteenth-Century Libertinism" 71–72.
9. Eventually the likelihood that Peter was not Paul's father was strongly supported by Catherine's own memoirs, published in the middle of the nineteenth century.
10. The original painting by Ericksen is found at the Peterhof Palace near St. Petersburg; copies outside of Russia are found in Copenhagen and Chartres (Tipton 76; see also Renne).
11. In Germany the first two manifestos were reprinted on pp. 40–49 in the first edition of the *Merkwürdige Lebensgeschichte*; in the second edition they are on pp. 42–50. They also appeared in German in two pamphlets identified by Bilbassoff (1: 12–13). Two years later the German translator of Marche-Schwann's *Rußische Anekdoten* directed readers to find the texts in the issues for July and September, 1762, volume 153, of the *Mercure historique & politique de Holland*, published in the Hague (1764: 186).
12. This English comparison with Edward II's life and death, including the line quoted from Charles I, also appear in the less circulated of the two early biographies of Peter III (*Denkwürdigkeiten* 5–10). Bilbassoff, who usually did not comment on newspapers, said the newspapers in Haarlem, on August 21, 1762, reprinted the comparison out of the London papers. Russian news and the analysis of it did not travel unidirectionally from east to west, but also back again, from England to even as far east as Danzig, where the less circulated biography was produced.
13. According to Bilbassoff, this pamphlet may have been commissioned by Catherine (1: 12). The pamphlet claimed to be written by an eyewitness, which produced one form of credibility, but also claimed to be demonstrably independent of imperial influence because it was sent out of Russia in a diplomatic pouch (*Denkwürdigkeiten* 5–10).

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LANDGRÄFIN KAROLINE OF HESSEN-DARMSTADT: EPISTOLARY POLITICS AND THE PROBLEM OF CONSORT BIOGRAPHY

CORINNA HEIPCKE

Landgräfin Karoline von Hessen-Darmstadt (1721–1774) exemplifies the problems of writing the biography of a royal or high aristocratic consort in eighteenth-century Germany. Despite the fact that she has become known as the *Grosse Landgräfin* 'Great Landgravine' in the historiography and literary history of Hessen, her role in the politics of the little principality of Hessen-Darmstadt has not yet been evaluated, nor has any full-length biography of her been written. The biography of such a woman can only succeed when 1) it deploys feminist historiography to produce a clear and factual contextualization of the woman's life and status; 2) the correspondence of the consort is taken seriously as a source and means of the consort's political influence; and 3) marriage politics are recognized as an important aspect of foreign politics, given the politics and geopolitics of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

WOMEN AND POWER DURING THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE OF THE GERMAN NATION

During the Ancien Régime, women were not as fully excluded from power and the shaping of public life as would be the case after the end of the Holy Roman Empire in 1806. In many of the more than 1,300 territories of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, female members of the high nobility headed the ruling household, governed their estates, and managed their morning gifts of property and valuables that they brought with them into marriage and retained under their own control. It was also common for women to rule as regents, abbesses, or sovereigns in their own right (Wunder, Zürlein, and Hoffmann 75; Wunder, "Er ist" 212; Wunder, "Herrschaft"

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45–46). Although according to Christian anthropology women were not fit for the office of ruler, and ruling women were considered to be exceptions from their sex, dynasties were often interested in maintaining power by eliminating rivalries through female regents or women's fiefdoms. In such cases, the woman's ascent to power was legitimized by genealogical references to her high lineage (Wunder, "Herrschaft" 32–33).

Even married princesses were not as powerless as has long been thought.[1] Ruling men and women established themselves as the *Herrscherpaar* 'ruling couple' (Wunder, "Dynastie"), and they shared a concept of being father and mother of the people. In this position, women gained authority and were able to exercise political influence. Almost none of this insight into the lives of royal and high aristocratic consorts has found its way into their biographies. But the problem for biographers goes beyond this, to include first, an issue that intertwines gender and genre, and second, the question of what counts as political.

A CONSORT'S CORRESPONDENCE: LANDGRÄFIN KAROLINE OF HESSEN-DARMSTADT'S POLITICAL ACHIEVEMENTS

Landgräfin Karoline of Hessen-Darmstadt was born in 1721 as Karoline von Pfalz-Zweibrücken-Birkenfeld, a princess of the Palatinate. In 1741, she married Ludwig IX, crown prince of Hessen-Darmstadt, a comparatively unimportant principality, with a rather small and disrupted territory of approximately 7500 square kilometers. Furthermore, Hessen-Darmstadt was in dire financial circumstances due to its rulers' long-standing habit of overspending. Nevertheless, the title of Landgraf was a high rank within the system of German nobility, situated between earl (*Graf*) and duke (*Herzog*), with the only other higher ranks being king and kaiser.

For most of their marriage, Karoline and Ludwig IX lived at two separate courts. Even after his ascension in the year 1768, Landgraf Ludwig IX lived at the garrison Pirmasens, while Landgräfin Karoline remained at Darmstadt, the capital of Hessen-Darmstadt, where most of the government offices were situated (Wolf, "Darmstadt" 365–95). The main means of communication between Karoline and her husband was an extensive correspondence.[2] Furthermore, Landgräfin Karoline established and sustained a network of epistolary friendships with reigning princes and princesses and members of their families, including King Frederick II of Prussia (1712–1786), his younger sister Amalie of Prussia (1723–1787), Empress Catherine the Great of Russia (1729–1796), and various others. The contacts with Prussia and Russia were politically important, since along with France, England, and Austria-Hungary, they were the five great European powers of the age.

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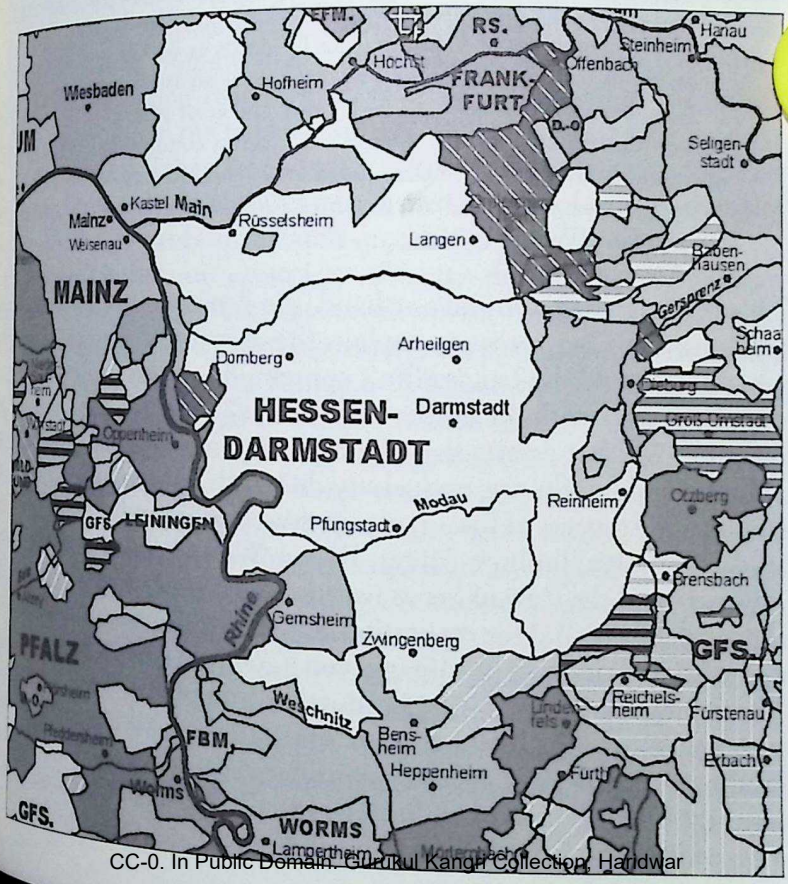
Engraving of the Great Landgräfin, Karoline of Hessen-Darmstadt.

The unshaded areas of this map identify several of the disjointed fragments that composed Hessen-Darmstadt as of 1789. Pirmasens, where the Landgräfin Karoline's husband lived, was in a splinter of territory off the map to the southwest. The nearby miniature principalities, many of them also in shards, include the imperial city (RS.= Reichstadt) of Frankfurt, a prince-bishopric (FBM = Fürstbistum), and several territories ruled by counts (GFS = Grafschaft) (illustrations provided by the author; used by permission).



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Karoline of Hessen-Darmstadt became known as the "*die Große Landgräfin*" in the historiography of Hessen, but none of the brief biographical accounts of her explain the designation persuasively. Assessments of her achievements can be roughly divided into three groups:

> celebrations of her accomplishments as patron of the *Darmstädter Empfindsamer Kreis* 'Darmstadt Circle of Sentimentalists,' a literary group (Tornius; Slark);
>
> affirmations of her role as her husband's proxy in Darmstadt;[3] and
>
> denials of her cultural or political influence, but glorification of her character (Walther 1: 1–8; Hartmann; Bräuning-Oktavio 2227–35).

Philipp A. F. Walther, who published a large edition of selected letters by the Landgräfin in 1877, and who remains one of the best-informed scholars on the history of Hessen-Darmstadt, took the third stance in the introduction to his edition of Karoline's letters:

> The Landgräfin's fame is not founded in the greatness of her fate . . . and since her husband's ways did not allow for political actions, she does not seem to have gained her contemporaries' admiration by deeds as we witness them from other princesses, be it in their own right as rulers or as advising consorts of ruling men. . . . Neither can her fame—which is especially great among people from the last [eighteenth] century—be explained by her direct contribution to literature. This contribution has so far been considered an established fact, but indeed cannot be proven by more than the first edition of Klopstock's *Odes* which the Landgräfin arranged for. (Walther 1: 2).[4]

This seems strange. On the one hand, the demolition of any accomplishment attributable to her seems to explain the absence of a longer biography. But why then should the Landgräfin's contemporaries have admired her so much as to honor her with the epithet "the Great" if she accomplished nothing significant? Walther asserts that the high esteem in which her contemporaries held the Landgräfin was exclusively due to the impression her "thinking and feeling in all aspects of life" made on everyone around her (1: 2). Some recent studies echo his findings. Jürgen Rainer Wolf questions her alleged political influence and the view of her as her husband's proxy ("Femina" 130–44; "Die meisten" 84–100). Her reputation in literary history, variously attributed to appraisals by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832) and Christoph Martin Wieland (1733–1813), does not emphasize any special capacities, utterances, or actions on her part.[5] Indeed, the kind of veneration that Wieland accorded is most recently considered to be a conventional appraisal of any high-ranking aristocrat (Seidel 445–47). Small wonder that Wolf calls for a re-evaluation of the Landgräfin's influence.

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Karoline's correspondence is useful for such a reappraisal in two ways. It registers how she established an epistolary network that enabled her to conduct a highly successful campaign of marriage politics through an intermediary whose importance has not been sufficiently recognized, and second, her correspondence clearly demonstrates her effective and often independent use of authority. Careful study of Karoline's correspondence makes the absence of a comprehensive biography all the more surprising.

A COMPLEMENTARY BLINDNESS

In the face of her large correspondence, an abundant source of information, the reason why Landgräfin Karoline's deeds and influence have not been investigated more closely may be found in a "complementary blindness" of historiography and literary history. Neither discipline has yet considered rulers' princesses' letters as a medium of a political action or a locus of possible literary accomplishment, nor did they investigate the political contents of such correspondences. Historiography during the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century focused mainly on letters by states*men,* which despite their often rather private contents were regarded as semi-official (Boshof et al. 55–57). The assumption that women were denied access to the public sphere, and therefore also to the political sphere, led to the disregard for their letters as sites of political actions or thoughts. Women's letters were regarded as private letters.[7] It is only since the establishment of social history that letters became sources for historical research on a larger scale.

German literary history on epistolary writings during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries focused on the development of epistolary stylistics. It has often been stressed that women played a great part in the development of German letter style,[8] but Anita Runge and Lieselotte Steinbrügge have shown that there has been a "tight linking of female nature and genre characteristics of the letter" (Vorwort 8).[9] This, Runge and Steinbrügge conclude, led to a stylization of women as ideal letter writers, but their letters were in turn regarded as surrogates for unlived lives or unwritten works: "Women, it seems, write letters instead of traveling, doing business, engaging in politics or authoring 'great' works" (9). This rating of women's letters by German literary historiography—which can also be detected in German feminist literary criticism (Becker-Cantarino) and French literary criticism[10]—is based on a consensus to concentrate on the development of epistolary stylistics in the German language.[11] Therefore, letters from the German territories that were written in French—the eighteenth century nobility's lingua franca—were disregarded.

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"Complementary blindness," in short, means that while historiography excluded *women's* letters because supposedly they did not contain politics, German literary history disregarded *states*women's letters because they were not in *German*. This effectively excluded the major part of eighteenth century princesses' letters from research, and is the reason for a lack of categories to describe such letters, as well as for a failure to recognize their mixed semi-autobiographical and political function.

Walther's edition of Landgräfin Karoline's letters shows a further implication of the categorical inadequacies for women's biography. Despite late nineteenth century Germany's historicism and the great fashion of biography writing that went with it (Hähner 137–42), and despite Walther's own earlier attempts at biographical sketches of Landgräfin Karoline, he did not compose a full-length biography of the Landgräfin, but instead published her letters. There he drew special attention to Karoline's correspondence with "the Greats" of her world: Frederick II of Prussia and Catherine II of Russia. Despite noting the significance of these contacts, Walther failed to establish a pattern of action followed by the Landgräfin that could be used as the red thread of a consort's biography. Following the assumptions of his time that consorts hardly had access to power, he classified Landgräfin Karoline's correspondence with Frederick II as expressions of mutual esteem—thus alluding to the category of friendship letter—and attributed the politics conducted by the letter writers exclusively to Frederick's plotting (Walther 1: 9).

Walther's failure to note a pattern of political action is easily explainable. In the correspondence of Landgräfin Karoline of Hessen-Darmstadt and her addressees, the letter writers employ a style of amicable exchange to ensure each other of their mutual attachment and loyalty. This style can and could be read as a marker of friendship, and it served as a means of smoothing the way for politics. But as I will show through Landgräfin Karoline's correspondence with her confidante Amalie of Prussia, with King Frederick II of Prussia, and with her husband Ludwig IX, the Landgräfin established a complex network of relationships that was used for personal exchanges as well as for the exertion of political influence, particularly in the form of arranging dynastically advantageous marriages. Her correspondence with Frederick II and Catherine the Great served the Landgräfin to socialize with important foreign contacts, and thereby helped secure the position of her dynasty within the system of European powers. This went well beyond the scope of "woman's letters" or "friendship letters," and should be a rich source for the biography of Karoline that remains to be written.

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LANDGRÄFIN KAROLINE'S EPISTOLARY POLITICS

How the epistolary network operated can best be shown by examples. Two instances, one from the year 1769 and one from the years 1772 and 1773, concrete matters in which Landgräfin Karoline, her husband Landgraf Ludwig IX, Amalie of Prussia, Frederick II of Prussia, and—in the second case—Catherine the Great took part.

The friendship with the Prussian house of Hohenzollern was the most important and decisive foreign relation of Hessen-Darmstadt. It had probably been established in 1744, upon the arrival of Crown Prince (not yet Landgrave) Ludwig IX of Hessen-Darmstadt and his wife Karoline at the Prussian garrison town of Prenzlau.[12] The friendship deepened in the years 1750 to 1757, while Ludwig was employed in Prussian service at Prenzlau. It was common for German princes who were awaiting their ascent to power to spend some time in the employment of larger principalities such as Prussia or Austria.) The couple often visited the Prussian court in Berlin, and Karoline frequently took part in Amalie of Prussia's *soirées de confidance*, where the Landgräfin met Frederick II and supposedly became one of the few women he held in high esteem (Walther 1: 9).[13] In 1757, Landgraf Ludwig VIII, Karoline's father-in-law, who supported the Habsburgs in a coalition between Austria-Hungary and Prussia, demanded that his son should quit Prussian service and return home. Thereafter, Karoline of Hessen-Darmstadt sustained her intimate friendship with Amalie of Prussia by exchanging letters with her almost every day. These amicable exchanges kept Karoline in close touch with a much more influential court, and especially with the influential Amalie. In contrast to her five sisters and four brothers, Amalie had remained unmarried[14]—hence her constant presence at Berlin, and continued close relationship with her powerful brother, Frederick II. During the Seven Years War (1756–1763) between Prussia and England on the one side and a coalition of France, Russia, Sweden, Saxony, and Austria-Hungary on the other, Princess Amalie became the center of the Prussian court in Berlin, while her brother was absent in battle (Debuch 50–51). She was also the only female family member who was allowed to visit her brother in battle, which she did twice (Schmidt-Lötzen 375; Schüßler 250). Her contemporaries seem to have considered her one of Frederick II's closest confidants. Dieudonné Thiébault, a professor at the Berlin *Ritterakademie*, described the emotional attachment between Amalie and Frederick as the reason why members of the Prussian court and the citizens of Berlin regarded Amalie as her brother's prime spy, and felt in awe of her (217).

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Close friendship with this influential princess allowed Karoline of Hessen-Darmstadt to address occasional pleas to Frederick II,[15] and eventually led to major successes in the Landgräfin's foreign politics. In March 1769, she received a letter from Princess Amalie that began like a typical eighteenth century friendship letter, but contained a quite unexpected message:

> Berlin, 6. Mars 1769
> Je me flatte, ma chère Landgrave, que Vous êtes convaincue de mon tendre et sincère attachement, et je ne crois pas, Madame, me faire illusion; je me flatte aussi d'un peu de retour de la part de V.A., mais comme il ne sauroit y avoir de véritable amitié sans confiance, je veux Vous prouver que la mienne est pour Vous sans défaut. Vous aurez peut-être entendu parler les chagrins, dans lequels toute ma famille et moi sommes plongées par l'affreuse et inexcusable conduite de ma malheureuse nièce, laquelle, sans entrer dans des plus grands détails, oblige le Roi, tant pour l'honneur de la maison que pour punir les crimes qu'elle a commis, qu'elle a voulu commettre (et qu'on a heureusement découverts) de l'enfermer. On travaille actuellement à la cassation du mariage, pour que tout se fasse dans les règles, sans que la moindre chicane y trouve prise, afin que mon neveu puisse d'abord se remarier. Je crois, ma chère Landgrave, qu'un mot d'avis ne Vous sera pas désagréable: Recevez-le, Madame, de la part d'une fidèle amie; ce sera une des Vos princesses, mais, comme c'est encore une chose des plus secrètes, je Vous supplie de le cacher au Landgrave; je Vous promets, en revanche, que Vous serez informée de tout; Vos intérêts me sont trop chers pour que je les néglige . . . j'ose prier V.A. de ne jamais faire paroître à quelq'un d'ici, soit grand ou petit, parent ou non parent, que j'aie été le précurseur de cette nouvelle. (Walther 1: 316–17)[16]

This letter shows the trust Amalie of Prussia placed in Karoline of Hessen-Darmstadt, informing her earlier than was authorized about a possible marriage alliance between their two houses. But why had King Frederick II of Prussia decided that one of Landgräfin Karoline's daughters should become his designated successor's second wife? Within the system of European powers, Hessen-Darmstadt was not an influential principality. Moreover, its financial situation was tense, and there was no established tradition of marital links between the houses of Hohenzollern and of Darmstadt. The Prussian king himself asserted in a letter to Landgräfin Karoline that the choice of one of her daughters was entirely governed by the esteem in which he held the young women's mother (Walther 1: 15). To the extent that this flattering claim was true, surely such esteem was partly due to the ongoing communication between Princess Amalie and Karoline, and to the ensuing indirect contact between Landgräfin Karoline and Frederick II that was created by sending regards to each other, and by Amalie mentioning the Landgraves' circumstances to the King and vice versa. That Amalie may have reminded

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the brother of Landgräfin Karoline's unmarried daughters seems especially odd when one considers Princess Amalie's promise to foster the Landgräfin's interests.

It took months before the matter was firmly decided. In the meantime, Princess Amalie kept Landgräfin Karoline up to date concerning developments at the Prussian court. This was not easy. Princess Amalie had to avoid censorship, which in those years was regularly imposed on letters by members of the royal family, since they were likely to be best informed about the comings and outs of the royal court. By hiding the fact that she was the sender of the letters to Landgräfin Karoline, Amalie circumvented censorship, and was thereby able to inform her friend of Prussian developments. In harsh words, which Walther excluded from publication in his edition of Landgräfin Karoline's correspondence, she described the reasons why the wife of Frederick Wilhelm (1744–1797) had to leave the Prussian court:

Berlin 26 Mars 1769
Ce n'est point une illusion, ce ne sont des on-dits, votre amie vous dit vrai . . . mais elle vous supplie que cela reste entre elle et vous. La grande maitresse est sur le point d'être renvoyé, en attend que son hôtel soit prêt, pour la faire partir. Stettin sera sa demeure . . . Vous ètes dans l'erreur ma chère Landy si vous supposéz que la malheureuse aît le moindre sentiment de honte, du sensibilité et de remords, d'autres pleurent pour elle, pendant quelle [sic] . . . danse et chante, c'est une ame pétrie des plus viles et des plus sales inclinations: pour ne pas trop dire il y a payé 30 persons, toutes de la lie du peuples ses intims et ses confidens, lié, et garotté pour l'amour d'elle, ce qui ne lui fait ni froid ni chaud, cette scandaleuse conduite, j'ose vous le dire sans fremir trouvent quil y avait des obstacles qui l'arrètaient [sic] parci par là, aviser avec . . . ces . . . surviellans [sic]; selon le papiers que l'on a en main, d'affreuses poudres . . . depuis dira . . . au crime, celui-ci ne lui auroit pas plus couter, que ceux que l'avoient precèdes [sic], car elle s'étoit déjà servie de quelques drogues, et relès [sic] . . . a plusieurs reprises pour faire purger le fruit de ses impudriques amours.[17]

The unfortunate woman in question was Elisabeth Christine Ulrike von Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel (1746–1840), who in 1765, had married Friedrich Wilhelm of Prussia. In 1767, their first and only child, Friederike, was born. Meanwhile, Friedrich Wilhelm kept several mistresses at once, and his wife seems to have enjoyed extramarital pleasures as well, but the danger that Elisabeth Christine Ulrike would give birth to an illegitimate child, and thus introduce a legitimate heir's claims to the Prussian throne, was obviously not what the Hohenzollern family was prepared to take. Her marriage to Friedrich Wilhelm was dissolved, paving the way for one of Karoline of Hessen-Darmstadt's daughters to marry up the scale of rank. In early April, the

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Landgräfin commissioned a portrait of her daughter Frederika Luisa (1751–1805), which was then sent to Berlin to inform Prince Friedrich Wilhelm of the appearance of one of the princesses of Hessen-Darmstadt. The dispatch of a portrait was a rather formal affair, a step before engagement.

On April 29, Princess Amalie wrote Landgräfin Karoline that the matter had been decided, so that within four weeks time she would receive the official proposal and pledge for Friederike (Walther 1: 321). Since this information was still confidential, Karoline of Hessen-Darmstadt needed to keep it secret even from her husband. A month later, it was made official that the Prussian Prince would marry a Princess of Hessen-Darmstadt, but a choice between the princesses had not yet been confirmed. At that point, the Landgräfin still wrote to Ludwig IX as if she did not know which of her daughters had been chosen:

> Darmstadt, 30. Mai 1769
>
> . . . J'ai tout lieu d'espérer, mon chérissime Landgrave, que je Vous reverrai dans peu, c'est encore un mystère et je Vous supplie de n'en parler, mais bientôt le mystère cessera de l'être et, pour lors, Vous me verrez avec l'objet choisi. On ne me nomme point laquelle l'a été, mais on me supplie de ne rien faire paroître jusqu'après la dimanche. Je Vous avoue que cette nouvelle ne m'est point indifférente. (Walther 2: 88–89)[18]

One day later, the Prussian envoy Count Bohlen arrived at Darmstadt and handed over a packet of relevant documents to Karoline. After her husband gave his consent to the marriage and the contract was signed, Landgräfin Karoline escorted her daughter to Prussia. There she took part in the wedding celebrations, while her husband stayed in Pirmasens.

The amount of effort Landgräfin Karoline undertook herself, as well as her husband's lack of involvement in the issue of his daughter's marriage, proves that marriage policy was—at least during Landgräfin Karoline's reign at Hessen-Darmstadt, and when it concerned the Landgräfin's female offspring—her business. For writing a consort's biography, it is important to take this marriage policy seriously as a form of foreign policy within the system of European nobility, a system that was to a large extent maintained by family ties. These family ties, once established, could then be used to foster the position of one's dynasty.

Indeed, the good working relation that had now been established by the cooperation of Landgräfin Karoline and Frederick II served as basis for a second, equally ambitious marriage project. In May 1772, Frederick II informed her:

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7 Mai 1772

Madame ma cousine, Il se présente une occasion favorable, Madame, pour l'établissement d'une des princesses Vos filles. J'ai cru . . . qu'avant tout il falloit consulter sur cette article la volonté d'une mère respectable. Il ne s'agit pas, Madame, d'une bagatelle, mais de placer ou non une de Vos filles sur le trône de Russie. La chose est très faisable. . . . Votre Altesse jugera Elle-même, quelle avantage sa maison pourrait retirer d'un pareil établissement. Je La prie de vouloir se consulter là-dessus, et de me faire savoir ensuite sa résolution. (Walther 1: 24)[19]

Marriage between another princess of Hessen-Darmstadt and the Russian Grand prince was desirable to Prussia, since it would indirectly establish family ties between the Prussian royal house and the Romanovs. Of course, Karoline and Ludwig IX of Hessen-Darmstadt considered the marriage a desirable match for their own house as well, because it would link their dynasty to one of the most influential courts in Europe, and again enable one of their daughters to marry far up the scale of rank. In the following months, a vivid correspondence on the developments concerning the Russian decision ensued between Frederick II and Landgräfin Karoline. After several months of anxious waiting (described by Helga Meise in the following article), Landgräfin Karoline received a proposal from Catherine II suggesting that the Landgräfin would travel to Russia with her three unmarried daughters so that Grand Duke Paul (1754–1801) could make his choice. Ludwig IX consented to his wife's journey, and she set out in May 1773. As Frederick II had predicted, Tsarina Catherine and the Grand Duke Paul chose Wilhelmine (1755–1776), who was closest in age to the Grand Duke. But two conditions had to be fulfilled: Princess Wilhelmine was required to join the Russian Orthodox Church, and Landgraf Ludwig IX again had to give his consent. Karoline however did not wait for the formal consent to arrive, and when Ludwig's envoy finally appeared with the news that her husband would not agree to a marriage if his daughter was forced to change religion, it was too late. Karoline's explanation to her husband shows the language with which she addressed him, the mix of French and German she deployed, and a certain lip service she paid to wifely submission:

Petersbourg, 31 Août n. S. 1773

Permettez-moi, mon chérissime Landgrave, de Vous renouveller les assurances de mon tendre respect et attachement. Le président m'a remis Votre lettre, il n'a vu encore que le comte Panin; ce n'est que Dimanche que l'Impératrice lui donnera audience. . . . Il m'a montré son instruction, elle m'a fait pâlir et trembler; j'y ai vu, mon cher Landgrave, que vous refusez Votre consentement pour le mariage, *wenn man ihre Tochter zur Änderung der Religion zwingen wollte.* Dieu m'est témoin, que je ne l'y ai non-seulement pas contraint, mais quand l'Impératrice lui

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> en eut parlé, je lui ai bien recommandé de s'examiner, de peser tout et de ne rien faire qui puisse, avec les temps, lui donner des remords. Elle m'assura que non, qu'elle trouvoit peu de différence entre ces deux réligions. . . . Je lui ai dit, à Péterhof, ce que Vous m'ecriviez sur cet article, mais, comme Vous n'en parliez plus, cher Landgrave, par les dépêches que le major Thier a apportées, ma fille crut que Vous ne persistiez point sur cet article et les fiançailles étant faites, je ne lui ai pas encore parlé sur ce que jai appris par Moser. Je Vous jure que je suis malade de chagrin et d'angoisses. Adieu. (Walther 2: 107–108)[20]

The tone of this message differs very much from the ironic account she gives of the episode in a letter to Frederick II that was written a day later:

> Le Landgrave a envoyé le president Moser ici, pour arranger le contrat de marriage et pour d'autres commissions; il insiste, surtout, que l'on ne contraigne point ma fille à changer de religion. Mais l'affaire étoit faite quand Moser est arrivé, et je pourrai faire serment au Landgrave, que sa fille n'a pas été contrainte à faire cette demarche, je n'ose rien ajouter, crainte de manquer au respect que je dois à mon sérénissime époux. (Walther 1: 74)[21]

ROYAL CONSORT BIOGRAPHY ISSUES

In planning and organizing the marriages of her daughters Friederike and Wilhelmine, Landgräfin Karoline played an important role that far exceeded her husband's part in these matters. At every stage of the transactions she was better informed than her husband, and kept in closer touch with the Houses of Hohenzollern and Romanov.

In negotiating one daughter's marriage with the Prussian royal house, Karoline had—contrary to protocol—accepted formal letters from Prussia before the envoy had had an audience with her husband. The reversal of procedures, seemingly necessitated to speed a resolution of the matter for the Prussians, displays Landgräfin Karoline's claim to authority within her relationship with her husband. This claim is confirmed when Ludwig agreed to his wife's journey to Russia, and when Karoline disregarded her husband's objection to his daughter's change of religion. The two highly successful marriage projects Landgräfin Karoline conducted for her dynasty clearly demonstrate that despite having often been considered great only because of her character, the Landgräfin did indeed have a record of political accomplishment. Acting as informal minister of the exterior of Hessen-Darmstadt, she managed to place the little and fairly unimportant principality in close proximity to two great European powers. Walther's assessment of Landgräfin Karoline's relationship with her husband, and his assertion that Ludwig IX's "ways" did not allow for his wife's political acting, are wrong. It rather seems

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have been the case that Ludwig IX was well aware of his wife's capacities, and happy for her to use them in the best interest of Hessen-Darmstadt.[22] While Ludwig did not share all decision-making with his wife, obviously there were important policy fields she occupied virtually on her own—marriage policy being one of them.

As Helga Meise describes in the following article, Karoline praised another aristocratic woman for leaving her children well established in marriage. Such comments show that the Landgräfin did not consider her role as the female leader of the dynasty involved in Hessen-Darmstadt's marriage policy to be an exception. A further indication of Karoline's own attitude concerning her foreign politics is her testament of January 27, 1774. She ordered all her letters that did not contain politics—"que n'auront point de raport aux affaires"—to be burned (qtd. in Meise, *archivierte* 542), but her correspondence with Frederick II, Catherine II, Grand Duke Paul of Russia, and her daughter Wilhelmine, renamed Nathalie after joining the Russian Orthodox church, was to be collected in separate packets, sealed with the Landgräfin's seal and added to the family archive.[23] Ordering the destruction of the largest part of her correspondence, and focusing posterity's attention on her marriage policy, Landgräfin Karoline became the first editor of her biography—a biography that has yet to be written. In doing so, biographers will have to follow the Landgräfin's hints, and take her epistolary marriage politics into account.

NOTES

AUTHOR'S NOTE: This article results from the interdisciplinary research project *Die Briefpolitik der "großen Landgräfin" Caroline Henriette von Hessen-Darmstadt,* which Helke Dreier and I conduct under the auspices of Heide Wunder at the Interdisciplinary Center for Women's and Gender Studies at the University of Kassel, Germany.

1. Weber-Kellermann's opinion that in court society, women's chances to develop their own interests and engage in activities of their choice were rigidly limited may have been true in select cases, such as the Prussian royal family that she studies, but cannot be generalized (9–26).

2. After Landgräfin Karoline's death in 1774, Ludwig IX mentions in one of his diaries that since the day he and his wife had been engaged, he had received 2555 letters from her (Walther 2: 2).

3. Without mentioning her sources, Elizabeth Mentzel alleges that it was only due to Landgräfin Karoline's influence that Friedrich Karl von Moser was appointed First Minister at the court of Hessen-Darmstadt. Brandes and Mauch use the term "Vertretung" to describe Landgräfin Karoline as her husband's proxy (120); see also Tornius; Slark.

All translations are by Corinna Heipcke unless otherwise noted.

For a detailed account, see Helga Meise's article in this issue.

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6. Many publications on the Landgräfin simply echo Walther's assessment. Klara Hartmann, for instance, considers the historical significance of the Landgräfin not to be based on her important contributions to the political and cultural life of Hessen-Darmstadt, and explains that the Landgräfin lived a withdrawn life in contemplative solitude. According to Hartmann, the Landgräfin's greatness was due to her fusion of female benevolence and prudent male reason—to her rich and strong personality that had shaped and developed against the odds she encountered throughout the course of her life.
7. One rare exception is the correspondence of Duchess Elisabeth Charlotte of Orléans, née Liselotte von der Pfalz. Her idiosyncratic style and her high rank at the French court rendered her letters valuable sources for the political history of France; see also Van der Cruysse.
8. Among the letter writers whose style is often praised are Luise Kulmus (later Gottsched), Meta Moller (later Klopstock), Karoline Flachsland, and Caroline Schlegel-Schelling (Nickisch, "Entwicklung" 392; Nickisch, "Allerneuste" 136; Clauss 66–68). Generally, Gellert is considered to be responsible for the connection between women and "natural epistolary stylistics" (Brüggemann 139; Schlaffer 37–38; Anton 21–22).
9. On the exclusion from literary production resulting from women's constriction to "natural" writing, see Bovenschen 209; Nörtemann, "Begeisterung" 21–22; Nörtemann, "Briefftheoretische" 213–14.
10. Roger Duchêne, for instance, argues that Mme. de Sevigné's letters to her daughter became a surrogate for conversations with her (59; also Nickisch, "Brief" col. 67).
11. This focus on German is only possible when studying letters from the eighteenth century onwards. Steinhausen (1889/91), vol. 1, for instance, examines large collections of letters in Latin when dealing with seventeenth century letter writing from German territories.
12. Prenzlau is situated 120 kilometers north of Berlin. I have not found a census for the eighteenth century that would give us the number of its citizens, but a census for 1910 lists about 20,000 people. Given the population growth between 1825 and 1900 in the territories that were to become the German Reich in 1871—the population more than doubled in these decades—we may safely assume that during the 1750s, Prenzlau had less than 10,000 citizens. On population growth, see Görtemaker 158–59.
13. On Frederick's relationship with his wife, a relationship usually cited as an example of his low regard for women, see Noack.
14. This fact has given rise to much speculation, the most popular rumor being an affair in June 1754 with Friedrich Freiherr von der Trenck (1727–1794), a cadet in the Berlin-based elite Garde du Corps. The rumor was probably caused by the third volume of von der Trenck's memoirs, published after Amalie's death. There he hints at a liaison with a member of the Prussian court, a hint that according to Volz was designed to arouse the reading public's curiosity rather than to give a truthful account of events. See Trenck, and Debuch 19–32.
15. On 26 March 1767, for instance, she asked him to take her nephew Georg von Waldeck into his military service and to appoint him Lieutnant-Colonel, to which Frederick agreed (Walther 1: 13–14).

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Berlin, 6th of March, 1769. I flatter myself, dear Landgräfin, of having convinced You of my tender and sincere attachment, and I do not think, Madam, that I am deluding myself. I also flatter myself of a bit of the same feeling on the part of Your Highness, but otherwise there would not be true friendship without trust, I will prove to You that my trust in You is unflawed. You may have heard of the grievances into which my family were thrown by the mortifying and inexcusable conduct of my unfortunate niece, which—without going into too much detail—obliges the King as well as for the sake of the honor of our house as for the crimes she has committed, and the crimes which she intended to commit (and which were luckily discovered), to arrest her. At this very moment one works on the annulment of the marriage, so that everything is done appropriately . . . and my nephew may remarry instantly. I think, my dear Landgrave, that a word of advice will not be unwelcome: Receive it, Madam, from the part of a faithful friend; it will be one of Your Princesses, but, since this is still one of the most secret matters, I bid you to conceal it from the Landgraf; I promise You, in return, that You will be informed about everything. Your interests are too dear to me as to neglect them. . . . I must ask Your Highness to never let anyone here . . . know that I was the precursor of this news."

"Berlin, 26th of March 1769. It is not an illusion at all, these are no rumors, your friend is telling you the truth . . . but she beseeches you to keep this between you and her. The great paramour is about to be sent away, one is waiting for her house to be ready, so she can be made to leave. Stettin will be her domicile. . . . You are mistaken, my dear Landgraf, if you think she would feel the tiniest bit of shame, of consideration or remorse, others are crying for her while she is . . . dancing and singing, it is a soul governed by the vilest and blackest inclinations: not saying too much, 30 people were paid, all from the scum of the people who are her intimates and her confidants, bound and chained by the love for her, which leaves her unaffected, this scandalous conduct—can I tell you about it without trembling?—Perceiving that obstacles constrained her here and there, she consulted with . . . her surveillants, according to the documents one has in hand, about dreadful powders . . . afterwards she said about the crime, this one would not have cost her more than the ones that preceded it, because she had already helped herself to some drugs, and taken to several further dosages, in order to purge herself of the fruit of her indecent affairs" (Hessisches Staatsarchiv Darmstadt [StaD], D4 Nr. 561/5. My thanks go to Rosemarie Heipcke for helping me with the transcription of this letter).

"Darmstadt, 30th of May 1769. . . . I have every reason to hope, my dearest Landgraf, to see You again soon, it is still a mystery to me and I beg You, do not talk about it, but soon the mystery will cease to be one and . . . You will see me with the chosen object. One still does not tell me which one it has been, but one begs me not to show any sign just until after Sunday. I advise You that this news is not at all insignificant to me."

"7th of May 1772. My dear cousin, a very favorable chance is presenting itself, Madam, for the establishment of one of the princesses, one of Your daughters. I thought . . . that before anything was done one had to consider the will of a respectable mother concerning this matter. This is not a cause of small concern, but of placing or not placing one of Your daughters on the throne of Russia. This thing is very feasible. . . . Your Highness may judge for Herself what advantages her house may derive from such an establishment. I beg Her to think this matter over and to let me know her decision immediately."

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20. "St. Petersburg, August 31st 1773. Allow me, my dearest Landgraf, to renew the assurance of my tender respect for and attachment to you. The First Minister Moser has given me Your letter, he has not yet met anybody apart from Count Panin. It is not until Sunday that the Empress will receive him in audience. . . . He showed me his order, it made me turn pale and tremble, I have seen, my dear Landgrave, that you refuse to consent to the marriage if one forces your daughter to change religion. God is my witness that I have not only not constrained her, but when the Empress talked about the matter with her, I have well advised her to examine herself, to weigh everything and not to do anything that, within a due course of time, could give her regrets. She assured me that no, she found little differences between these two religions. . . . I had told her, at Péterhof, what You had written to me about this matter, but since You never mentioned the matter again in the dispatches Major Thier brought us, my daughter thought that You would not be insistent in this matter at all, and the engagement was celebrated, I have not yet spoken to her about what I learned from Moser. I swear to You that I am torn by chagrin and fears."

21. "The Landgraf has sent Moser here to draw up the marriage contract and with other orders; he insists emphatically that my daughter must not be forced to change religion. The matter had been settled, though, by the time Moser arrived, and I could swear to the Landgraf that his daughter had not been forced to take this step; I don't dare to add anything else, fearing to lack the respect I owe to my most serene spouse."

22. In her investigation of the dynasty of Hessen-Darmstadt's journal-calendars, Helga Meise quotes Crown Prince Ludwig IX's entries from the years 1741–1745, in which he appeare to be devoted to his wife. Princess Karoline had considerable scope for decisions. In one instance, Ludwig notes that Princess Karoline promised to stay with him instead of keeping two households; in another he mentions contacting Karoline's mother to ask for her support in convincing his wife to let go one of her servants, and to be more accommodating to her husband's wishes. Far from governing his wife, Prince Ludwig had to obtain her consent in matters that concerned her, and did not act against her wishes (Meise, *archivierte* 495).

23. Fortunately, her servants did not entirely obey the orders; the correspondence with Amalie of Prussia, the Landgrave's mother, and others partly survived.

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POSTHUMOUS FAME AND WRITING OF THE SELF BY THE "GREAT" LANDGRÄFIN KAROLINE OF HESSEN-DARMSTADT

HELGA MEISE

Landgräfin Karoline Henriette of Hessen-Darmstadt (1721–1774) is an eighteenth-century princess whose posthumous fame makes visible the contradictions imposed on female members of the high nobility. Their membership in a ruling dynasty clashes with their participation in the intellectual life of their time. Three elements illustrate this vividly: the Landgräfin's posthumous fame as created by a particular conjunction of historiography and literary history, her effort to foster the welfare of her dynasty, and the cultural practices of reading and writing that she used as a means of analyzing the self. The first element has little in common with the second two. The Landgräfin's posthumous fame is based on how her contemporaries perceived her—images produced by strangers—while her activities to foster her dynasty and her cultural practices are linked to her self-representations as princess (Hahn). Nevertheless, one may perceive a structural characteristic common to images others created of the Landgräfin and her own writings of the self: the tension between visibility and invisibility. Historiography and literary history alike claim the Landgräfin's great and unremitting influence on Hessen-Darmstadt's politics and cultural life, but fail to substantiate this claim by providing evidence, so that the Landgräfin becomes more and more radiant, while her spheres of action and deeds disappear from sight. Though there are many painted and written portraits of the Landgräfin, no biography is dedicated to her alone.

Studies of her actions—mainly based on her surviving ego documents (Schulze; Dekker, Introduction 7–21)—reveal this conflict between visibility and invisibility. As Corinna Heipcke shows elsewhere in this volume, in Karoline's efforts to foster her dynasty's welfare, the Landgräfin does not occupy political spheres associated with inter-court communication, or with exchanges

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the scale of imperial politics. Rather, the Landgräfin occupies a seeming-
y private sphere of intra-court communication.[1] Her accomplishments and
ir aims become indiscernible. The same applies to the Landgräfin's favorite
ultural practices. According to her ego documents, Karoline's reading is a
ivate matter removed from the court duties of representation, while her
iting enterprises do not adhere to given models. Unlike Sophie of Han-
over and Catherine II, Karoline does not write extended memoirs.

This essay begins with a biographical issue before focusing on what the
viving ego documents show about Karoline's dynastic politics, and her use
f reading and writing.

THE GREAT LANDGRÄFIN'S POSTHUMOUS FAME: CONTEMPORARIES' ACCOUNTS AND SELF WRITING

At first glance it seems that the Landgräfin's plan for fashioning a splendid
posthumous reputation succeeded. The fame she enjoys even now (Wolf,
"Karoline") is due to several portraits that were produced during her lifetime
(Huber), and to recollections by her contemporaries. The greatest influence,
almost inevitably, is exercised by appraisals by Frederick II of Prussia (1712–
1786) and Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832). After the death of
Landgräfin Karoline in 1774, Frederick II donated an urn for the tomb
erected at Darmstadt, the capital of Hessen-Darmstadt. The urn's inscription
read "Femina sexu, ingenio vir" 'Of woman's sex, of man's mind' (Wolf,
"Femina sexu"). Tomb and urn, erected in the Herrengarten, the remaining
part of the old castle grounds, secure for the Landgräfin a firm position in the
city's culture of remembrance. The place as such makes ironic the allusion
to the reversal of the order of the sexes. Herrengarten ("Gentlemen's Gar-
den"), which became the garden's name when it was established at the end
of the sixteenth century, was created and first possesssed by noble owners,
and was then bought by the Landgraf in the seventeenth century. Karoline
tried to replace its French character by building an English garden, but her
husband didn't agree with her plans, preferring that his new "Exerzierplatz"
be totally exposed to the public. Nevertheless, finally it was the Landgräfin,
whose unsure gender was indicated by Frederick II's inscription, who cap-
tured male space.

The position the Landgräfin occupies in the history of Darmstadt and the
principality of Hessen-Darmstadt is supported by her rank in literary history,
which is mainly due to Goethe's mention of her in his autobiography of
1811-14, *Aus meinem Leben. Dichtung und Wahrheit.*[2] Goethe writes about
his sojourns at Darmstadt during the early 1770s, where he mainly mixed

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with the circle of Darmstadt Sentimentalists (Sauder). The Landgräfin was the secret motor of this circle, its patron.[3]

Goethe's mention of the "great Landgräfin" became the source of a steadily repeated, even literal, aggrandizement. The "great Landgräfin" became the "Great Landgräfin," as she is depicted today in German cultural and literary history. Thus elevated, she approaches the "Greats" of her time: Frederick II of Prussia and Catherine II of Russia. The fact that the latter two were rulers thus filters into the image of the Landgräfin, even though she—unlike her two counterparts—did not rule, but was a consort.

Both assessments that account for the Landgräfin's rank in cultural memory are reminiscences. The urn donated by Frederick the Great as well as Goethe's vignette were produced in retrospective view of the life of the Landgräfin. Interestingly, the noble Prussian characterizes her personality, while the ennobled bourgeois focuses on her sociocommunicative role, posthumously attributing to her the spreading taste for Klopstock, a poet fashionable in the 1770s.[4] Both "kings"—Frederick II and the poet laureate—depict the Landgräfin as a special case. Significantly, the two recollections address her as a member of a ruling dynasty, omitting both her status and her role in the interplay of dynasty and rule.

While the Landgräfin's appraisals by Frederick II and Goethe are common knowledge in Germany today, and seem to fill the gap left by the lack of a biography of the Landgräfin, the testimonials of two other contemporaries are less famous. After a visit during the end of May 1771, Christoph Martin Wieland (1733–1813) wrote to Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi (1743–1819): "Die Landgräfin zu Darmstadt sollte Königin von Europa seyn, wenn ich auf einen Augenblick König der Schicksale ware."[5] While this appraisal already points towards the public assessment of the Landgräfin that is later fostered by Goethe, and positions her close to ruling princes, Wieland's retrospection takes a different turn in a letter to Sophie von La Roche (1730–1807):

> Oserais-je Vous demander (disois-je à l'adorable Landgrave de Darmstadt dans le dernier entretien qu'Elle eut la bonté de m'accorder dans son Cabinet) si Vous n'avés pas éprouvé aussi, que c'est dans les moments ou nous nous sentons le plus heureux, dans un moment comme celui ci par exemple ou Vous lûtes la satisfaction reciproque dans les yeux de la princesse votre fille et du Prince Royal de Prusse, son epoux, au moment de leur première entrevue, (Elle venoit de me faire le tableau de ce moment avec une sensibilité que me prouva toute l'excellence de son Cœur) n'est ce pas dans des pareils momens ou l'on croit sentir que'il y a réellement une Divinité bienfaisante, ou l'on aime cette idée et la regarde comme l'unique appuy de la félicité dont on jouit—Oui, me dit-elle; j'ai fait cette expérience-là plus d'une fois dans le cours de ma vie, et je suis charmée encor de ce trait

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de ressemblance que le Caractère de mon ame paroit avoir avec la votre etc. etc. Je vous raconte ce petit trait, chere Sophie, pour vous donner un petit echantillon des conversations que j'ai eu avec cette Princesse, digne du plus beau des thrones, et la seule personne dans laquelle j'ai vû reunis toutes les qualités estimables du Cœur et de l'esprit, la Majesté d'une Reine avec la noble et belle simplicité d'une Bergère de l'âge d'or, l'air et la politesse du grand monde avec les vertus solides qui ordinairement aiment à se cacher sous des toits de peu d'apparence, enfin les graces de son Sexe avec tout ce qui rend le notre estimable; le tout sans la moindre pretension, sans le moindre apprêt, un Caractère vraiment beau et sublime, uni, et comparable, dans un sens moral, à ces belles formes du Grand stile des Anciens sculpteurs Grecs, dont Winckelmann parle avec tant d'enthousiasme et dont il n'appartient qu'à lui de parler.[6]

Wieland's account is a narrative in two parts. The first part restages his conversation with the Landgräfin. He remembers the distribution of roles, addresses, and responses. The second part, "Je vous raconte ce petit trait pour vous donner . . . ," presents the lesson that should be derived from the encounter. Writing to La Roche, an emerging writer whose debut novel had just been published, Wieland emphasizes the Landgräfin's characteristic he calls to be most important: her sentimentalism. Time and again Wieland mentions *sensibilité* ("feeling") determining the course of the conversation, the topics, and the understanding between the two dialog partners. He concludes that the Landgräfin unites "heart and feeling," grandeur and simplicity, *savoir vivre* and virtue, and finally, female grace and male traits that he does not specify.[7] While this description abets the literary historians' image of Landgräfin Karoline as a member of the Darmstadt Circle of Sentimentalists, Wieland's appraisal also implies both old ideas of rulers as earthly gods and the princess as mother of the country, and such enlightened requirements as virtue and morals (Berns; Meise, *archivierte* 356–402). Though descriptions like this, which originated in the Landgräfin's immediate or larger surroundings,[8] stress her distinctiveness, they also affirm as a seemingly irrevocable fact that spheres of action for princesses did not exist. What princesses do is left unsaid, remaining invisible. Though not in general substantiated by original sources, this erasure of the rank of co-ruling princess is indicative of the non-perception, even the alleged non-existence, of women's spheres of action in dynastic politics.

Taking into account all the evidence—from buildings to routine documents—it seems clear that Karoline was disinterested in most of the early modern spheres of princely action. She neither reigned nor practiced splendid display. Her attempt to complete the construction of Darmstadt castle failed (Wolf, "Je voudrais"). She did not write memoirs, did not compose

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music, did not draw, and did not establish collections. While other women of her rank excelled in these areas,[9] we cannot perceive any such activity in the Landgräfin's daily pursuits. She only seems special because of her normality: she gave birth to children and was emotionally aware.

In fact, only a precise examination of the Landgräfin's life in the context of the lives of other high-ranking women of her age reveals that she was not content with passivity. On the contrary, her behavior gives us an insight into her role within the dynasty, as well as into her use of certain favorite cultural practices. Despite the fact that the sources contain great gaps—partly due to the Landgräfin's orders concerning her legacy and partly to her heirs' treatment of it—several sources prove that Karoline not only exploited every available chance to act on behalf of the dynasty, but also dealt with the consequences that these actions had for her. The Landgräfin's self-examination occurred primarily in the form of reading and writing, cultural practices in which she continually engaged, differentiating traditional and modern approaches to them as she proceeded.

Karoline, the documents show, was intent on securing her posthumous fame, and at the same time both reading and writing provided the spheres in which she could deal with the conflict governing her life: the clash between dynastic obligations and her self-conception. From a dynastic perspective, it seems logical that she should have been interested in posthumous fame, but not in the visibility of this conflict. Whether it was the tragedy resulting from the conflict between the adherence to theories of absolutist rule and her own enlightenment that earned her the quoted assessments by her contemporaries is impossible to determine. While the fame that resulted from these accounts roughly sketches her biography but blanks her spheres of action, only an analysis of her surviving ego documents may serve to adjust the circulating image of the Landgräfin.

"ME VOICI REDUITE À RIEN": A CONSORT'S DYNASTIC POLITICS—POSSIBILITIES AND LIMITS

A rough sketch of the Landgräfin's biography reads as follows. Henriette Karoline von Hessen-Darmstadt was born in 1721, as "Pfalzgräfin" 'Palatine Countess' of Zweibrücken-Birkenfeld. In 1741, she married Ludwig IX (1719–1790), crown prince of Hessen-Darmstadt, who resided as Regent of Hanau-Lichtenfeld at Buchsweiler. In 1768, Ludwig became Landgraf of Hessen-Darmstadt, and in 1774 Karoline died.

Birth and death, lineage and marriage, are the regular features of a biography of a princess of high nobility. A closer look reveals unusual aspects, however. In 1745, four years after their marriage, the couple established separate

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households and courts. Ludwig started developing Pirmasens as his residence, while Karoline remained at Buchsweiler. When Ludwig joined Prussian service in the years 1750–1757, the couple shared a single household again, but after returning from Prussia, they reestablished their separate courts. In 1765/66, Karoline moved permanently from Buchsweiler to Darmstadt, while her husband remained at Pirmasens. The children—three sons and five daughters born between 1743 and 1763—stayed in Karoline's household. The Landgräfin and her children regularly visited Pirmasens, a pattern they continued even after Ludwig acceded to the throne of Hessen-Darmstadt, but did not move to the capital, Darmstadt.

The education of her children was very important to Landgräfin Karoline, a fact that can be deduced from her autobiographical notes. Looking back at the previous year, she noted early in 1772:

> Encore une année de révolue et sans evenemens malheureux pour ma famille, quelle sera la fin de celle ci, ou existeray-je, sera-ce icy, sera-ce bien loin, ou sera-ce dans la tombe, tout ce qui mon Dieu voudra, qu'il me conserve les objets qui me sont chérs, et qu'il preserve mon fils ainné de la séduction, il n'est point question de femmes mais des fourbes et des flatteurs, je ne serai à mon aise que lorsque je le scaurai reparti d'icy; je souhaite qu'un projet reussisse, mais je le desire peut etre trop pour en esperer du succès; le bonheur n'est point fait pour moi.[10]

In this passage, Karoline focuses on the family and their welfare, which is positioned between two possible futures: the looming end of the family as a whole, or the unknown fate awaiting herself. Both visions are clad in a prayer. At the same time, the Landgräfin explains what is dear to her: her children. They appear, however, neither as objects of motherly love, nor as personalities, but Karoline mentions them with regard to the welfare of the family as a whole. She is concerned about the preservation and continuation of the dynasty, and the usefulness of the children to this end.

Karoline strikingly adopts two entirely different perspectives with regard to the children. Born in 1753, her son Ludwig, probable successor of his father, was to start his grand tour. The Landgräfin evaluates the dangers he might encounter: seduction by women does not seem to be a great peril, but she fears seduction by rogues and coaxers. The grand tour is a test, a dry run for the future Landgraf. On his own and away from home for the first time, the crown prince must prove that he is able to act the role of a Regent, direct his entourage, identify false advisers, and protect himself from them. In the face of such challenges, amorous adventures seem less important.

Clad in the oblique language of a "project," however, Landgräfin Karoline's thoughts about her daughters differ greatly from the deliberations about

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her son. She does not address the matter of conduct appropriate for female members of the princely family, but turns immediately to the realm of love and eroticism. Seduction by the opposite sex—a minor matter in Ludwig's case—is reduced to one single aspect when Karoline thinks about her daughters: reproduction. Though this is necessarily linked to love and eroticism, from the Landgräfin's perspective, reproduction serves only to support and strengthen the Hessen-Darmstadt family and its dynasty.

Without considering it necessary to explain or justify this self-evident dynastic thinking, the Landgräfin immediately focuses on an alliance she is fostering: the marriage of one of her daughters to the son of Catherine II of Russia (Bräuning-Oktavio, "Bibliothek"). This "project" was dear to Frederick II of Prussia as well, with Karoline and Frederick each serving as the tool of the other. Karoline had already succeeded in marrying one of her daughters to the Prussian crown prince,[11] and a connection with Russia would crown the Landgräfin's marriage politics, in which her husband Ludwig IX did not interfere (Bräuning-Oktavio, "Katalog"). As later events show, Karoline succeeded. In May of 1773, the Landgräfin traveled to Russia with her three unmarried daughters. In September Wilhelmine (1755–1776), renamed Nathalie/Natascha in Russia, was married to Paul, Grand Duke of Russia. She died in childbirth, though Karoline did not live to see that happen. At the Landgräfin's death in March 1774, her ambitious marriage policy must have seemed a success. Her eldest daughter Karoline (1746–1821) was married to Landgraf Friedrich V of Hessen-Homburg (1748–1820), Frederika Luisa (1751–1805) to the Prussian crown prince Friedrich Wilhelm II (1744–1797), and Wilhelmine to the Grand Duke of Russia. The marriages of her two youngest daughters were already planned. Amalie (1754–1852) would marry Margrave Karl Ludwig of Baden-Durlach (1755–1801), and Luise would marry Karl August of Sachsen-Weimar (1757–1828).[12]

Once Karoline's husband had ascended the throne of Hessen-Darmstadt, the marriages granted them access to new centers of power, having family members who were close to important rulers. The connection with Russia particularly fostered Hessen-Darmstadt's dynastic grandeur. In one move, the little principality rose to be one of the most important dynasties. Nevertheless, even though her success was great and its significance for Hessen-Darmstadt cannot be overestimated, Landgräfin Karoline revealed in her notes that she felt torn beween dynastic obligation and powerlessness. The Russian marriage project fully occupied her, gaining an almost magical significance in her *Schreibkalender* 'journal-calendar' notes for the year 1772.[13] On the one hand, it absorbed all her thoughts and hopes; on the other hand, she avoided mentioning it directly. The people involved remained nameless,

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She did not allude to the motives and goals of the project. Only rarely Karoline signal the importance of the plan:

Le 9. [8.1772] au petit parc de 8 à 9 puis à l'eglise, Boden à une lettre du 2 de Boden qui lui dit L'Imper[atrice] de R[ussie] en danger de vie et que l'on craignoit une revolution; après avoir été bercée pendant une année d'esperances chimeriques de grandeur, me voici reduite à rien, c'est ainsi que va le monde, je m'en vais redevenir philosophe, souper au jardin.[14]

another place she used the image of the "beau rêve" that ends suddenly when the dreamer awakes (21.9.1772).

Karoline noted every setback and each new hope, and time and again mentioned the comforting presence of her mother, who watched her every step. When the wait for the final result takes days on end, the daily entries show the Landgräfin's stress:

Le 19.[11.1772] . . . je n'en peu plus;

Le 20.[11.1772] . . . Ce monde la me quitte;

Le 21.[11.1772] . . . ce soir je saurai oui où non—je m'arme de philosophie pour soutenir la négative, il sonne 7, 8, 9, 10 et 11 heures, point de lettres, ainsi tout est fini et je me vois après 16 mois d'incertitude et ballotée entre le ziste et le zeste deshéritée de toutes mes espérances. . . .

Le 22.[11.1772] . . . je me suis endormie hier comme toujours, mon someil est inexpugnable c'est là ce qui me soutient, mais en m'éveillant à 5 1/2 ma première idée a été la fin de mon joli rêve. j'ai pris Marc Antonin j'en ai lu le 22eme chapitre pour m'armer de courage de philosophie, à 8 heures du matin Riedesel est entré avec une lettre, je reconus la main d'A. je l'ouvris il ne me dit rien cependant c'étoit n'avoir pas perdu tout espoir. Riedesel avait eu la colique toute la nuit, sa phisionomie n'est plus aussi s'embrunit il vint à 5 du soir avec une seconde lettre qui nullement me fait esperer la Réussite de l'affaire Dieu veuille qu'elle tourne au bonheur de ce qui m'est cher.[15]

Dynastic obligations touched on the limits of Karoline's power to act politically. On the one hand, marriage policy was her domain; on the other hand, her influence was limited. She depended on others. Each step, each move might impede the interests and decisions of others, be it her husband's interests or the interests of the dynasty with which she intended to establish a connection. Furthermore, dynastic considerations were intertwined with her own self-conception, so that the failure of the Russian marriage project would have had direct implications for her sense of self. Though the Landgräfin did not address this topic explicitly, it becomes obvious in her notes. For instance, she compared her marriage plans to those of Landgräfin Marie

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von Hessen-Kassel, daughter of the King of England: "Le 16.[1.1772] . . . c'etoit une femme respectable par son mérite; du moins a-t-elle laissé ses enfans formés et etablis, il n'en sera pas de meme de moi si je dois mourir dans les premières années."[16] It is noteworthy that Karoline connects the education and the establishment of her children: "ses enfans formés et etablis." The term "établissement" is mentioned again in the letter of May 7, 1772, in which Frederick II announced the "Russian project."[17] Karoline considers the establishment of her children as a most important matter. In the case of her sons, this means the supervision of an education enabling them to rule their principalities; in the case of her daughters, appropriate marriages have to be arranged. The politics required to secure the dynasty thus involve precarious experiences, and since her self-conception is linked to her contribution to the continuation of the dynasty, a failure would call into question her own self-conception.

"JE M'EN VAIS REDEVENIR PHILOSOPHE": READING AND WRITING AS MEANS OF SELF-ENLIGHTENMENT

While her social position and her self-conception did not allow her to escape the conflict between dynastic obligation and a sense of powerlessness, Karoline tried to verbalize and thereby solve the conflict through extensive reading and writing (Meise, *archivierte* 532–45; "Limitations"). The use of these cultural practices, several of the genres the Landgräfin deploys (letters, autobiographical notes), and the *bibliothèque manuscrite* she creates are all typical for the Enlightenment. Landgräfin Karoline herself understood them as means of enlightenment, and specifically of self-enlightenment.[18]

But in the years 1762–1772, the Landgräfin used the quite different genre of *Schreibkalender* (Meise, *archivierte* 532–44). Her ten years of volumes mostly contain only a few notes: in general, sums spent on the poor or purchases of garments are mentioned. Even noting an order of accessories from Paris is exceptional. This meagerness of entries contrasts sharply to the Hessen-Darmstadt dynastic tradition of rigorous *Kalender*-keeping (Meise, *archivierte*). Since the early seventeenth century, the ruling family had turned *Schreibkalender* into their preferred medium of upholding tradition. Between 1624 and 1790, thirteen members of the princely family—six women and seven men—kept *Schreibkalender,* as the tradition was handed down from generation to generation. Contrary to the hitherto common assumption in *Kalender* research, they were not thrown away after the end of the year in which they were used. In the seventeenth century, the amount of writing increased from generation to generation. For example, Landgräfin Elisabeth

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chess of Hessen-Darmstadt, nee Duchess of Sachsen-Gotha (1640–
handed down fifty-three *Kalender* to posterity, covering her life from
until the year of her death, with only one year missing.

The fragmentary character of Karoline's *Schreibkalender* was in sharp
rast to the fact that she continued the tradition of retaining rather than
ding them. Like the calendars of her predecessors, hers had distinctive
ings to mark a series that—like her predecessors'—were included in the
ty's archive. The most important aspect of Karoline's *Schreibkalender*
s to me the fact that she began keeping a journal-calendar in 1762, at
start of her considerations about matrimonial politics, when her eldest
ghter was sixteen years old and marriagable. The journal-calendars may
be considered as documents of the Landgräfin's marriage politics, and
ence of her acceptance of dynastic obligations.

Similar to Karoline's "epistolary politics" discussed by Corinna Heipcke
previous article, the Landgräfin's keeping of *Schreibkalender* can be
erstood as a linguistic act serving dynastic purposes. It was performed in
nection with the securing of the dynasty. Once, in the year 1772, when
decision on the Russian project was pending, she used two journal cal-
s. In the second one, contrary to her practice until then, she not only
ously accounted for every day, but also voiced the hopes and fears
arose with the project. In this writing, keeping a *Kalender* became a
m of self writing.

Both formal elements and contents show the writer differentiating
een the series and this additional volume. Formally the series is marked
ps and a limited number of topics, while completeness and a variety of
s mark the second calendar. While the entries in the Landgräfin's series
n continuous journal calendars from 1762 to 1772 report only daily
cises, no entry of this nature is to be found in the second calendar for
, which clearly has a different focal point. In it Karoline reports the
of every single day. Thus, the bookkeeping of her own life replaces
customary accounting of her expenses. It appears that, for uncertain rea-
s, both could not be conflated into a single volume. Also, it is not estab-
d whether after 1772 Karoline stopped journaling in calendars alto-
er, as no *Kalender* of any kind are known beyond that year.

Examination of the second calendar of 1772 shows that the change of
pective from accounting to recording a day's course opens up a wide
ge of topics. Daily routines provide the framework for noting everything
s moves the writer. This openness of content is always limited, however,
e the space for each entry is fixed and predefined. *Nolens volens* each entry
duces the inner discrepancy between an open and closed form. Of

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course, this discrepancy marks the structure of the *Schreibkalender* recording system as such, but several thematic lines can be differentiated, including two in particular. First, the course of the day is recorded. Time and again Karoline notes the conducting of court ceremony, the sequence of meals, the routine of getting up and going to bed. Just as regularly she comments on the weather. While the course of the day documents how the Darmstadt court meets aristocratic standards, showing that Karoline's everyday life conforms with courtly order as prescribed by ceremony and etiquette, the weather notes indirectly give information on her activities and their range. The entries repeatedly make clear that enterprises outside of the castle depend immediately on the weather. Notes on the condition of Karoline's health make the same connection. Her health tends to be unsteady, as the Landgräfin remarks many times, and therefore she categorically orients her activities around the weather. After noting her own activities and where she spent her time, she mentions the activities of other members of the family. She specifies what her mother, children, and entourage are busy with, what is done together or by a person alone. Her routine of rendering the day's course inevitably levels every special occurrence, every extraordinary event. Noted in the same way as everything else, they become submerged in the course of all events.

Second, several topics unrelated to the course of the day appear repeatedly. The children's education, meetings with the consort, contacts with other courts, or the circumstances at the Darmstadt court are frequently addressed. Each topic refers to the Landgräfin's absorbing, central, omnipresent topic: her concern for the dynasty, its security, and its future. It becomes clear literally between the lines what the journaler is concerned with—the projects and plans close to her heart, her wishes and hopes.

Even Karoline's first entry (quoted above) is revealing. The note "Encore une année révolue . . ." opens the year, but at the same time it interlocks retrospective and preview, sum and hope. Significantly, the journaler translates her imagination of the future into a catalogue of questions that she then leaves up to God. The invocation of God's help gives the entry the character of a prayer, a gesture not surprising at the beginning of a new year, though this frame that opens the calendar with a recursion to faith and religion is not closed. Evidently trust in God is not sustained. While Karoline at first imputes the fate of family and her own self to God's will and providence, in the next lines, about her children, it is no longer God who appears as refuge and helper in need, but rather fortune, "bonheur." This fortune is, notes Karoline, "n'est point fait pour moi" ("not at all made for me"). There is a gap between *désir* and *bonheur*, between her own intention and the possible

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...ourne. The journaler herself shifts within her entry from prayer to a ...cription of the situation. In so doing, the "course of the world" and "for-...e" triumph, as the journaler sees herself subject to them.

Already the first entry of the filled second calendar thus gives words to ...e condition of the journaler—her search for a stronghold, her own lack of ...secure place—and also to the "Russian Marriage" project as the topic that ...minates the notes throughout the year and clearly exposes Karoline's pow-...lessness. The project is addressed time and again. It overshadows all other ...ivities of the Landgräfin, with the pendulum continually swinging back ...d forth between the extremes of success and failure. The journaler sees her-...f either at the highpoint of her life, or facing "the nothing": "ballotée" (21 ...v. 1772) between "esperances chimeriques de grandeur" and "me voici ...ballotée à rien" (9 Aug. 1772)—"swaying" between "chimerical hopes for ...andeur" and "here I am, reduced to nothing." Visions of a glittering future ...ntrate with those of a comedown, a crash, a social fall. The desired "gran-...eur" is always suspected of being nothing but "chimerique," a phantasm. ...e fathoming of the future as it shapes the prelude of the year returns anew ...the daily entries. Its pendant is to be found in mood swings which infest ...e journaler and implicitly inform us about her psychological condition. ...nfidence turns into disappointment, fears and worries trade places with ...y and hope. Each back and forth uproots anew the stationing of her own ...ersion and her own role within the dynasty and in the courtly world.

Remarkably the Landgräfin names the "nothing" that threatens her, but ...es not elaborate on her psychological condition. It is equally conspicuous ...at the topic of looking for a stronghold, for support, for dialogue partners ...curs throughout, and always appears in situations of greatest tension, in ...ments when hope turns into disappointment, victory into defeat. Regu-...rly in such moments a scholarly discipline and its representatives appear as ...ecourse. Karoline explicitly and repeatedly makes this connection: " . . . c'est ...ainsi que va le monde, je m'en vais redevenir philosophe . . . " (9 Aug. 1772), ...e m'arme de philosophie pour soutenir la negative [réponse]" (21 Nov. ...772), "j'ai pris Marc Antonin, pour m'armer de courage de philosophie" (22 ...ov. 1772).[19] Once again the reference to God's will appears: "Dieu veuille ...qu'elle tourne au bonheur" ("God willing that the affair turns out happily"). ...No matter what kind of relationship between faith and philosophy is docu-...mented here, it should be noted that the Landgräfin fights her fear of "noth-...ing" with philosophy. In her role as duchess striving to fulfill her dynastic ...duty, she is confronted with her own powerlessness and the feeling of failure ...as a member of a dynastic family, and a role she opposes to another life con-...cept—that of separation, of escape from the world to "again become a

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philosopher." This vision appears as a wish. However, it is unclear what "redevenir" refers to. It is also noteworthy that both imagination and wish are not detailed further. The Landgräfin does not escape from the journaling system of the calendar. She adheres to the limited space which is provided for each entry. She continues her notes, as if nothing had happened.

Along with the writing projects, Landgräfin Karoline was occupied with reading. She compiled a remarkable library (Bräuning-Oktavio, "Katalog"), for which a first catalogue was drafted in 1763. It lists 2,611 titles, five times the number of works listed in the catalogue of a comparable woman, Princess Christine Charlotte of Ostfriesland, nee Duchess of Württemberg (1645–1699), whose library held 460 works. Yet the size of Karoline's library is not unusual for the age. Her sister-in-law, Margrave Caroline Luise of Baden-Durlach (1723–1782), owned more than 3,000 works (Merkel 207), and her sister, Princess Christiane of Waldeck and Pyrmont (1725–1816), owned about 10,000 books (Kümmel 215). When the Landgräfin died, her books filled eight cabinets, while they had only occupied six when she first moved to Darmstadt. Even though they had increased, the books were not kept in an antechamber at Darmstadt, but directly in the Landgräfin's apartment. Moving to Darmstadt, the Landgräfin had in fact gotten closer to her books, now living amidst them.

The books were arranged according to language: French, English, and German, with French titles dominating, especially works of contemporary philosophy. Almost one hundred Voltaire titles were there, as well as Rousseau and Descartes, the Encyclopédistes, Grimm's *Correspondence littéraire, philosophique et critique,* and the *Encyclopédie.* Besides this "forbidden French literature" (Bräuning-Oktavio, "Verbotene"), the Landgräfin owned the English philosophers Locke, Hume, and Shaftesbury, and the German Wolff. Her group of German publications is about twice the size of her English works, and in the library of her mother, the Landgräfin had access to another 700 German titles.

Both reading and writing constituted a fixed part of Karoline's daily life. Usually, the Landgräfin read in her apartment, sometimes even before getting up, as she notes in 1762: "J'ai lu ce matin de 6 heures jusqu'à 9 heures dans l'ami *Helvétius* et je n'ai pas lu 25 pages. Vous ne me taxerez pas de le parcourir à la légère."[20] She read slowly and intensely. While getting dressed, she read Voltaire's *Oedipus* for the second time, this time noting one verse:

> "Un roi pour ses sujets est un Dieu qu'on révère,
> Mais pour Hercule et moi, c'est un homme ordinaire."[21]

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The French philosophers whom the Landgräfin read, as well as the con-
in which she read them, point towards her expectations and aims. Two
motifs of the Landgräfin's writings are philosophy as a weapon—"je
arme de philosophie" (21 Nov. 1772), "pour m'armer de courage de philo-
phie" (22 Nov. 1772)—and philosophy as a flight from the present: "je
me vais redevenir philosophe" (9 Sept. 1772). Cultural practice and phi-
sophy take over when the self is helpless. Before returning to philosophy,
Landgräfin wrote: "me voici reduite à rien" (Seidel 455).

Karoline did not restrict herself to reading, but continued the texts she
in notes and reconsidered them in excerpts and in letters. These excerpts
constitute a second library. In it, a small group of excerpts about happiness
virtue occupies a gap in the autobiographical writings. These comments
to sum up the reading, to comment on it, and apply it to the self. They
titles such as "Recherche Si l'ame pense toujours" 'determining whether
soul is always thinking,' or "Reflections Sur la connoisance de Soi-même"
flections about self-knowledge.' One sheet is dedicated to "Le grand secret
être heureux" 'the great secret of being happy' (StAD D 4 Nr. 558/3).

Written to ward off solitude and dark thoughts, the excerpts helped the
conduct her life. A link to the autobiographical writings that report
life, they display a tendency towards self-reflexion. The library became
study of the self. The writer contemplated the search for truth, and the
struggle for the enlightenment of her reason became the explicit aim:

> La Lecture est un de meilleurs moyens pour eclairer Son Esprit, pour former Son
> goût et pour regler Les mouvemens de Son Coeur; mais il y a un Choix a faire dans
> Les Livres, et un ordre et une Methode a observer pour Les Lire utilement. Il ne suf-
> fit pas, de lire de bons Livres, il faut Les Lire dans Le meme ordre, qui'il y a entre
> Les Sciences dont ils traitent, et il faut encore Les Lire avec une certaine methode.[22]

The library, as well as the imaginary space opened up by reading and writing,
became a sphere of communication. Books and texts were rendered partners
in a polylogue in which the Landgräfin sought to enlighten herself, regard-
ing of questions of rank, identity, and the grandeur that had to be main-
tained. Regardless as well of questions of gender.

This attitude towards reading and writing can also be detected in the
Landgräfin's taste for objects belonging to these activities. Letters and diary
are obviously are objects with a certain libidinous character: she converses
in her library, she reads in bed, she retreats to "free" nature, her "hermitage,"
and receives guests not in the audience room or an antechamber, but in her
"chamber"—a fact that Wieland does not fail to mention. These practices
and objects correspond with enlightenment preferences, and other behavior

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patterns show that Karoline also sticks to traditional forms in dealing with books and writing. This is evident when she enscribes herself into the tradition of Darmstadt's *Kalender* writing. She must have known that after her death these journal-calendars would be put into the princely archive, thereby ensuring her literal insertion into the family tradition. The installation of the writings on the shelves of the archive kept memory alive and made deceased persons—embodied in writing—visible. By writing and preserving her journal-calendars, Karoline claimed such a place for herself.

The Landgräfin's view of her biography from the perspective of dynastic concerns is also reflected in her will. While she readily leaves her *Schreibkalender,* which in fact contain few entries, to their typical fate—transfer to the archive—she makes detailed provisions for her hand written notes: "Toutes les lettres que n'auront point de raport aux affaires seront brulées hors celles du Roi de Prusse, de l'imperatrice de Russie, du grand Duc et de ma fille Nathalie que seront mises separement dans du pasquets, cachetés avec mon cachet et remis aux archives."[23]

In this categorizing of her documents according to the addressees' status in court society, Karoline deploys a traditional approach to the cultural practices of reading and writing. Her other approach to writing, the enlightenment attempt at self-enlightenment, she considered a private matter exempt from tradition. Usually every document in the possession of the princely family was considered worth conserving and collecting in the archive. If something unusual pointing to the fame and grandeur of the deceased could be collected, this was even better. Karoline's correspondence with the "Greats" of her age not only secured the Landgräfin's correspondence its well-deserved position in the archive, but also enhanced her dynastic status. Her writings demonstrate that in committing herself to serving the house of Hessen-Darmstadt, Karoline earned her position in tradition. Concern for the fame that will be accorded to her posthumously is as important to her as it is to her husband (Meise, *archivierte* 524), and during her lifetime she uses all available means to influence it.

Despite the Landgräfin's use of modern and traditional cultural practices, the daily use she made of reading and writing does not seem to have brought her salvation. The entries from her ego documents dealing with the various phases of the "Russian project" are characterized by comparisons and metaphors, encodings and abbreviations. At first the notes may seem like entries from a diary, but they do not correspond to the emerging characteristics of the genre. Taking dynastic tradition into account, Karoline's goal cannot have been to speak truth in the medium of writing. In this regard, it is important that the autobiographical notes in her second *Kalender* for 1772

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fragmentary, as shown by the way the texts were handed down to us. We do not meet a self in all aspects of the self's character. The gaps in the *Lebenskalender* notes are mirrored in its structural principle; the same holds true for the *bibliothèque manuscrite*. Some excerpts are truncated. In the essay sur La Leture et Le Choix des Livres" she writes after the introductory lines quoted above: "Le temps ne me permet pas de m'etendre Sur ces deux articles; je ne m'arreterai qu'au premier." Another restriction immediately follows: "Pour bien choisir des Livres, il faut considerer le But, qu'on se propose. Je ne'envisage ce But qu'en général et dans ce point de vue je forme trois Classes de Livres" (StAD D 4 Nr. 558/3).[24] Karoline meticulously describes the first group, but not the others. The "Essay" is truncated, the handwriting becomes less and less readable, the frequency of deletions increases, and the type face becomes increasingly unrecognizable.

If all the Landgräfin's writings are examined together, it becomes clear that she did not write memoirs. Instituted in courtly society by dukes and princesses to display their accomplishments, this literary form appears to be little suited to her own situation, in which the experiences of powerlessness and ambition do not merge, but neither can princely identity and self enlightenment be brought into accord. The Landgräfin's life does not appear very successful, and thus cannot be transferred into memoirs. In addition, the ego documents that occur as fragments—the excerpts, the second calendar, the series of journal calendars, and the discontinued autobiographical notes from her Prenzlau time—may be read as an implicit autobiography.[25] The common mark of all the pieces is their "autobiographical pact" (Lejeune). Thematic overlaps in the various ego documents leap to the eye. The explicit dispute with self-enlightenment in the excerpts that accompany the Landgräfin's readings corresponds with recurring references in the calendar notes to philosophy and its representatives. These verbalize on the one hand possible life designs, the dream of a different life, of a refuge provided by philosophy. On the other hand, they clarify that these designs are merely the journaler's wishes. The choice between being a Landgräfin and a (woman) philosopher did not exist in reality. Nowhere does it appear that Karoline could break with her social role. Only the cultural practices of reading and writing offered themselves as a resort, as a refuge. They are the entry to the desired world of philosophy. Both practices permit the juxtaposition of a bad reality with her own wishes—in writing and reading in general, and especially in the dispute with philosophy. The entries in the journal calendar allow an exonerating externalization through writing. Reading and excerpting are daily endeavors for self enlightenment: they grant a retreat to philosophy, and they put Karoline's attempt to enlighten herself about herself into practice.

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NOTES

1. I am using Gestrich's definition of inter- and intra-court communication. Gestrich defines "binnenhöfisch"—here translated as inter-court communication—as the public sphere that connected the courts of the Ancien Régime. "Innerhöfisch"—intra-court communication—designates exchanges limited to one court, and sometimes only to select members of a dynasty.
2. "We were most delighted when the great Landgräfin of Hessen-Darmstadt commissioned their edition [of Klopstock's odes and elegies] and one of the few samples came into our hands, thereby enabling us to complete our own manuscript collections" (Goethe 517). Goethe mentions Karoline only that once. He notes about the "Darmstädter Kreis": "It would be impossible to express how much this circle enlivened and supported me" (Goethe 507). Unless otherwise noted, all translations from both French and German sources are by Corinna Heipcke.
3. For this insight I am grateful to a discussion with Ulrike Leuschner, Darmstadt, who is currently preparing an edition of the letters of Johann Heinrich Merck (1741–1791).
4. For an analysis of her part in this growth, see Seidel 637.
5. "If I were king of fates for a moment, the Landgräfin would be Queen of Europe" (qtd. in Seidel 445). Robert Seidel first drew attention to this and to a second letter by Wieland.
6. "May I dare ask you (I said to the adorable Landgräfin of Hessen-Darmstadt in our last conversation which she had the goodness to offer me in her cabinet) if you have not felt, too, that it is in the moments when we are most happy, in a moment like the one, for instance, when You read the mutual satisfaction in the eyes of the Princess your daughter and the Royal Prince of Prussia, her husband, when they first met (She composed the tableau of this moment for me with a sentiment that proved all the excellence of her heart to me), is it not in such moments that one supposes to be *feeling* that there really is a beneficent divinity, when one loves this idea and regards it as the sole pillar of the fortune one enjoys—Yes, she told me, I have had this experience more than once in the course of my life, and I am still charmed with this trait of resemblance that the character of my soul seems to share with yours etc. etc. I am telling you this small trait, dear Sophie, to give you a little example of the conversations that I had with this princess, worthy of the most beautiful of thrones, and the only person in whom I saw reconciled all the adorable qualities of heart and esprit, the majesty of a queen with the noble and beautiful simplicity of a shepherdess of the golden age, the appearance and manners of the great world with the solid virtues which usually love to cover themselves under the appearance of simplicity, finally the graces of her sex with all that renders our one worthy; all this without the least pretence, without the slightest affectation, a truly beautiful and sublime character, unique, and comparable to—in a moral sense—these beautiful shapes of the Great Style of the Ancients of whom Winckelmann speaks with so much enthusiasm and of whom to speak only appertains to him."
7. Seidel notes with regret that Wieland does not mention her actual accomplishments (446).
8. See also the point of view of Friedrich Melchior Baron von Grimm (1723–1807), editor of the *Correspondance littéraire, philosophique et critique* (Seidel 446).

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In Karoline's immediate family is the example of the regency of her mother Karoline of Pfalz-Zweibrücken-Birkenfeld, nee Countess of Nassau-Saarbrücken (1704–1774) during the minority of Karoline's minor brother Christian. For ruling women's roles in Hessen-Darmstadt, see Meise; for other small territories, see Wunder; for the general role of women as rulers and co-rulers in the eighteenth-century context, see Merkel and Wunder.

"Again a year has gone by and without unfortunate events for my family, how will be the end of this, where will I be, will I be here, will I be far away, will I be in the grave, whatever my God will intend, may he save what is dear to me, and may he save my grown-up son from seduction, it is not a question of women but of coaxers and flatterers, I will not be at ease until I will know him back; I hope that a project will turn out well, but maybe I have been desiring it too much to hope for success, fortune is not made for me at all."

This is the marriage Wieland alludes to in his conversation with the Landgräfin. For more about it, see Heipcke and Maierhofer in this volume.

The five daughters' marriages arranged by the Landgräfin substantially strengthened the existing political alliances of Hessen-Darmstadt. The connection with Hessen-Homburg and Baden-Durlach continued lineages that had been established in the seventeenth century, and the links with Prussia and Russia established new ties. They not only opened new spheres of political action, but also gave Hessen-Darmstadt access to emerging centers of power, especially Prussia and Russia, which itself was on its way to becoming a super power. As long as he lived, however, Ludwig's father, Ludwig VIII (1691–1768), remained allied with the Habsburgs, and supported the Empire that had existed since the establishment of Hessen-Darmstadt.

These calender entries exist only as a copy made in the early twentieth century (Meise, *archivierte* 534).

"The 9th [of August 1772] in the small park from 8 to 9, afterwards at church, Boden has a letter of the 2nd from Berlin, informing him that the Empress is in mortal danger and that one expects a revolution. After having been cradled by chimeric hopes of grandeur for a year, I am now reduced to nothing, this is how things go in the world, I will become a philosopher, supper in the garden."

"The 19th [of November 1772] . . . I can't go on.

The 20th [of November 1772] . . . This world is leaving me.

The 21st [of November 1772] . . . this evening I will know yes or no—I am arming myself with philosophy, the bell tolls 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11, no letters at all, thus all is said and I find myself—after 16 months of uncertainty and torn between feelings—deprived of all my hopes."

"The 22nd [of November 1772] . . . I fell asleep yesterday as I always do, my sleep is imperturbable, that's what keeps me going, but when I woke up at 5.30 in the morning, my first thought was the end of my beautiful dream. I took Mark Anthony and read the 22nd chapter in order to arm myself with the courage of philosophy, at 8 o'clock in the morning Riedesel arrived with a letter, I recognized A's handwriting, I opened it, yet it did not tell me anything but that not all hope was gone. Riedesel had suffered from colic all night, his taint is not so dark any more, he called on me again at

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5 in the afternoon with a second letter that by no means made me hope for the favorable denouement of this project, may God make it turn out well for the one I love."

16. "The 16th [of January 1772] . . . she was a woman who deserved respect for her merits; at least she left her children with a good education and well-established, it won't be the same with me if I should die in the early years." In 1740 Marie, nee Princess of Great Britain (1723–1772), married Landgraf Friedrich II von Hessen-Kassel (1720–1785).
17. See also the article by Corinna Heipcke in this volume.
18. Along with extensive correspondence, including well over 2,500 letters to her husband, in Prenzlau the Landgräfin started to write about events from her own point of view. A few of these brief autobiographical pieces from the year 1750 have survived. It is unknown whether she wrote others, and what significance they had for her.
19. " . . . so the world goes; from now on I will again myself become a philosopher . . . (9 Aug. 1772); "I arm myself with philosophy to maintain the negative [response] (21 Nov. 1772); "I have taken up Mark Anthony to arm myself with philosophy (22 Nov. 1772).
20. "Today I read in my friend Helvetius from 6 to 9 in the morning, but I only managed 25 pages. You won't judge me as rushing through it too quickly" (Bräuning-Oktavio, "Bibliothek" 721).
21. "For his underlings, a king is a God one adores / But for Hercules and me, he is just an ordinary man" (Bräuning-Oktavio, "Bibliothek" 719).
22. "Reading is one of the most ample means to clear one's esprit, for forming one's taste and for regulating the movements of one's heart; but a choice has to be made concerning the books, and an order and method must be observed if one wants to benefit from them. It is not sufficient to read good books, one has to read them in the same order as exists between the sciences with which they deal, and they also have to be read with a certain method" (StAD D 4 Nr. 558/3).
23. "All the letters that do not deal with Hessen-Darmstadt's politics are to be burnt, apart from those by the King of Prussia, the Empress of Russia, the Grand Duke and my daughter Nathalie. These latter are to be bundled up in separate packets, sealed with my seal, and remitted to the archive." For the whole context, see Meise, *archivierte* 537–44.
24. "Time does not permit me to expand on those three articles; I could only linger over the first." "To choose books well, it is necessary to consider the goal that one is proposing. I never envision that goal except in general, and starting from that point I have formed three classes of books."
25. The status of the Landgräfin's letters and last will remains to be discussed. My explorations stress that there is at least one criterion that distinguishes some of her letters. Unlike the ego documents analyzed here, the letters and the last will are distinguished by having addressees.

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WILHELMINE ENCKE-RITZ-LICHTENAU: WRITING AND READING THE LIFE OF A PRUSSIAN ROYAL MISTRESS

WALTRAUD MAIERHOFER

It has been said that the only German mistress worth mentioning was Wilhelmine Encke (1752/53–1820), better known as Countess Lichtenau.[1] Indeed, her life has been narrated extensively. This article investigates these her writings, their contexts, and changing purposes over the course of approximately two centuries. How has her life been narrated, and how have various texts established the mistress as their subject? Asking such questions makes the intimate connection between biography and historiography associated with nineteenth-century historicism and well exemplified by Leopold Ranke. Historicists argued that history was made by "great" men, and historiography therefore tended towards biography. In such a view a mistress is worthy of a biography only because of her influence on the ruler, which gives her a role in political history. Feminist historical scholarship (among other recent approaches) has criticized such narratives and their assumptions. Cultural traditions and values always impact the narration of the life and the life story of an extraordinary individual, while they are at the same time being reflected, critiqued, or reevaluated. While the case of Wilhelmine Encke does not provide enough evidence to draw firm conclusions for the history of the royal mistress subgenre, it does provide fascinating material for investigating how the issue of female power in the realms of politics and its legitimacy intertwined with discourses on gender roles and historical memory, and how Wilhelmine Encke's life story has been adapted differently in different eras right into the twenty-first century.[2]

A LIFE OF STORIES TO BE TOLD

Wilhelmine Encke, the daughter of a Berlin innkeeper and a musician in the orchestra of Friedrich II, King of Prussia, known as Frederick the Great, met

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Prince Frederick William (Friedrich Wilhelm, 1744–1797), the King's nephew and heir to the Prussian throne, in 1764 when she was only twelve or thirteen.[3] Later that year the prince married Elisabeth of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel (1746–1840), a niece of the King, as arranged by the families. (I have found no confirmation that Wilhelmine Encke became the prince's mistress at this very young age; perhaps such information was suppressed since the legal age for girls to marry was fifteen.) Soon after his wedding to Elisabeth, Frederick William sent Wilhelmine to Paris for a year to acquire manners appropriate for the Court—and, one might add, the skills of a courtesan. Upon her return in 1766, the prince took her into his Potsdam residence, and thus marked her as his mistress.

At age seventeen, in 1770, Wilhelmine gave birth to her first child, who died soon thereafter. That same year the prince obtained a divorce from his first wife Elisabeth on grounds of mutual infidelity, and three months later married Frederika Luisa of Hessen-Darmstadt (1751–1805; Corinna Heipcke describes this arrangement in her essay in this volume), whom he promptly ignored once she had become pregnant (she gave birth to a son later in 1770). When Wilhelmine later bore the prince a son and a daughter, Frederick William appointed them—with the approval of Frederick II—*Graf und Gräfin von der Mark* 'Count and Countess of the Mark [Brandenburg].'[4] None other than Frederick II—infamous for his own misogyny—procured a house for Wilhelmine in Charlottenburg, giving her 20,000 *Taler* with which to buy it, and after the prince's divorce in 1770, also a yearly payment of 3,000 *Taler,* a large amount for the time. In this way, the king officially recognized her as the prince's mistress (Bringmann 112).

Probably due to a requirement of the prince's controversial membership in the Freemason order of the *Rosenkreuzer* 'Rosicrucians,' the sexual relationship between Wilhelmine and Frederick William ceased in 1782, or even 1781. (It is also possible that Wilhelmine wanted to avoid another pregnancy for health reasons.) In 1782 Wilhelmine Encke was "married" informally —presumably not in church, and no written document exists—to one of the prince's higher-ranking servants, chamberlain Johann Friedrich Ritz (sometimes spelled Rietz),[5] so that the prince could keep her near him. In Berlin such a husband was mocked as a *Schanddeckel* 'disgrace lid.' In 1785, Wilhelmine had one more son, whom the prince did not acknowledge as his; nevertheless, she named him Frederick William after him (Friedrich Wilhelm, 1785–1837). In 1786 Prince Frederick William became the king of Prussia. Wilhelmine and Johann Ritz separated in 1794 and were "divorced" (again, informally) in 1796 before Frederick William ennobled his former lover and made her *Gräfin Lichtenau* 'Countess Lichtenau.' Throughout

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Frederick William's reign, Wilhelmine remained his confidante, the only one he had, and when he became seriously ill she nursed him for months until his death in 1797.

The remaining fragments of the correspondence between Wilhelmine and Frederick William attest to Wilhelmine's role as confidante. She and her lover talked about everything. Even during the French Campaign, Frederick William arranged for Wilhelmine to live in nearby spa towns. He wrote to her in September 1793, many years after the end of their sexual affair:

> Sie allein machen mir das Leben zu hause erträglich, denn sonst denke [ich] an die Retour wie an die Folterbank—ich habe nichts. Gar nichts mehr zuhause als Langeweile und Unerträglichkeit zu erwarten, wenn Sie nicht wären; ach, es wird ein schreckliches Leben sein—ohne Gesellschaft, ohne Freund, nur mir und meinen traurigen Gedanken überlassen, allein überlassen und stets überlassen. . . . Kinder ist meine liebste Gesellschaft, da habe ich weder Verrat noch Verführung zu fürchten. (Bringmann 115)[6]

Other letters show that he consulted Wilhelmine before entering new sexual relationships—and waited patiently for her consent (Bringmann 130–33). During his reign as king, Frederick William bought property for his illegitimate children, and Wilhelmine Ritz's wealth grew, although recent research shows that her possessions were relatively modest (Bringmann 118–19). In 1787, when her son Alexander died at a young age, she "inherited" from him an estate in the center of Berlin, the *Palais Unter den Linden* (Nr. 70, later known as the *Niederländische Palais* and now housing an upscale café). In actuality, she administered it until her daughter Marianne came of age. According to contemporary reports, Wilhelmine was knowledgeable in history, geography, and classical and modern literature. She was very interested in art, and conversed comfortably on all topics of general interest. She was an early patron of the architect Karl Gotthard Langhans, who brought neoclassicism to Berlin, and many of the ideas for the landscaping and architecture of the *Pfaueninsel* with its marble palace were hers. Thus, like many royal women and mistresses to royalty, her energies and her desire for recognition were channelled into building, design, and art collecting. She was responsible for the neoclassical interior decoration of the *Palais Unter den Linden* on Berlin's major avenue, and this is where mostly oral versions of her biography are still alive today: in the tourism industry of Berlin.[7] She had acquired much of her knowledge by reading together with Frederick William, the ideas popularized by Rousseau. She spoke Berlin dialect, but also conversed fluently in French, the court language. Like other educated women of her time, she wrote in a very unruly style, not according to grammar and spelling

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rules. Frederick William and Wilhelmine had an extensive correspondence that Wilhelmine preserved, although the next Prussian king had much of it destroyed.[8]

Wilhelmine Ritz was a celebrated beauty for most of her life, even—unusual for the time—into her forties and—yet more unusual—after six pregnancies. In 1795/96 she travelled to Italy to improve her health in the spas and to buy artwork for the royal collections. While she was there, Frederick William II dissolved the Ritz "marriage" and elevated her to the status of nobility, naming her Countess of Lichtenau (predated to 1794), a move occasioned by the Queen of Naples's refusal to grant an audience to a

Angelica Kauffmann. *Wilhelmine Countess Lichtenau* (oil/canvas, 1796), Staatliche Galerie Moritzburg (used by permission).

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aristocrat. (Also, plans were underway for Wilhelmine's daughter to marry the son of a British Lord—and she subsequently married a German Count.) As Wilhelmine von Lichtenau, she enjoyed royal treatment in Italy, and upon her return she was finally allowed to appear formally at the Berlin Royal Court.

In Italy she bought paintings, including works by Philipp Hackert, Johann Christian Reinhart, and Angelica Kauffmann, all still in the Potsdam Collections. Kauffmann also painted a monumental portrait of her. Wilhelmine von Lichtenau's *cicerone* in Rome was the art historian and archeologist Aloys Hirt. In a letter dated April 1796 he addressed her as his *gute Schülerin* 'good student' (referring to a few private lessons in archaeology), and praised her as a *schöne Seele* 'beautiful soul' (Atzenbeck 142), a term central to German classicist aesthetics, especially in Schiller's writings. *Schöne Seele* exemplified the idea of harmony in the individual, and subsequently became an ideal especially for femininity. Aloys Hirt's flattery paid off: he followed her to Berlin, and with her help was appointed Professor at the Berlin Academy. This was, however, one of the rare instances where Wilhelmine had a voice in personnel decisions.

When Frederick William II died in 1797, only one year after Encke had become Countess Lichtenau, his oldest son and successor to the throne, Frederick William III, supposedly prompted by his own strict morals, immediately arrested Wilhelmine and imprisoned her at Glogau, on the upper reaches of the Oder River, far to the south and east of Berlin. She was accused of enrichment, fraud, and even state treason, and was put on trial, having first been denied legal assistance—a singular exception in the progressive and enlightened legal system of Prussia. The trial, however, failed to prove that she had overstepped the legal limits of her social standing as a mistress. Still, the new king's sentence spoke of her fraudulent means and pernicious influence in all matters of the rule of Frederick William II (Haase-Faulenorth 234). She was forced to renounce her possessions, which were confiscated, and had to live in the countryside on a very small pension.

Except for a short biography in a collection on women of Potsdam (Schlüsselfeld and Wullstein), and the tribute to her in the Potsdam exhibition on Frederick William II and the arts (Zimmermann), there is no recent biography of Wilhelmine Encke. Novels, however, are a different matter. Starting in the nineteenth century, she was the subject of several. Of the two most recent, as will be seen, the biographical novel by Ernst von Salomon (1965) preserves and reevaluates her memory, and the post-GDR novel by Monika Maron (2002) serves as a feminist and anti-ageist model for a contemporary generation.

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FORGED LIFE STORIES AND A DEFENSE

Following upon her imprisonment and the ensuing sentence by the King, a flood of satirical pamphlets, caricatures, and scandalous stories about Frederick William II and Wilhelmine Lichtenau that had been secretly circulating were openly published. In 1802, the fifty-year-old Wilhelmine Lichtenau married a minor writer and actor, Franz Ignaz Baron von Holbein (1779–1855), twenty-four years her junior. They separated in 1806. In 1809 she was allowed to return to Berlin, and through the intervention of Napoleon, some of her possessions were returned to her. Frederick William III later withdrew his sentence.[9]

Most striking about this scandalous woman is that the public disgrace erupted long after the sexual relationship had ended, and after the king to whom she had been mistress had died. Even "official" historiography has treated her as a scandal, exaggerating her alleged influence on the Prussian king, and blaming her for the decline of Prussia, Prussia's defeat by Napoleon's army in 1806, and even the end of the Holy Roman Empire. Historians such as Karl Dietrich Erdmann in the 1950s write of a "shocking spectacle of management by public mistress" (358). Furthermore, historical studies, strangely enough, often relied on the bogus memoirs and pamphlets for their facts. Yes, Wilhelmine Encke was the only mistress of any celebrity status at a German court. She could have played the role of "Prussian Pompadour," but according to historical documents her political influence and power were minor, and she did not accumulate all the riches that are alleged (and that she could have secured for herself). Wilhelm Bringmann in his recent thorough study of Prussia under Frederick William II concludes that the King's mistress was not interested in political influence, and probably lacked the necessary insights and connections had she been interested. Bringmann's reevaluation calls her "pleasure seeking" and "profligate within limits," but not the cause of empty royal treasuries (118).

Public discourse on the scandal mainly took the form in print of visual satire, sarcastic pamphlets,[10] and scandalous life writing, and emphasized two main topics: the sexual relationship and Wilhelmine Encke's spending and acquired wealth. We remember very well from the Clinton scandal how the publicity of an extramarital sexual relationship can harm the image of a living politician. Clearly, this is even more the case if that politician/sovereign is dead and cannot defend himself, and if the successor is not as successful in military matters and does not object to satires of his predecessor. Kerstin Bütow has undertaken the study of the visual caricatures as forms of "propaganda."[11] Especially relevant here are two volumes of bogus memoirs (Siede,

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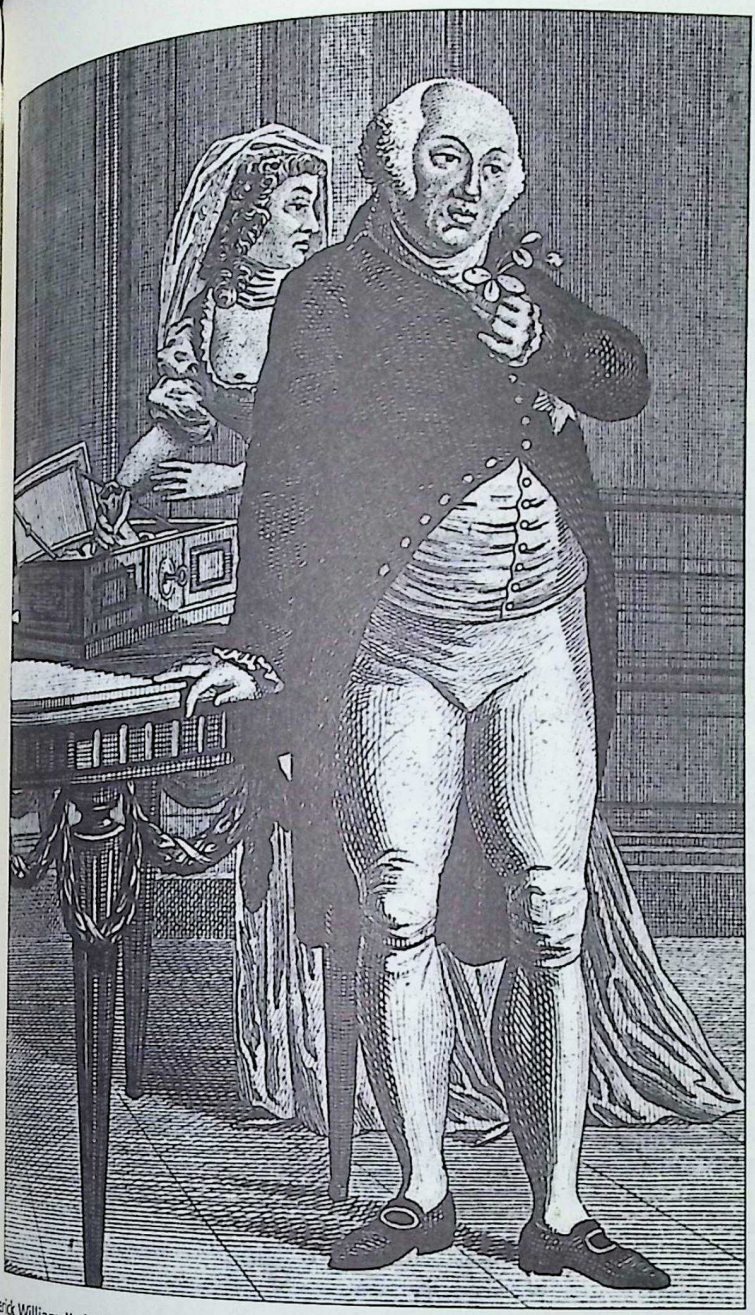

Frederick William II delights in a flower, while Wilhelmine enriches herself: anonymous frontispiece from *Saul der Zweyte, genannt der Dicke Koenig von Kanonenland,* an anonymous work attributed to von Huergelmer, published in Berlin/Potsdam in1798 (photograph courtesy of, and used by permission of, the Princeton University Photoservices).

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Bekenntnisse and *Unparteiisches*) and a "biography" (Baranius). All made a mockery of the countess of Lichtenau as a personification of avarice, immorality, and mismanagement, and the single cause of the kingdom's economic and political ruin. By Frederick William II's death in 1797, Prussia had already recovered, but the downturn nonetheless provided an opportunity to blame any weakness of the Prussian state on a woman of low birth. Finally, after the defeat of Prussia by Napoleon's armies, Wilhelmine Encke (with the help of the minor writer Johann Gottlieb Schummel) wrote her own autobiography, titled 'Apology of Countess Lichtenau' (*Apologie*, 1808), in which she defended herself against *die Beschuldigungen mehrerer Schriftsteller* 'the accusations of several writers.' However, the seed of the satires had already developed into strong traditions in historiography that for a long time to come influenced the portrayal of Frederick William II and the main forces in Prussia during his reign from 1786 to 1797.

STORIES AND HISTORY WRITING

It was only after Wilhelmine Ritz's rise to the rank of nobility that caricatures and pamphlets, such as the following example, were published and circulated openly:

Warnung an die Gräfin Lichtenau,
vor Zeiten Zitronen- und Kienäpfel-
Trägerin.
Flieh,
Buhlerin flieh!
Des Gerechten Donners Rache wird bald
Dein geiles, jetzt hochgeborenes Ohr erschüttern!
Schon türmt sich die furchtbar schwarze Gewitterwolke,
Deren Blitze
Dich, Vaterlandsschätze-Vergeuderin,
zerschmettern werden;
Entflieh
Der namenlosen Späher Augen!
Ihr dreimal beschworener Wahlspruch atmet
Tod und Verderben
Dir!
Die durch Lais' Künste
Nicht nur nackend auf schwarzen seidenen Sophas
Den Edelsten—als Mensch,
Nein,
Auch als Vater zu fesseln sich erfrecht.
Wahrheitsburg, im 17. Jahrtausend der Regierung
Philopatridis.[12]

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The pamphlets exaggerated Lichtenau's wealth and social advancement. For the old aristocracy, ennoblement of the lowborn woman was an affront. Aristocratic women especially opposed the servant-class woman among them, and ambitious members of the bourgeoisie were envious as well. After Frederick William II had abolished some of their privileges, Prussia's lower nobility used attacks on Lichtenau to express their opposition to the king.

Indeed, there had been no lack of gossip about the mistress before the troubling, as after all, this was enlightened and liberal Berlin, where gossips did not have to fear the police as in other German sovereignties. The prince and later king appeared with his mistress in public much more than with either his first or second wife. Frederick William was popularly known as *der Geliebte* 'the Much-Loved' and *der dicke Lüderjahn* 'the Fatty Lewd.'[13]

In the strictly delineated and gendered spheres of the eighteenth century, a platonic friendship between a man and a woman was an important topic in fiction, but unimaginable in reality, especially after a romantic relationship had ended. The image of Wilhelmine as the lifelong mistress of Frederick William found its way into biography and historiography, including even recent publications on Frederick William by Neumann (207) and Müller (542). Several contemporary sensationalist publications about Lichtenau appeared in a common literary subgenre with strong biographical components: the "secret letters." *Vertraute Briefe über die inneren Verhältnisse am Preußischen Hofe seit dem Tode Friedrichs* 'Intimate Letters on the Inner Conditions at the Prussian Court' reinforced rumors of the continuously sexual nature of the king's relation with Lichtenau. Writing in 1807, its author, the patriotic historian Friedrich von Cölln, looked for the roots of the Jena defeat and the end of the Old Empire in the reign of the previous king, and found them in his love life, especially in the dubious role of his former mistress:

> Nun wurde sie die Kupplerin des Königs, und unterrichtete die Schlachtopfer seiner Wollust, wie sie mit dem König sich zu benehmen hätten. Sie hatte aber so genau des Königs Reizbarkeit studiert, daß, wenn er durch häufigen Wechsel sich abgestumpft hatte, die alte Freundin noch Reizmittel im Rückenhalt hatte, wodurch sie ihn so zu fesseln wußte, daß er immer wieder zu ihr zurückkam. (81–82)[14]

Cölln attributed Frederick William's consent to the peace of Basel and withdrawal from the Rhine (which weakened the empire against Napoleon) to the influence and advice of his alleged matchmaker and mistress Wilhelmine Ritz. The legacy of these writings is recapitulated even in a recent cultural history of Prussia, where Wilhelmine is referred to as "a kind of harem principal at the court" (Dollinger 155), though Bringmann counters this influential

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rumor in his recent historical study of Prussia under King Frederick William II: "One can only seriously understand this relationship when one frees oneself from peddled fantasies of orgies and wantonness" (113).

The prudish nineteenth century repeated accusations of Encke's dissolute lifestyle and uninhibited circle of lovers even in serious historiography, such as Martin Philippson's history of the Prussian state (2: 78; Bringmann 114). Rumors about "the luxuriant serail" and the "orgies of the Rietz family" (Prutz 3: 250) found their way into print in numerous histories of Prussia (Bringmann 118). Wilhelmine Encke stated in her *Apologie* that there had been no such decadent orgies: "Unser Kränzchen trieb keine höheren Geschäfte als die ganz gewöhnlichen: wir spielten Karte, sangen, musizierten, kurz, wir übten das allbekannte 'Freut euch des Lebens'!"[15] In fact, her *palais* was one of the meeting places for intellectuals and artists in Berlin's bourgeois society. She established a salon (in which the later famous salonieres Pauline Wiesel and Rahel Levin debuted) that was frequented by foreign diplomats, high officials, military officers, scholars, artists, and clergy. As Barbara Becker-Cantarino has correctly pointed out, Lichtenau's salon is one of several in Berlin around 1800 that deserve to be studied under the auspices of literary history (192). As a countess, Wilhelmine Encke had numerous admirers, many of them noble and wealthy, and envy and gossip spoke of more than one of them as her lover (among them Prince August of England, Lord Templeton, Lord Bristol, the bishop of Londonderry, and Italian noblemen); the truth about these claims remains to be found.

MEMOIRS AND MEMORY

The minor moralistic writer Johann Christian Siede (1765–1806) is generally taken to be the author of the anonymous pseudomemoirs of Countess Lichtenau. The two volumes of *Bekenntnisse* 'confessions' (published under separate titles in 1797 and 1798) were translated into English and French in 1799 and 1809, respectively, and received much attention abroad. The author referred to himself in the second volume as "der Mann mit der roten Mütze" 'the man with the red cap.' The red Phrygian cap was the sign for liberty in the visual iconography of the French Revolution; in Germany it had been put on the tree of liberty in Mainz in 1793. In Siede's text, it is (ab)used as a call for rebellion against the alleged overwhelming influence of the countess.[16] In the fake memoirs Lichtenau "confesses" to high treason and murder: she made all the decisions at the Prussian court and did everything to increase her own power; she forbade books with enlightened, egalitarian, or liberal ideas; she betrayed the king's secrets to the courts in Vienna and London; and she even murdered her rival, Countess Ingenheim.

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The forged *Confessions* were often quoted to paint a dark, despicable image of Frederick William, contrasting him with Frederick the Great. In his *History of Friedrich the Second,* Scottish historian and essayist Thomas Carlyle (1795–1881) quoted "one specimen, and one only" in the context of Frederick William's divorce (291). He referred to the memoirs as "that record of human puddles and perversities," but nonetheless took them as authentic, since they did not contradict the general remarks by Frederick II on the prince's infidelities (292). Carlyle interspersed a lengthy passage from the pseudomemoirs with his own commentary:

> "From the first year of our attachment," says this precious Gräfin, "I was already the confidant of his," the Prince of Prussia's, "most secret thoughts. One day" (in 1767, second year of his married life, I then fifteen, slim Daughter of a Player on the French Horn, in his Majesty's pay), "the Prince happened to be very serious; and was owning to me with frankness that he had some wrongs towards my sex to reproach himself with,"—alas yes, some few:—"and he swore that he would never forsake me; and that if Heaven disposed of my life before his, none but he should close my eyes. He was fingering a penknife at the time; he struck the point of it into the palm of his left hand, and wrote with his blood" (the unclean creature), "on a little bit of paper, the Oath which his lips had just pronounced in so solemn a tone. Vainly should I undertake to paint my emotion on this action of his! The Prince saw what I felt; and took advantage of it to beg that I would follow his example. I hastened to satisfy him; and traced, as he had done, with my blood, the promise to remain his friend to the tomb, and never to forsake him. This Promise must have been found among his Papers after his death" (still in the Archives? we will hope not!)—"Both of us stood faithful to this Oath. The tie of love, it is true, we broke: but that was by mutual consent, and the better to fix ourselves in the bonds of an inviolable friendship. Other mistresses reigned over his senses; but I'-Ach Gott, no more of that. (291, quoting Lichtenau [pseud.] 1: 129)

The narration of this oath was repeated by other historiographers (for example Geiger 2: 23). Bringmann has pointed out that exaggerated accounts of Frederick William's love life, a love life not extraordinary for an eighteenth-century prince and absolutist monarch, were used especially by admirers of Frederick "the Great" to shed positive light on an area where Frederick II otherwise usually remained in shadows (134).

Wilhelmine Encke was one of very few women of the eighteenth century who were "honored" with a full-length biography during her lifetime, although *Versuch einer Biographie der Frau Gräfin Lichtenau, einer berühmten Dame des vorigen Jahrhunderts* 'Attempt at a biography of Countess Lichtenau' (1798) was more a satire against enlightenment ideas than a biography. The supposed author, "August Wilhelm Baranius," posed as a candidate of theology, which gave him moral authority. The title page names a fictitious

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publisher in remote Lindau (the book was actually printed in Leipzig by Rein in 1798 [Weller 1: 172]), and a false, but symbolically charged publication date: it was post-dated to 1800, the first year of the new century. While the identity of August Wilhelm Baranius is uncertain, I would like to suggest a possible candidate: Henrietta Baranius (née Husen, 1768–1853) was a Berlin opera singer and actress who allegedly was also a mistress of Frederick William II. However, Bringmann argues that she was not the lover of the king, but of Johann Ritz, the denounced countess's former "husband," whom she married in 1798 two years after leaving the opera (133). Considering Henrietta Baranius, using Ritz as her informant, as the author of these intimate revelations yields a riveting and piquant perspective. Among the several opprobrious and untrustworthy publications appearing after the countess's downfall, this "biography" too certainly contained more fiction than facts.

What distinguishes Encke's case from recent auto/biographies of women is that neither contemporary accounts nor Encke's own (her collaboration with a minor writer complicates things somewhat) problematize (self-) perception or identity. On the contrary, the memoirs, pseudomemoirs, and biography simplify issues of identity, avoid introspection, and straightforwardly either serve the accusations and the making of a scandal, or defend its object against shocking charges. In either case, the royal mistress's gender identity is taken as a given, neither fragile nor in need of being established by writing. The "biography" and false memoirs emphasize unrestrained female sexuality in combination with masculine behavior and characteristics such as greed and public appearances; the "defense" insists on a feminine gender role underscoring subservience, relative modesty, and self-control. Encke's "Apology" is clearly not an autobiographical quest for identity, but an argument against being seen as what she was accused of being, a mistress in the worst sense—the personification of sexual wantonness, selfishness, and corruption. The public defense thus conformed to the dominant discourse of gender, rather than questioning it or making room for ambivalences. Biographical narratives about Encke were thus part of the normative discourse on gender.

A REEVALUATION

Before New Historicism, historians rarely consulted fiction, but haven't we learned, at least since Schiller's *Wallenstein,* that fiction can be closer to the "truth" than historiography? It was, in fact, Ernst von Salomon's *Die schöne Wilhelmine. Ein Roman aus Preußens galanter Zeit* 'Beautiful Wilhelmine: A Novel From Prussia's Gallant Times' (1965) that first revised the image of Wilhelmine Encke by incorporating archival material about her, including

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documents from the trial and the extant letters from Frederick William II to Ernst Salomon's was preceded by other novels that took up the case of Wilhelmine Encke by relying on the scandalous literature. The first was *Gräfin Lichtenau* 'Countess Lichtenau' by Robert Springer (1816–1885), published in the year of the first German reunification (1871). The early twentieth century also saw a republication of satires on the mistress (Schurig), while the Golden Twenties dared a second look at this sexually assertive woman, calling her as the "German Pompadour" (Kania and Atzenbeck). In the 1930s, in novels by Bruno Stümke (1881–?) and Clara Viebig (1860–1952), the mistress was rescandalized to convey anti-emancipation views as well as nationalist concepts: the immoral woman as dangerous for the *Reich*. Until Ernst von Salomon's, all the novels were largely based on the false memoirs.

Scarcely a subject of scholarship today, although occasionally mentioned along with Ernst Jünger, Ernst von Salomon (1902–1972) was unique.[17] Imprisoned in 1922 as one of the assassins of the democratic foreign minister of the Weimar Republic, Walther Rathenau, he published from the 1930s on, turning from Free Corps activism and nationalistic/Prussian novels like *Die Kadetten* 'The Cadets' (1933) to scripts for entertaining Ufa movies. He wrote one of the first German post-World War II bestsellers, *Der Fragebogen* 'The Questionaire' (1951), and became an activist against nuclear weapons. Why did he turn to the topic of a Prussian mistress? His style in this novel appears apolitical enough, but it is easy to see how a tempered form of Prussian patriotism endures in *Die schöne Wilhelmine*. In 1984, the novel was turned into a TV movie with the same title, directed by Rolf von Sydow. An easy and entertaining read, Salomon's text focuses on the early years before Frederick William became King. It does not dwell on the accusations against or the trial of Encke after his death, but contains a sort of epilogue episode taking place in 1820. There, in a way similar to Bringmann's recent assessment, Salomon clearly states that Countess Lichtenau was the subject of pamphlets that were really directed at the reign of the late Frederick William II. Salomon has Wilhelmine explain why she kept the name Lichtenau:

> Ich hätte ihn längst abgelegt, wenn . . . ja, wenn 'die Lichtenau' nicht ein Begriff geworden wäre, zwar kein schöner, der beliebte Gegenstand aller Pamphlete, die gegen die Regierung meines Herrn gerichtet waren—und noch sind! Mein Prinz, ich habe mich meines Namens, meiner Herkunft, meines Lebens, meiner Liebe nie geschämt. Ich bin 'die Lichtenau' noch immer, weil die Pfeile, die gegen meinen Geliebten abgeschossen werden, an mir abprallen. (467)[18]

Salomon argues that the fictitious publications were so influential that for a long time this king's reign and his successes were excluded from historical

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memory (467). The novel gives a glimpse of the "beautiful soul" that Aloys Hirt may have seen in Wilhelmine Encke. Salomon's heroine likes social advancement, yes, but above all she sees herself as a lover and mother, and is in harmony with herself. Salomon lets the aged Wilhelmine Encke acknowledge the scandals, the trial, and her punishment as the price for protecting the memory of Frederick William II:

> So blieb das Ansehen meines Herrn geschützt, mich traf die Strafe, nicht ihn. Ich war froh darüber, ich war dem König dankbar dafür. Was machte mir Glogau aus? Ich hätte nirgendwo und nirgend anders leben können, da mein Gebieter tot war. Er ließ mir die Schuld, die ich tragen wollte, sonst hätte mein ganzes Leben, sonst hätte meine Liebe zu meinem Herrn keinen Sinn gehabt. (473)[19]

For Salomon's Prussian patriot, it was natural to see her duty in protecting the love of her life, the Prussian king. Salomon's biographical fiction thus depicts this scandalous woman primarily as victim.

A POST-1989 READING: LIFE WRITING AND NEW BEGINNINGS

GDR-born writer Monika Maron (born in 1941) is one of the most respected writers of her generation in Germany. In 2002 the novel *Endmoränen* 'Terminal Moraines' was published to rave reviews. It deals with the existential question of East Germans after the 1990 unification, and addresses aging from a woman's perspective. Its first-person narrator Johanna is an author of biographies who is working on Wilhelmine Encke while struggling with her own biography. Johanna represents many middle-aged citizens of the former GDR trying to come to terms with the regime's end, and to justify their own decisions and ways of life in it—their own biographies.

Johanna lives away from her Berlin husband in an old house in the country which she had bought as a typical GDR repair project. It lies in a landscape of terminal moraines, masses of rock and rubble, remainders of glaciers and tectonic movements left after the ice age. The moraines tell the life story of the landscape. Johanna, fifty-ish, with a husband who literally turns his back on her, and a physicist daughter who decides to move to America and have an abortion, encounters similar moraines: the rubble of her life in front of her—hopes and desires, friendships, disappointing affairs, and dreams of a happy life. She is confronted with the issue of how to view (and tell) her own life. Johanna uncompromisingly looks back on her life, wondering what happened to her dreams and wishes, her hopes for freedom and happiness, concluding in a melancholy tone: "Today it seems to me as if I had always waited for my life to begin. But now, years later, I am afraid to realize that it

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ld have passed me by—the actual life. It started too late and it is not our e any longer. What's left for us is the dreary and long 'left over time'."[20]
ood's main character has spent her life in the GDR composing prefaces d historical biographies, secretly criticizing the system between the lines. ce the system collapses, doubts about the meaning of her work and her e as a whole take hold of her. Even the biography of the Prussian mistress cke-Lichtenau, which she is in the process of writing and which was once y important to her, seems *vollkommen bedeutungslos, außer für meinen ntonand* 'totally meaningless except for my bank account' (37). She muses e fifteen years ago simply mentioning that the grave of Countess Lichte- in Berlin's Old Cathedral Cemetery was no longer accessible after 1961 ld have turned a historical biography *(simple Biografie)* into a piece of ntest literature *(Protestschrift)* against the regime, because the grave was lev- d during construction of the Berlin wall (38).[21] But that was a point ich she would not have been allowed to state openly. Because of litera- potentially subversive effect in GDR times, an author like Johanna ld be sure of *der Wichtigkeit seines Tuns, ja, seiner ganzen Existenz* 'the portance of her writing, even her whole existence' (39). After the GDR olution and German unification, the mistress's biography can no longer ction as a political *Klopfzeichen aus dem Untergrund* 'code, tapped from e underground' (39). The biography has become meaningless in the new litical system where everything, any political criticism, can be expressed enly. Johanna does not believe that she has suppressed talents, or that she n outline a new life for herself. She is not like a few of her acquaintances o managed *sein bisheriges Leben schließen wie ein Buch und einfach ein neues beginnen* 'to close their old lives like a book and simply start a new one' 41).

The reader does not find out whether Johanna will complete the biogra- y, connecting the disparate notes into a continuous narrative, as the nar- tor's own life and crisis become the focus of the novel. Wilhelmine Enke e novel refers to her mostly by her birth name in this variant spelling) is longer the carrier of a political subtext, but becomes an exemplary model r connecting life stories and interpretations of one's life (Hagestedt). hanna reflects that though Wilhelmine Encke lived in a completely differ- t age, and devoted much of her life to protecting Frederick William from e advice of predatory men, she started a completely "new" life twice. The e, after her change in status from mistress to confidante and advisor of e king, required her to use the same means as her enemies—advice and mmunication. The second, after her imprisonment, required her to defend her- f in her *Apologie*, and allowed her to marry a man of her choice. Johanna

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recognizes that even under extremely restricted circumstances in the past, a woman's life did not have to end with the passing of youth, nor with a new government.

In Maron's novel, the biography of the Prussian mistress (or pieces of it) serves not only as an entertaining curiosity, but assumes existential meaning for Johanna. She acknowledges that at the end of the GDR she was so happy to end her many struggles against the system that she missed defining a new beginning and new goals. Reflecting on Wilhelmine Encke, Johanna, no longer hopeless and depressed about her age and past life, reconsiders age as relative, and sees new possibilities for the rest of her life, including her now dull love life: "Die Enke hat die Chance eines zweiten, unverhofften, ihr durch Geburt nicht zugedachten Lebens . . . mit allem, was ihr gegeben war, mit Intelligenz, Wißbegier, Schönheit, Willenskraft, gepackt und fortan mit Klauen und Zähnen verteidigt. Alles, was dieses geschenkte Leben hergab, hat sie aus ihm gesogen" (215).[22] With her sensuality, courage, and determination, Encke becomes a model of self-assertion for Johanna, who fantasizes about having an affair herself, especially when an alluring sensual man comes her way who speaks about a *Revolution in der Geschlechterbeziehung*, 'revolution in gender relations' (238), and who appears to be attracted by women older than himself. Johanna decides to end her self-imposed exile, take up new quests, let no chance erotic or adventurous encounters pass by, and seek a sensual renewal of her marriage. Her first steps take her away from life writing to sensual encounters of new beginnings (a brief affair, taking in a lost puppy).

The novel reflects Maron's interest in neurological works on life "writing." At the 2002 historians' congress in Halle, she gave a speech titled "Lebensentwürfe, Zeitenbrüche" 'Drafts of Lives, Crashes of Eras,' which may also serve as a comment on her novel. The fields of biological science (she mentions Wolf Singer), genetics, and psychology study biological and environmental determinism, while post-enlightenment and humanist traditions of individualism continue to uphold the belief in a life formed by free decisions and responsibility, resulting in biography viewed as a chain of events which could have been quite different. In her speech, Maron confessed her "distrust in free invention of one's self and in biographical truths," and pointed out that humans are invariably driven to give meaning to their life stories by applying causality and inventing a narratable biography. She also raised doubts about the much discussed topos of East Germans as a whole, who with the fall of socialism, were robbed of their biographies. Maron asserted that there were groups within the GDR who had always upheld the claim to be responsible for one's own life.

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Maron's novel provides an example, albeit fictional, of how biographies can assume existential meaning. A well-told life can help the reader to interpret her/his own biography. It can stimulate thinking about one's own life choices, and rewriting it. In the words of one reviewer, the novel insists that we must continue to be interested in narrated and well-reflected biography despite knowing about its selective constructedness: "Only narrative can contain the full scope of perception and action, especially since [scientific] knowledge has long escaped the capabilities of a single individual and is more uncertain than ever" ("Sommerhaus"). Biographies of women are especially relevant in scholarship on life writing. As Joan W. Scott, whose work has challenged the foundations of conventional historical practice, has argued concerning the future of women's and gender history, feminist approaches are driven by a conscious desire that lends a special dynamics to how we study the past and past lives. Biographical writing on royal mistresses expands our awareness of the various forms that female assertiveness took in past centuries.

NOTES

During her lifetime, the woman who is the subject of this article was never addressed by all of her acquired last names at the same time. Although it might be more appropriate to use the name for each stage of her life that identifies most accurately her legal and social standing at that time, in this article I use mostly her maiden name, which reminds us of her background, although she became famous/infamous as Countess Lichtenau. I thus deviate from biographical writings that use her aristocratic name for her early years, when she was legally still an unmarried woman of the lower class and not acknowledged as the mistress of a Prussian prince. All translations are my own, except where indicated otherwise.

These considerations follow Burghartz and Schnegg. Brigitte Schnegg was also the organizer of a conference on life writing, *Leben schreiben* (Bern 2003), with forthcoming proceedings. The papers on gender and biography (Ulrike Gleixner, Stefan Zahlmann), theory of biography (Christian Klein, Reinhard Sieder), biography and history (Andreas Bürgi, Claudia Ulbrich), and biographies of couples (Beatrix Langner, Peter Kamber) are especially relevant here.

Bringmann 112. Occasionally 1765 is given as the year of the first encounter.

Alexander (1778–1787) and (Friederica Wilhelmine) Marianne (1780–1814). The latter married Friedrich Count at Stolberg-Stolberg in 1797.

See Wimmer for Ritz's merits as the king's "factotum."

"It is you alone who makes life at home bearable for me, otherwise I think of returning as a torture chamber—I have nothing. [I have] Nothing at all to expect at home besides boredom and insufferableness, if it were not for you; alas, it will be a terrible life—without your company, without a friend, left to myself and my sad thoughts, left to myself alone and always. . . . Children [are] my favorite company, then I have to fear neither treason nor seduction."

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7. For photographs of the New Garden in Potsdam, see *Friedrich Wilhelm II* and "Förderverein Pfingstberg in Potsdam e.V."; for the *Pfaueninsel*, see Schmidt-Berndt. Frederick William II and his mistress are even online in a collection of pewter figures (5 Jan. 2004 http://www.fecho/de/ Zinnfiguren/s024.htm>).
8. The archived letters were not available for research until 1918, when the Hohenzollern monarchy, led by the descendants of Frederick William, lost power. Some letters were published in the early 1930s (Haase-Faulenorth).
9. According to Bringmann, the vice president of the Berlin judicial court noted that Frederick William III later regretted his behavior toward Wilhelmine von Lichtenau, and accused himself of not having respected his late father more (122).
10. See Schnitzler. Encke was also one of the two main subjects in Schurig's edition.
11. Bütow has a work in progress for the AG Berliner Klassik titled *Die Karikatur in Berlin zwischen 1786 (Tod Friedrich II) und 1815 (Ende der Befreiungskriege)* (14 Mar. 02 <http://home.arcor.de/sebastian1972/werk/buetow.htm>).
12. "Warning to Countess Lichtenau, / previously porter / of lemons and pine-cones. / Flee, / wanton, flee! / The just thunder's revenge will soon / shake your lecherous and now highborn ear. / The terribly black storm cloud is already towering high, / its thunderbolts / will shatter you, / waster of the fatherland's treasures. / Flee / the nameless scouts' eyes! / Their motto conjured up three times breathes / death and perdition / onto you! / You who through Lais's [Greek courtesan] arts / not only naked on black silken sofas / dares to enchain / the noblest man—not only as a man, / no, / also as a father. / Castle of Truth, in the 17th millennium of / Philopatridis's [i.e. 'Friend of the people'] reign" (qtd. in Haase-Faulenorth 197, Bringmann 122). According to Schnitzler, Philopatridis was the pseudonym of Johann Peter Süßmilch, a patriotic author (for example, *Der Brandenburger Patriot,* 1751) criticized for his praise of a servile spirit (277).
13. Mistresses were widely customary in courts all over eighteenth-century Europe, except for the strict Frederick II. When the mistress was from the lower nobility, her legal status was often that of a morganatic wife. A lower-born woman married a higher-born man (who was already legally married), and renounced any claim to the royal name or possessions, both for herself and any children who might issue from the union. After Frederick William's second legal wife Frederika had borne him four sons and three daughters and then withdrew from him sexually, the church consented to not only one, but two morganatic marriages (*Ehen linker Hand*), in addition to his lowborn mistress. The "brides" were young ladies-in-waiting to the widow of Frederick II: Juliane von Voß (1766–1789), whom he married in 1786 and who by the marriage was elevated to Countess Ingenheim, and Sophie Juliane Friederike Countess Dönhoff (1767–1834), whom he married in 1790 after Voß's death. Frederick William appointed his children from the two relationships countesses and counts of Prussia and Brandenburg. But when Dönhoff sought to influence his political decisions in favor of the French Republic, he sent her into exile in 1793, and offered another morganatic marriage to Sophie von Bethmann-Metzler, a banker's daughter, who refused him. Hence the nickname "Much-Loved King." His friendship with Wilhelmine Encke endured through these morganatic marriages.

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"Now she became the King's procuress and instructed the victims of his wantonness how they had to behave with the king. However, she had studied the King's excitability so accurately that [she] the old friend still had stimuli in reserve when he had blunted himself by frequent change, [and] thus knew how to enchain him so that he came back to her time and again."

"Our little circle knew of no higher occupations than the very ordinary ones: we played cards, sang, made music, in short, we practiced the well-known [motto] Enjoy life!" (cited in Bringmann 118).

Also author of a dubious work entitled *Zeichen und Werth der Männerkeuschheit* 'Sign and worth of male chastity' (1794), Siede did not himself live such a moral life. In 1792 he abducted the writer Karl Philip Moritz's newly wed wife Christiane Friederike (nee Matzdorf), the daughter of a publisher (Hamberger 1: 287–94).

See Lindner's studies of his earlier novels *Die Geächteten, Die Stadt, Die Kadetten.*

"I would have long abandoned it if . . . well if 'the Lichtenau woman' had not become a term, albeit not a beautiful one, [but] the favorable object of all pamphlets which were—and still are!—directed against the rule of my Lord. My Prince, I have never been ashamed of my name, my provenance, my life, my love. I am still 'the Lichtenau woman' because the arrows which are shot at my beloved are rebounding from me!"

"Thus the reputation of my Lord remained protected, punishment was directed against me, not him. I was glad about it, I was grateful to the King for it. What did [imprisonment in] Glogau matter to me? I would not have wanted to live anywhere and anyway else, since my Master was dead. He left the blame to me, which I was willing to bear, or else my whole life, my love for my master would have been meaningless."

This passage is from the English advertisement provided by the publisher S. Fischer; an English translation of the novel will soon be available (see <http://www.goethe.de/gr/deb/buch/2003/enib0301.htm).

Of course, much recent work in life writing theory questions the existence of the "simple" biographies that Maron juxtaposes to those with a political agenda.

"Enke grasped her chance of a second, unhoped-for life, not planned by birth, with everything she had, with intelligence, thirst for knowledge, beauty, willpower, and has defended it from then on tooth and nail. She sucked everything from this life given to her as a present."

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REVIEWS

France and William St. Clair, eds. *Mapping Lives: The Uses of Biography*. Oxford and New York: Oxford UP, 2002. 335 pp. + index. ISBN 19-726269-4, $49.95.

volume in the British Academy Centenary Monographs series offers seven essays by as many contributors. As the following summaries may suggest, seven or eight of the essays are first-rate, a half dozen are readable but stimulating, and a few seem confused or restate the obvious.

Among the highlights are two learned, informative studies of early biographical traditions. In "From Biography to Hagiography," Sergei S. Averintsev clarifies the meaning of biographia, hagiographa, and other key terms in classical life writing, and takes up the old question of whether the Gospels can be considered part of Hellenistic biography (no). Martin McLaughlin admirably surveys "Biography and Autobiography in the Italian Renaissance," focusing on the emergence during the period of secular biographies written in the vernacular.

Although most of the essays in *Mapping Lives* concern British biographical writing, several contributors revealingly treat European works. In "From Eulogy to Biography: The French Academic Eloge," Peter France describes the evolution of this funeral-oration-like French genre, especially as it developed in the memorials for intellectual heroes at the Académie Française and the Académie des Sciences. Christina Howells ("Sartre's Existentialist Biographies") studies the sophisticated methodology of Sartre's lives of Baudelaire, Genet, and Flaubert. Sartre viewed biography as a form of knowing, his thinking about the genre being epistemological and political rather than literary. Roger Paulin ("Adding Stones to the Edifice: Patterns of German Biography") argues that in Germany biographical writing has been seen as a branch of historiography rather than belles-lettres, and has had to compete with the elaborate scholarly apparatus of historical studies and editions of correspondence. As a result, the German biographical tradition is "discontinuous and problematic."

Avril Pyman covers a phase of Russian biography in "Yury Tynyanov and the 'Literary Fact.'" Russian Formalist theory frowned on biographical approaches to literary study, demanding instead a "scientific" approach. Yet biography proved attractive to Formalists such as Tynyanov, who published

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lives of Pushkin and other writers. He wrote them in the form of biographical novels, however, trying in this way to distinguish them from his "scientific" works of theory and research.

Few contributors to *Mapping Lives* are themselves biographers, and most have little to say about biography as craft. An exception is Mark Kinkead-Weekes ("Writing Lives Forwards"), author of volume two of the Cambridge biography of D. H. Lawrence. While conceding that a strictly chronological approach increases the length of a biography and slows its pace, he maintains that it also reveals "connections between activities, energies, and interests that might otherwise seem to have nothing to do with one another." From this standpoint he provides a fair but acute critique of Hermione Lee's foreshortened biography of Virginia Woolf. William St. Clair ("The Biographer as Archaeologist") describes the "astonishingly plentiful" material he found available for his life of William Godwin, including thirty-two volumes of diaries. From his experience in handling it all, he convincingly explains how sources shape biographies, and draws out the implications of arguments for self-reflexive biographies.

The latter issue hovers over several essays in the volume, as do the related recent questioning of the credibility of biography in the light of Theory, and the recent appearance of partly fictionalized biographies. Two contributors particularly address such changes in conceiving the genre.

In "Sainte-Beuve: Biography, Criticism, and the Literary," Ann Jefferson notes the shift of critical attention from concern with individual writers to writing as such. From this point of view, which places biography outside the main concerns of literary study, she looks back at Sainte-Beuve's creation of "critical portraits," biographically based criticism that in defining the genius of a writer treats the life as essential to an understanding of the works. In "The Newness of the 'New Biography,'" Laura Marcus examines the reaction to High Modernism of Lytton Strachey, André Maurois, Emil Ludwig, and A. J. A. Symons—biographers who represent the rupture between Victorians and moderns. She characterizes outstanding features of the "New Biography"—the use of satire and irony, an "uneasy relationship to the 'Great Man'"—and suggestively explores its relation to the emergence of book clubs and of new media, especially cinema.

Among the other contributors, Richard Holmes defends, with some self-ironizing uncertainty, the study of biography as an academic subject. Focusing on Fuller's Worthies, Ian Donaldson details the long association of biographical writing with the concept of memory. Elinor S. Shaffer discusses the similarly close relation between Victorian biography and the Bildungsroman, stressing the influence of Goethe. From the (supposed) wreck of Freudian

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psychoanalysis, Malcolm Bowie tries to salvage concepts that biographers may still find helpful. Miranda Seymour raises ethical questions about telling confidential, uncomfortable facts of a subject's life, but admittedly provides no solutions. Ian Christie surveys biopics in several countries, especially in the 1930s. Kay Ferres aims to show how biography has treated "the problem of women's appearance in public life." And in the final essay of the volume, James Walter discusses recent writing about the writing of biography, saluting Leon Edel but observing that his commentaries on the subject mark the beginning of the end of modernist thinking about biography.

Regrettably, *Mapping Lives* omits two very substantial bodies of biographical writing. The essays almost entirely ignore American biography, despite a three-centuries-long singular tradition, beginning with Cotton Mather's *Magnalia Christi Americana*. And Lives here means strictly the lives of writers, a recurrent theme of the volume being the usefulness of literary biography to literary criticism. The volume pays no attention to life writing about architects, dancers, movie stars, politicians, financiers, composers, and scientists, to name only a few omissions. To discount such lives is to overlook the unique problems they create for biographers, and to narrow understanding of the uses of biography.

Kenneth Silverman

Lloyd E. Ambrosius, ed. *Writing Biography: Historians and Their Craft.* Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 2004. 166 pp. ISBN 0-8032-1066-3, $45.00.

Modern theory and practice of biography, typically dated from the eighteenth century, have identified recurring core questions (philosophical, aesthetic, ethical, and rhetorical) that require perennial discussion by writers and readers of this genre. The purpose of these questions, which are not intended to be solved once and for all, is to motivate energizing skepticism and debate about the ends, aims, purposes, subjects, and forms of life writing. Thus a collection of essays on the poetics, practice, and problems of biographical writing by good practicing biographers is almost certain to be worthwhile and engaging. Thoughtful accounts of problems faced, judgments made, and solutions created in this multi- and inter-disciplinary and boundary-crossing genre will always find a readership.

The origin of Lloyd E. Ambrosius's edited volume, *Writing Biography, Historians and Their Craft*, was a symposium, entitled "Biography and Historical Analysis," hosted by the Department of History at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln in 2000. Six historians were invited to explore the interesting methods of history that examine socio-political context and the

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practice of biography that examines the individual. Within the contributors' overarching commonality as professional historians, they also represent a vigorous range and variety of scholarly areas and methodologies. The editor is a scholar of the Civil War and Wilsonian periods. John Milton Cooper, Jr., American political historian, is author of a life of Walter Hines Page and a comparative biography of Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt. Shirley A. Leckie, who specializes in women in American History, has written lives of the historian Angie Debo and Elizabeth Bacon Custer, widow of George Armstrong Custer, and edited the correspondence of Alice Kirk Grierson. Nell Irvin Painter is author of a study of U.S. history 1877–1919 and the biography *Sojourner Truth, A Life, A Symbol.* Robert J. Richards, historian of science and philosophy, has explored and advocated the essential role of biography in understanding how scientific and philosophical ideas develop not through objective thinking alone, but also through the individual's subjective experience. Asian historian R. Keith Schoppa has written the historical-biographical study *Blood Road: The Mystery of Shen Dingyi in Revolutionary China.* And Retha M. Warnicke, Renaissance and Reformation women's historian, has written social biographies of Anne Boleyn and Anne of Cleves. The resourceful variety among these contributors' interests and accomplishments is a major strength of Ambrosius's volume.

The editor defines the principal question guiding this volume as centering on what he calls "the dual challenge of telling history and telling lives" (jacket). The first essay, Leckie's "Biography Matters: Why Historians Need Well-Crafted Biographies More than Ever," addresses this motivating topic in broad and ranging ways. She proposes two touchstone biographers, Fawn Brodie and Leon Edel, for teaching historians how to engage in and benefit from this craft. Leckie identifies Edel's emphasis on the importance of negotiating a "participant-observer" stance, using this inside/outside position to discover the "hidden myth of the life" (8–9). From Brodie's revisionist biography of Thomas Jefferson that emphasizes the areas of domestic and private life and personal passion, Leckie remarks, emerged a newly defined public man as a "truly human figure" (4). Such revisionist work, she observes, offers new perspectives on familiar figures and topoi, and also potentially bridges the gap between scholarly and popular historians and their audiences.

Each subsequent essay tends to emphasize one particular question or issue under the overarching topic: telling history and telling lives. These issues include the relationship of the individual to her or his historical context, how biography relates to other forms of historical writing, the relationship of biographical method, technique, and the identification of primary materials to the culture of the biographical subject, and the ethos and identity of biographers in relation to their subjects.

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issues regarding the relationship of the individual to historical context in three essays by Schoppa, "Culture and Context in Biographical Studies: The Case of China," and Warnicke, "Reshaping Tudor Biography: Anne Boleyn and Anne of Cleves." These scholars emphasize the indispensable importance of recognizing social structure to be the primary shaping force, and the individual the secondary, in early twentieth-century China and Renaissance England. In China, Schoppa observes, networks are definitively constitutive of self and role. These networks are constituted by such factors of tradition as place and extended family, education, and the individual's membership in various social, political, and intellectual groups, among others. So, also, in the two Queens Anne, a valid comprehension of their lives, Warnicke observes, requires application of methods of social and cultural history, most prominently family and gender studies that reconstruct women's lives and the meanings of their available beliefs, behaviors, and choices within family, kinship, monarchical, and religious systems.

The question of how biography relates to other forms of historical inquiry directly directs Richards's essay, "Did Friedrich Schelling Kill Auguste Bohmer and Does It Matter? The Necessity of Biography in the History of Philosophy," and Painter's "*Ut Pictura Poesis*; or, The Sisterhood of the Verbal and Visual Arts." Richards argues the necessity for historians to take into meaningful account actual life experiences of the thinkers they write about. He discusses and demonstrates the application of an experiential-existential assumption and method for intellectual history, based in this essay on his interpretation of a major shift in Schelling's philosophy. After the heart-breaking death of his lover's young daughter, Schelling broke from his chief influence, Fichte. He reimagined his mentor's notion of a responsible ego at the center of the individual's subjectivity, adopting in its place what Richards describes as an "austere and deterministic absolutism." In a manner reminiscent of Carl Becker's nuanced concept of cause and effect in influence studies, Richards asserts: "I do not think, however, that these intellectual factors [the growing intellectual differences separating his theory from Fichte's] would have had *purchase on the mind* of the young philosopher had he and Fichte not been caught in the matrix of the other causes" (147, my italics). Painter proposes a triangular collaboration of biography, black studies, and art history to write the lives of African-American subjects, for some of whom written primary materials may not exist. In the cases of Sojourner Truth and Frederick Douglass, she argues, visual materials provide richly complex cultural-rhetorical meanings that constitute these subjects' active images both during their lifetimes and thereafter.

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Cooper's essay examines questions regarding the biographer's ethos and identity in relation to her or his subject. His essay "Conception, Conversation, and Comparison: My Experiences as a Biographer" makes this invaluable observation: "My experience as a biographer has taught me one big lesson: There's no substitute for experience. . . . [I]f you really want to be a biographer, you should skip this chapter and get back to your research and writing" (79). Cooper thoughtfully integrates practice and theory, based on the genealogy of his own research, which has alternated between political history and biography. His defining thematic refrain is the importance of being truly interested in one's subject, approaching it without preconceived ideas, and being prepared to revise opinions and interpretation when evidence warrants change. In short, this biographer argues on behalf of a strategic humility and willingness "to surrender [oneself] in some measure to [one's] subject" (87).

Those who write biography or write about it are, to my mind, exceptionally brave or foolhardy people, or some combination of the two. I can think of no other genre in which writers so immediately reveal their qualities of commitment, reliability, maturity, capability, preparation, curiosity, and seriousness; although readers may differ on which biographers score well in which categories. One thing is certain, however: the key to successful biography—for writers in the process of research and composition, and readers in their engagement with these texts—is good detective work compellingly and convincingly recounted. All genuinely useful biographies are detective stories that recover missing people or missing parts of people we thought we already knew, and hence missing moments in or interpretations of their subjects' lives in history. The most compelling and educative contributions, which for me are those by Cooper, Richards, Warnicke, and Schoppa, demonstrate qualities of passion, curiosity, and discipline that characterize the best researches into the lives of individuals as a lens directed toward history. But every essay in this collection gives the reader useful material and perspectives to consider about biographical detective work and the open-ended, perennial questions of life writing.

Catherine N. Parke

Shlomit C. Schuster. *The Philosopher's Autobiography: A Qualitative Study.* Westport: Praeger, 2003. 256 pp. ISBN 0-275-97789-7, $64.95.

Shlomit Schuster brings an overwhelming breadth and depth of scholarship in philosophy, philosophical counselling, biographical studies, and qualitative

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search to her comprehensive and provocative work, *The Philosopher's Autobiography: A Qualitative Study*. Her scholarship does not make the book hard read or inaccessible to the average reader with some background in philosophy, but it does challenge the reviewer to present an overview of the elements of the book in a way that provides potential readers with a sense of what they will encounter. To address that concern, I will provide a brief overview of the book, but focus on the chapter entitled "Philosophical Psychoanalysis and Qualitative Research."

The Philosopher's Autobiography: A Qualitative Study begins with a chapter entitled "Philosophical Autobiography." Schuster defines philosophical autobiography as a narrative self-questioning of the self. This self-questioning complicates the social context of the autobiographer. Schuster understands philosophical biography to be a critical inquiry into the self and its times. This philosophical self-narrative is a creative way to understand the human inner world. The goal of understanding the human inner world through philosophical autobiography is one of the larger goals of the book, and will be discussed in some detail in my presentation of chapter three.

In Chapter Two, "Philosophy, Self-reflection, and Life-writing," Schuster presents her reading of ten philosophical autobiographies in order to "show how differently the threads of philosophy, self-reflection and self-narrative can be knotted together" (23). Schuster presents the autobiographer's own description of the role of philosophy within his or her life. She picks a wide and eclectic variety of philosophers, including Peter Abélard, Kahlil Gibran, and Simone Weil. Her selection of philosophers not only helps to make her point about different ways to knot together philosophy, self-reflection, and self-narrative, but also introduced me to at least one new philosopher (Al-Ghazali) and one person that I did not think of as a philosopher (Dante Alighieri).

The heart of the book is Chapter Three, "Philosophical Psychoanalysis and Qualitative Research," as this chapter sets out the methods that Schuster uses to conduct her study. In the first of four sections, entitled "Philosophic Psychoanalysis," Schuster presents a new form of psychoanalysis. She explores different approaches to psychoanalysis, including the perspectives of R. D. Laing, John Cottingham, Elizabeth Wright, and Jonathan Lear among others, as well as her own philosophical psychoanalysis approach. She defines the purpose of philosophical psychoanalysis as a method for understanding "persons as subject," and not a form of therapy.

In the next section, "The Macintre-Wolleim Narrative-Self and Philosophical Psychoanalysis," Schuster sees philosophical autobiography as using one's own philosophy and philosophizing as an approach to healing. She

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understands this as different from the Macintre-Wolleim narrative-self, which conducts a search for unity through due influence of the past over the present:

> It seems to me that therapeutic delving into the past as a "phantasy" or as a genuine memory was not the aim of Augustine, Rousseau, and Sartre. Though there were issues in their lives for which they sought healing, change, reconditioning, or transcendence, self-narrative was not considered the elementary tool to these transformations, but their philosophizing. Each of these philosophers remembered his childhood and recognized influences of that childhood on his life, but by philosophizing each radically transformed or even eradicated the influence of the past over the present. (63)

Key to philosophizing about one's life is the ability to differentiate two types of mental activity: slavish and free. Schuster takes these concepts from John Dewey, but she states that she does not use anything else of Dewey's in her understanding of philosophical psychoanalysis. Slavish mental activity is that activity of which one is not capable of becoming fully aware. Free mental activity, on the other hand, can be used consciously in an instrumental manner to change thought and action. It is the conscious use of mental activity to change thought and action that she calls philosophizing.

In the third section of Chapter Three, "Existential Psychoanalysis and Philosophical Psychoanalysis," Schuster distinguishes between psychoanalysis and philosophical psychoanalysis: "I do not aim to disclose fundamental projects, but to make explicit the dialectical patterns of slavish and free mental activities, and to show how this dialectic process contributes to consistency and continuity in the analysand's thinking and living" (68).

The last section of this chapter is entitled "Philosophical Psychoanalysis and Qualitative Research." (One of the sources that Schuster uses to explicate and defend her use of qualitative methods is a piece my colleague Pamela Maykut and I co-authored.) Schuster argues that qualitative research is dialogical, in-depth, and subjective, and these characteristics lend themselves to understanding the narratives of people's lives. She sees these characteristics as similar to the characteristics of philosophical psychoanalysis.

As I read Chapters Four, Five, and Six, which present primary cases for doing philosophical autobiography, it seems that Schuster uses slavish and free mental activities as a tool for understanding how these philosophers philosophize about their lived experiences. It would have been helpful to me to have a more explicit statement about the connection between mental activities and qualitative research.

I will only present the subjects and the structure of these chapters. The reader of *The Philosopher's Autobiography* ought to approach them with a fresh

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unclouded by a reviewer's perspective. Augustine, Rousseau, and Sartre each the subject of a chapter. Though the subsections of each chapter have different headings, Schuster organizes the three chapters using the same structure: self-portrait, reflections, and psychoanalysis. By examining these three elements, Schuster demonstrates how the slavish and free mental activities are dialogue with each other to gain understanding of the human inner world. The last chapter is Schuster's reflection on self-renewal "and the likelihood for persons to attain different selves through combining philosophical psychoanalysis with narrative writing" (205).

The Philosopher's Autobiography: A Qualitative Study is provocative, imaginative, and scholarly. It is filled with new ideas and insights. I recommend it highly to anyone interested in understanding how philosophy and philosophizing have influenced the lives of Augustine, Rousseau, and Sartre.

Richard Morehouse

R. Howard Bloch. *The Anonymous Marie de France.* Chicago: U of Chicago P, 2003. 367 pp. ISBN 0-226-05968-5, $45.00.

Theories abound concerning the historical identity of Marie de France. We know that she wrote in the Anglo-Norman dialect, in Britain, and was proficient in English, Latin, Breton/Welsh, and, of course, Anglo-Norman French. She left a remarkable legacy consisting of three works: her *Lais,* her *Fables,* and her visionary work, the *Espurgatoire Seint Patriz.* Howard Bloch has nothing to add to the speculation about Marie's actual identity. Instead, his interest is to identify within her very different works "internal evidence of a single poetic persona" (112). In very general terms, he does this by looking at two large aspects of her work: her attitudes towards language, and her "cultural biography" (312), which traces the way her preoccupations ride "the cusp of one of the great moments of transformation the West has ever known," so when "read chronologically, [her works] can be seen to capture the movement of the changing world they depict" (311). The society in which Marie was writing was experiencing a profound transformation. The vertical power relationships of vassal to feudal lord were crumbling with the consolidation of monarchic power and the rise of the bourgeoisie and urban communities. The economic base was shifting from a landed, manorial base to commercial, monied exchange. Legal, philosophical, and ecclesiastical assumptions were changing to adapt to these socioeconomic developments, all of which had a profound impact on language. Bloch interweaves penetrating close readings, complex historical contexts, and a broad array of critical

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and theoretical perspectives to situate Marie's work in the context of these developments.

This work makes an important contribution to scholarship of medieval literature and cultural studies, and an essential contribution to scholars specializing in Marie de France. But the Introduction will be of interest to biographical scholars generally, for it demonstrates how much significant commentary an astute researcher can provide concerning an historical figure about whom we know so little. Not only does Bloch provide a thorough overview of "the troubled history of the name 'Marie de France'" (2), and a sophisticated contextualization of the intellectual and cultural world from which her works emerged, but it also exposes the kinds of biographical assumptions scholars make, and the biases they impose on the basis of a very little bit of information—in this case the fact that Marie de France was a woman. Marie's anonymity has not precluded varied profiles, from her possessing a melancholy British temperament, to her being intuitive, simple, naive, spontaneous, delicate, modest, honest, reassuring, and comforting. As Bloch notes, "the particular constellation of traits ascribed to her . . . can be said to be characteristics aligned with the feminine" (17). Wrapping his discussion wittily around what we don't know, Bloch provides an overview of the way nineteenth and twentieth-century scholars have imposed their contemporary "notions of the feminine" into the textual gaps of Marie's works, and then used their readings to dismiss her literary value and importance—an assessment with which Bloch categorically disagrees.

Marie's earliest work, her *Lais,* explores love relationships. Based on Breton oral sources, and steeped in fantastic, otherworldly elements, they describe the tensions between individual desire (usually female), and the demands of the aristocratic world; for example, in the sad stories of the "mal mariées," women trapped (in some cases literally imprisoned) in loveless arranged marriages. In this case, the motif of the imprisoned wife cannot be "separated from the marital practices of France's nobility at the end of the first feudal age" (59), bound as it is to questions of inheritance and the production of heirs. At base, "the *Lais* remain enmeshed in the futureless feudal institutions that account for the fatalism at their core" (194), a fatalism that Marie exposes in her treatment of language. We know from Marie's own statements that language is an acutely conscious concern for her. Viewing the *Lais* through a decontructionist lens, Bloch sees her linguistic "obsession" played out "as a theology of language involving different aspects of a common set of concerns: a desire for wholeness, integration, fullness versus a constant awareness of the partial and contingent, fragmentary and fragmenting, nature of linguistic expression" (35). In the *Lais,* Bloch explores the

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of speech acts, the way they escape human intention and ultimately exposing "the essence of the human condition [as] an effort to impose upon a diffident world" (46). Speech acts become dangerous as words rebound and wound, and the love that depends on them is inevitably fated to be tragic.

Marie approaches language quite differently in her *Fables,* the beast tales she attributes to Aesop, though specifically filtered through the English prose. Bloch's approach to the *Fables* diverges from the deconstructive perspective used with the *Lais.* Rather, he categorizes the diverse tales into subgenres, seeing Marie's central question as "the place of the animal, or the animal instincts, within the human world" (117). Although the *Fables* share the Lais' obsession with language as difficult, opaque, and flawed" (119), in the fables the theme of language is conceived in social terms. Speech acts are seen as "existential, situational, a function of a particular agency" (131), and can be as easily used to lie, deceive, and seduce as they can to represent truth. Just as language is to the issue of will in human relations, the *Fables* explore the ethical consequences of language choices, reflecting newly articulated philosophies argued most influentially in Abelard's *Ethics,* whereby absolute categories of right and wrong, good and evil, give way to considerations of intent. This relativistic position reflects a complex social transformation, as feudal institutions are threatened by the rise of a flourishing urban bourgeoisie. As Bloch remarks, "The *Fables* are about nothing if not about the taming of the feudal beast, the institutionalization of the violence of the feudal world, in which, as in the animal kingdom, the law of the strongest prevailed; and this within the new civil space of city and court in which the predatory instinct . . . takes the form of envy" (175). The beasts of the *Fables* represent a new human social model, in a world where "individuals are to some degree separated from their class, and in which the rules of social commitment and position are determined by a decidedly more urban economy based upon markets and money rather than on bonds of homage and honor" (185). Of particular interest is the way the *Fables* reflect the feudal judicial institutions based on combat giving way to negotiations based on language: contracts, trials, elections, pedagogical lessons, scholastic debate, and domestic dispute" (192).

The last section of Bloch's study treats Marie's *Espurgatoire Seint Patriz,* an adaptation of a Latin work by the English Cistercian H. of Saltrey, the *Tractatus de Purgatorio Sancti Patricii.* The *Espurgatoire* recounts the visionary experience of the knight, Owen, at the remote Irish site, the Purgatory of Saint Patrick, named for its association as an entryway to Purgatory, where pilgrims went to emulate the Saint's battle with demons at that same spot.

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Although Marie calls her work a translation, in fact, she transforms H.'s spiritual vision of the horrific journey through Purgatory and subsequent entry into the earthly Paradise into a romance mode, the various ordeals becoming a "series of chivalric encounters" (213). Bloch's extended comparison to Chrétien's *Perceval* is especially intriguing. Again, Marie's self-consciousness about language is at the heart of the work. Here, Bloch focuses upon the idea of translation, not simply translation as rewriting from one language to another, with the necessary acts of interpretation involved, but even more importantly, translation as "cultural reclamation" (239), of affording the vernacular and literary the authority of Latin (an idea also alluded to in the Prologue of Marie's *Lais*). Bloch argues "that the *Espurgatoire*, so clearly posited between two cultures, clerical and lay, stands, finally, as a negotiation between the *Lais* and the *Fables*" (242).

This discussion of Marie's least read work draws the three works together. As Bloch summarizes:

> My thesis is very simple: that the *Espurgatoire* stands midway between the *Lais* and the *Fables*, its salvific language suspended between the linguistic fatalism of the *Lais* and the relativized language of the *Fables*, its assumed universe combining metaphysics with ethics in such a way as not only to respond to the inadequacies of each, but, within the givens of Marie's constant themes—memory, translation, the relation of the oral to the written and of words to all other aspects of human endeavor—to offer a synthesis of its own. (264–65)

Though the thesis may be simple, the argument is intricate, developed in two chapters, using an impressive number of related texts and a wide grounding in historical context. Not only does it trace sources and influences, but it also continues the discussion of cultural issues explored in previous chapters, demonstrating how the idea of Purgatory developed in the second half of the twelfth century coincided with the "development of urbanized intellectual, social, economic, legal, and political institutions at the time of the emergence of the monarchic state" (265), especially under the Anglo-Norman Henry II (1154–89) and the French Philippe-Auguste (1179–1223). He goes on to show how the legend of Saint Patrick was used as an "ideological weapon" in the colonialization of Ireland by Henry II.

This overview has considerably simplified a multilayered, dense, and sometimes labyrinthine work. Because Bloch continually interweaves diverse critical methodologies and theoretical perspectives, the relationship between various pieces of the argument is occasionally confusing. And one has to wait patiently until the last section on the *Espurgatoire* for important pieces of the argument to reach their full resonance. I find the least convincing section the

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deconstructionist analysis of the language of the *Lais,* but his discussions throughout of the historical and cultural implications of Marie's works are important. Howard Bloch can consistently be counted on to provide richly textured and provocative scholarship, and his most recent contribution is no exception.

Judith Kellogg

Cheryl Wanko. *Roles of Authority: Thespian Biography and Celebrity in Eighteenth-Century Britain.* Lubbock: Texas Tech U, 2003. 258 pp. ISBN 0-89672-499-9, $37.50.

The twenty-first century obsession with celebrity has inspired recent scholars to trace the historical origins of a phenomenon that makes the lives of stars, sports personalities, and pop singers the intense but fleeting fascination of a mass, increasingly global, public. Cheryl Wanko's imaginative contribution to this new critical history of celebrity, *Roles of Authority,* attempts to locate the emergence of theatrical celebrity in the field of eighteenth-century English thespian biography. The result is an absorbing and cogently written book that helps explain how and why "unworthy" subjects came gradually to be seen as significant enough to warrant sustained biographical treatment.

In her introduction Wanko establishes why actors offer an especially revealing case study for the biographical genre. Many eighteenth-century biographers wrestled with the problem of presenting an identity that was consistent and monolithic, while beginning to come to terms with the contingent and fragmented "personalities" of their subjects. Actors were especially problematic in this regard, given their protean public roles and the frequent slippages (often self-perpetuated) between their public performance and private life. Wanko dallies with this theme throughout her book, but her primary interest is the commodification of celebrity, and the ways in which the commercial book market latched on to growing public attention to the theme through the increasing production of celebrity biography. What comes through clearly in Wanko's argument is the hybridity of early theatrical biography. Biographies of actors drew upon the formats of criminal biography, confessionals, acting handbooks, or novels—sometimes all at once. The biography of Colley Cibber (1740) is only one example of such a patchwork compilation that originated in the easy plagiarism of Grub Street hacks. Wanko, however, avoids simple conclusions, and examines closely the historical reasons why these different modes of writing were employed to contribute to a public image of their subjects that could either challenge or reinforce social hierarchies.

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Wanko selects a range of case studies, each of which provides a different perspective on the development of thespian biography. She elucidates, for example, the coexistence of actor biographies such as the anonymous *Account of the Life of . . . Mat. Coppinger* (1695), that treated their subjects as rogues and criminals, with Charles Gildon's *Life of Thomas Betterton* (1710), which elevated its subject by associating him with conventions of classical rhetoric. The ways in which subsequent biographies draw variously upon these two traditions is teased out, although more could have been said about how often the "rogue" biography was associated specifically with the comedy or farce actor. Wanko is particularly concerned with biographies of actresses that encapsulate their fame in terms of their sexual availability. Here she wades into territory that has been quite heavily trodden by others, but she nevertheless draws some new conclusions about how the fragmented form of Charlotte Charke's autobiography resists the easy objectification of most other actress biographies. Perhaps her most original case study is her consideration of Benjamin Victor's *Memoirs of the Life of Barton Booth* (1733), which concluded with a seven-page autopsy report referring to the post-mortem state of the actor's intestines and rectum. Wanko argues persuasively that this gory passage of biography redeemed Booth's reputation as an actor by demonstrating the origins of his illness in quack medicine, rather than syphilis. She thus demonstrates how the body of Booth became public property in a debate within the medical profession. Here Wanko's intertextual approach to the history of thespian biography is at its most effective.

The book is structured by these case studies, but underlying them is a thesis with a chronological trajectory. This disparity between theme and chronology can at times be disconcerting: for example, she discusses Cibber's *Apology* in Chapter Five, having already discussed his daughter, Charlotte Charke's later *Narrative of the Life* (1755) in Chapter Three. The thematic underpinning of the book is the idea that thespian biographies "reflect and participate in the efforts to place performers within unstable hierarchies of cultural, literary, scientific and financial order" (8). Wanko's contention is that celebrity itself gradually becomes a kind of "authority," and biographers draw on more stable forms of authority (political, medical, literary, financial, but interestingly, not religious) to try to situate their subjects within the contemporary metropolitan social hierarchy. This is a point well taken and difficult to dispute, but "authority" is used so frequently and often casually in the book that it becomes an opaque concept. The cultural authority of the theatre becomes related to the financial "value" of the actor's profession, which are both linked to the idea of the increasing "power" of the actor. Money becomes more a stamp of authority than status in Wanko's analysis,

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Although arguably the latter was more significant to eighteenth-century Eng-
lish society, and is what ultimately consolidated the fame of later performers
such as Siddons, Kemble, Macready, and Irving. Wanko's argument for the
authority of actors is also undermined by her other main thesis about the
commodification of celebrity. The actor's growing authority is never really
reconciled with the way in which thespian reputations were appropriated
and perpetuated by a cultural marketplace. Authority suggests control, but
Wanko's own case studies demonstrate how actors gradually lost control of
their own public image.

In attempting to trace the eighteenth-century origins of our commodified
global capitalist celebrity culture, Wanko is occasionally guilty of anachro-
nism. For example, it was difficult to accept that the doctor Daniel Turner
used Barton Booth's autopsy as a kind of "celebrity endorsement." The cir-
culation and consumption of print media and theatre in the smallish world
of eighteenth-century metropolitan London would have generated a differ-
ent kind of social dynamic than the multimedia exploitation of celebrities
today. An eighteenth-century Londoner would have been likely to meet Gar-
rick on the street; in the twenty-first century Madonna is only glimpsed
through the telephoto lens of the voyeuristic paparazzi. Although these dis-
tinctions could have been developed a bit more thoroughly, Wanko's study
of thespian biography offers a stimulating and significant contribution to
histories of biography.

Shearer West

Harriet Kirkley. *A Biographer at Work: Samuel Johnson's Notes for the 'Life of Pope.'* Lewisburg: Bucknell UP, 2002. 279 pp. ISBN 0-8387-5507-0, $48.50.

The title suggests that this book has a worthy but limited purpose: to pro-
duce a scholarly edition of the working notes made by Samuel Johnson when
he was writing his "Life of Pope." The notes are mostly in the British Library
among the papers of the Cambridgeshire antiquary William Cole, who was
given them by George Steevens in 1782. Isaac Disraeli incorporated some of
them in his *Curiosities of Literature,* and F. W. Hilles and Robert Folkenflik
published some very brief selections in the twentieth century, but they have
never been fully available to general readers, nor edited and annotated. Even
scholars seeking out the manuscripts have encountered more than the usual
difficulties: Johnson's notes—working documents—are messy and hard to
decipher. Johnson's "Life of Pope" has always been reckoned one of the most

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important of his *Lives of the English Poets,* and that work itself, in its entirety, is central to the Johnson canon. Hence, there are sound reasons for welcoming a basic edition of the handwritten notes accumulated during the course of Johnson's reading for the essay and while he was writing it. Harriet Kirkley, however, offers far more than a basic edition in this engrossing study.

Still, the basics are important, and with Kirkley's book scholars now have a typographical facsimile of Johnson's notes. *A Biographer at Work* reproduces the folios, retains abbreviations and spacing and crossings through, indicates with its own codings Johnson's use of colored inks, and leaves out only the smudges and blots (which are, however, noted at the bottom of the page). Literal transcription is now easy. No reader need struggle to make out the mere words.

The text of Johnson's notes (British Library Add. MS. 5994, fols. 159–77) occupies barely more than thirty pages of *A Biographer at Work.* There are some eighty pages of annotations, and together they make up the heart of *Part One, The Edition.* But it is *Part Two, A Commentary* which raises this study above mere usefulness. It might be assumed that anyone writing about Johnson and Pope would engage at some level in literary controversies, and Kirkley, too, takes up the cudgels. Her brief, as she saw it, was to address questions about the scope of Johnson's reading: she seeks to defend Johnson against the charge of being a careless reader. Kirkley argues that a proper study of his notes illuminates Johnson's modes of reading and writing. The notes tell us new things; chiefly, that he read "more carefully and systematically" in Warburton's 1751 edition of Pope's *Works* than had previously been thought, and that his reading was resistant—amounting to "an extended critique of what he read as a biographical tradition constructed largely by Pope himself," which Warburton, and also Owen Ruffhead in his 1769 *Life* and critical essay, perpetuated. Through his reading for the "Life of Pope," Johnson realized how much was missing from Warburton and Ruffhead—he became aware of "conspicuous lacunae in the Warburton lineage" (27).

Reading and distrusting previous biographers, Johnson's main source for his "Life of Pope" were Pope's published letters, though he was under no illusion that these were simple and spontaneous expressions. He also collected evidence from Pope's friends. Boswell set up an interview with the Earl of Marchmont which took place on May 1, 1779—a two-hour conversation. "I would rather have given twenty pounds than not have come," Johnson admitted. No records exist, but Kirkley says it is probably the context for a larger truth that these documents do give evidence of: Johnson's note, fol. 177, that Pope left no writings against Swift. There is a faint exclamation mark at the end of this line, a form of punctuation, the notes tell us, that

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Johnson rarely used. Kirkley suggests that the information came from March-mont, and though she can't prove it, the density of her analysis throughout the whole of this densely accumulated, scrupulously considered book leads one to believe her. It is a key point in her argument that what is missing, "the damage in these notes, what Johnson was unable to find by reading," are as important for our understanding of how he wrote as what is in them.

There are many other details one could instance from what is, after all, a book of notes and details about notes and details. It is demanding to read, not least because it creates a self-consciousness about the process of reading. Did Johnson read in linear fashion? Am I reading in linear fashion? For information? Am I meditating, collating, accumulating, thinking, returning, reading? And how relevant are the notes taken for this review? Most of them are unused. Kirkley unsettles any simple expectation about what notes in general might tell us, while keeping firmly to her objective, which is to explore what *these* notes have to tell us. It is a measure of the success of her undertaking that there were a number of moments when I wished she would explore the implications of her investigations even further than she does. The chapter "The Problem of Pope's Letters" is fascinating on the subject of biography, as indeed is the whole book. The notes open up old debates in a fresh way, especially the debate about Pope's self-construction in his letters. Kirkley concludes that the streetwise Johnson trusted Curll's "unauthorised" version rather than Pope's, even though Pope's connivance in Curll's edition was not generally known until 1864. Certainly he trusted Curll more than Warburton.

Kirkley's title sounds innocent enough, but writing about a literary biographer at work in the mid-eighteenth century when that biographer is Johnson and his subject Pope (query: will this book be of even more interest to Pope scholars than Johnsonians?) is to write about the formation of a genre and the battles—territorial, ideological, formal—that helped to shape it. Such is the larger context in which this meticulous edition of working notes is embedded, and scholars of many kinds will have cause to be grateful for it.

Norma Clarke

Victoria C. Olsen. *From Life: The Story of Julia Margaret Cameron and Victorian Photography*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003. 320 pp. ISBN: 1-4039-6019-4, $29.95.

There are many scenes in this absorbing biography that one would like to have witnessed: perhaps none so poignant, however, as that of October 21st, 1875, when a crowd gathered at the Southampton docks to witness the sailing of

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the steamer *Pekin,* bound for Ceylon. Julia Margaret Cameron and her husband had finally succumbed to their long-term financial problems, and were leaving England for the more economical colonial life. "Amid the parting friends and the piles of luggage," writes Victoria Olsen, "were a cow and two coffins. Julia Margaret Cameron, exhausted and emotional, expected that she would never again see the friends and relatives assembled there to see them off, so she packed coffins to prepare for their deaths in Ceylon. She was sixty years old. Charles Hay [Cameron], now eighty years old, wandered around leaning on an ivory cane and holding a pink rose given to him earlier that morning by Emily Tennyson when he went to say goodbye to her" (244). The chaos and the pathos of this leave taking, as indeed of the life being left, are astonishingly moving, but Olsen's account remains determinedly unsentimental: "The Camerons had run out of cash," she notes, "and on their way to Southampton Julia Margaret tipped porters with her photographs" (244).

Running out of cash is something of a leitmotif in this account of Julia Margaret Cameron and her photographic career—indeed, financial pressure seems to have been the motivating factor for most of the moves and living arrangements within the family. The Camerons were married in 1838 in Calcutta, where Charles Hay served as a lawyer in the East Indian civil service, and at that point the family enjoyed a privileged position in Anglo-Indian society. Although no longer aristocratic, as their forbears on both sides had been, they nonetheless enjoyed "excellent connections and substantial incomes" (50). Indeed, Charles Hay amassed sufficient capital over the next decade to buy several estates in Ceylon. Succeeding years, however, following their return to England in 1848, saw them slipping gradually, sometimes painfully, into the middle class, and Olsen's new study of the life and work of Julia Margaret Cameron carefully traces both the causes as well as the consequences of that slide.

In doing so, she casts her net wide—in part, presumably, because the primary documents relating to Cameron's life are not as expansive as one might wish. Moreover, as Olsen notes, Cameron's own letters are "uncollected, unedited and often uncatalogued" (2), and there are, inevitably, periods of time in which the whereabouts and pursuits of the growing cast of characters can't be accounted for. Nonetheless, Olsen manages to flesh out Cameron's life by exploring some of the economic and political realities which shaped it, while the immediate social context of Cameron's family and friends—"a charmed circle at the center of Victorian culture" (3)—receives its full share of attention.

Perhaps not surprisingly, the creative and personal energies of the individuals in London's "Holland House set" (which later refashioned itself after

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the Cameron moved to Freshwater, on the Isle of Wight) recall nothing to the modern reader so much as the Bloomsbury group. Olsen cannot resist underscoring the parallels between Cameron's network of friends and that of her great-nieces Virginia Woolf and Vanessa Bell, and she doesn't have to work hard to do it: Roger Fry's introduction to a selection of Cameron's work, published by him and Woolf in 1926, notes that Cameron's circle cultivated the exotic and precious with all the energy and determination of a dominant class. With the admirable self-assurance which this position gave them they defied ribaldry and flouted common sense. They had the courage of their affectations; they openly admitted to being 'intense'" (qtd. 266). The description (as Fry surely was aware) applies, of course, to both Bloomsbury and Freshwater, as does Laura Gurney Trowbridge's recollection of her great-aunt Cameron's salon: "everything they did, said and thought mattered according to them, and this conviction made them the centre of everything in their own circles. . . . Their vision, though sufficiently keen and piercing, was not wide. They seem to me now, these dear dead people, like grown-up children, with their superabundant energy, their untempered enthusiasms, their strangle-hold on life, their passionate loves and hates" (qtd. 261). Olsen is right, however, to keep Bloomsbury to the outermost frame of this picture and thanks to her rich portrayal of Victorian intellectual culture, and the many fabulous and unexpected details she offers on the lives of Tennyson, Herschel, Watts, Darwin, and Henry Taylor, among many others, our fascination with the succeeding generations is kept largely under control.

The biography is in two parts: essentially, life before and after Cameron was given her first camera, probably for Christmas 1863. Olsen wisely avoids overdramatizing this moment, however; the text looks ahead and backward in its chronological movement, and there is no obvious buildup to the break (which ultimately simply offers the reader a rest in the middle of a long read). Notwithstanding her initial claim that "one day in 1864 she reinvented herself as a photographer" (3), Olsen actually goes on to make the far more persuasive case that Cameron's photographic career might be said to have begun some time *before* she owned a camera, both through her acquaintance and familiarity with Oscar Rejlander's work, as well as through the creation of her own albums from collected photographs as early as 1857. Moreover, Olsen reproduces recent claims that Cameron had much more contact than previously thought with professional photographers before she herself began making photographs in 1864, and that her self-representation in *Annals of My Glasshouse* as entirely self-taught has been misleading. The gift of the camera appears to have been a "natural" choice reflecting "the interest Cameron already had in the field" (134); indeed, Olsen speculates on the fascinating

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possibility that Cameron had some kind of apprenticeship or collaboration with Rejlander on his visit to Freshwater in the spring of 1863.

The first, ostensibly pre-photography, section of the book develops a larger view of the culture within which Julia Margaret was raised, from her birth in Calcutta to a French mother and Anglo-Indian father. James Pattle was born in Bengal in 1775; his wife, Adeline de l'Etang, had been born and raised in the French colony of Pondicherry, south of Madras. One of Olsen's early emphases is the way in which this family had "anglicized" itself in the course of two generations, although the Pattle daughters probably did not visit England themselves until they were grown. They were, as Olsen puts it, "part of an elite class of British civil servants who lived like aristocrats in a colonized land" (14).

As Olsen charts what is known of Julia Margaret's early life and marriage, some themes begin to emerge that ultimately may help a reader to give social as well as emotional context to the later photographs: the constant fear, for example, of illness and death, particularly the death of a child; the significance and necessity of letters, when familial absence was both common and long; the sorrow generated by such absences and the consequent importance of photographs as icons as well as images of the departed; the financial imperative for frequent household moves, requiring further farewells.

Money, love, loss: central to her life, these three seem also to have been both the scourge and the inspiration for Cameron's development as a photographer, and the double emphasis of this biography on the photographs as well as the life serves to illuminate both. Most obviously, the book goes some way toward explaining Cameron's failure to make a financial success of her art. While anxiety for the economic security of her five sons kept her badgering friends for public notices, good reviews, loans, and other favors likely to yield pecuniary advantage, Cameron's occasionally overbearing generosity inspired her to give expensive albums of her work as gifts, while her passion for the beautiful, and pride in the status of her work, prevented her from accepting random sitters as clients. Ultimately she could not be beholden to anything other than her own visions of what her photographic art should be.

As one might expect, the book offers some reproductions of Cameron's works, although this reader was frustrated by the (presumably editorial) decision not to provide numbers for figures. Also missing is a much-needed bibliography, although the notes are thorough and suggestive. The book makes use of recent theoretical scholarship, and effectively weighs (and incorporates) very different kinds of work; and while Olsen largely steers clear of making aesthetic judgments, she implicitly acknowledges the very different

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processes of reading Cameron's work that have shaped its fortunes during the past century.

The Camerons' grand farewell to England—one wishes to have seen it shared by their close friend G. F. Watts—turned out, in fact, not to be their last. In April 1878, they paid an impulsive visit, initially planned to last a month, but which extended into October. The following January, Julia Margaret fell ill and died in Ceylon. Her last word, reputedly, on looking at the evening sky, was "Beautiful" (259).

Jennifer Green-Lewis

Robert Root. *Recovering Ruth: A Biographer's Tale.* Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 2003. 191 pp. + notes, illustrations, maps, and charts. ISBN 0-8032-8992-8, $26.95.

In *Recovering Ruth: A Biographer's Tale,* Robert Root reflects upon his experiences as the biographer of Ruth Edgerton Douglass, a nineteenth-century woman whose life he came to know through preparing her travel journal for publication. Root provides a detailed account of how he uncovered Ruth's identity as he outlines his methodologies for conducting genealogical research. In what he proclaims to be a personal rather than academic text (137), Root frequently addresses his own intense reactions to his subject as he becomes enmeshed in the trials of a nineteenth-century bride. Throughout the text, Root investigates three processes: how he researched Ruth's journal before its publication, tracking down details of her relatives, her husband's companions and colleagues, and acquaintances she made in her travels; how he came to identify with his research subject, developing "a sense of the scope and character of the communities she lived in or passed through"; and how he gained self-knowledge as he continued to recover information about his subject, discovering that "Perhaps I needed to recover Ruth in order to keep from losing myself" (xvi). This book should appeal to biographers and life writing enthusiasts.

The first and strongest chapter, "A Naive Form of Love and Identification," resonates with emotion even as it adheres to practical research strategies. Here the reader learns of the circumstances in which Root, an English professor at Central Michigan University, became enamored with a young bride's travel journal about adapting to life in the Michigan wilderness. While researching the document, originally presumed to have been written in 1848 by Mrs. Lydia Douglass, Root uncovered information in the family papers of Mr. Douglass's cousin Silas indicating that Douglass had been married twice. Root followed the emerging "chain of information" until it was

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exhausted. As he perused volumes of historical records kept by the Daughters of the American Revolution, Root located the listings for C. C. Douglass's first marriage in 1847 to Ruth, and his second marriage in 1856 to Lydia (14–15). Root's narrative strategy makes this discovery of interest to his readers: we do not find out about Ruth until after we, too, are in the process of validating genealogical research. For example, after we read two different accounts of Root's highly emotional visit to Mrs. C. C. Douglass's gravesite, we find out about Douglass' two wives, and that Root made a pilgrimage to the wrong tombstone (1–2, 13). Interspersed between anecdotal recollections that establish the biographer's fondness and affinity for his métier are bold statements about the empathetic response one experiences from reading another's journal and researching another's life. One striking example is Root's reaction to finding data in the 1850 Michigan census indicating that Ruth had given birth to a son that died at age three months: "The discovery shook me. 'Oh Ruth,' I moaned out loud (this project was making me talk to myself aloud more and more), and a woman at a nearby microfilm reader jerked up from her screen and eyed me warily" (19). Recollections such as these endear us to the author; they reiterate Root's premise that one of the strengths of life writing lies in the bond created between narrator, reader, and subject. Also in this chapter is the author's persuasive discussion on how fiction and nonfiction produce affect in the reader (6–10). Root skirts through an assortment of academic and nonacademic sources, such as *Possession* by A. S. Byatt, *Footsteps: Adventures of a Romantic Biographer* by Richard Holmes, and the motion picture *Somewhere in Time,* to articulate his views on how text and audience interact. Root disagrees with critics who "judge the success of a biography on the degree of detachment the biographer has maintained" (9). Rather, he believes that it is "essential for the biographer to experience" a naive form of love and identification with his subject, and notes that "often the reader of someone else's journal experiences the same feelings" (9). Root confesses that before he could "make a commitment to so long a journey" with Mrs. C. C. Douglass, "we needed a period of a one-sided courtship" in which her words and her voice touched him as a reader, drawing him into a "deeper, more lasting relationship" (9–10).

Root strives to keep us involved in the process of telling his tale. Often, he asks our opinion on what to make of certain data or how to proceed with the research process. For example, each chapter is prefaced with an excerpt from Ruth's journal that serves as a thematic frame for the section as a whole; Root aptly begins the first paragraph of "Conjecturing a Life" by questioning the reader about the prologue: "What can you make of a passage like this?" (23). Rather than answer the question, Root further queries his audience.

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technique invites us to stand in Root's shoes, in a place where we could conclude very little about our subject's life, but "couldn't help imagining a life" (23). The biographer also allows the reader to experience firsthand the difficulties he encountered while researching the life of a woman who lived in a patriarchal society that recorded men's accomplishments (24). In order to find Mrs. C. C. Douglass in nineteenth-century sources, Root first had to find Mr. C. C. Douglass. In such reference texts, the wives of eminent men might be mentioned along with photographs or engravings of them beside their husbands (24). As Root notes: "In a biographical sketch of a couple in columns or several pages a wife may be mentioned in only a single sentence, usually preceding the names of their children or the place of her husband's burial" (24).

Root's meticulous attention to detail and dogged determination to follow every lead make him an excellent biographer. In the chapter "A Journal of Our Migrations" we see this process in motion. To break free from his habit of being "text-tied" in his research methodologies (65), Root travels across the Midwest in an attempt "to recapture or at least to imagine" the landscape of her experience" (66). In Detroit he locates a newspaper story with a terse notice of Ruth's death (79); in Cleveland, he explores the files of a geologist who knew C. C. Douglass (79); and in the archives of a Chicago library, he finds a slim folder listing what Ruth's sister Fanny left behind as the last surviving Edgerton (87). When, on occasion, we are presented with too much research data, the memoir reads more like a reference text than an intimate narrative. "The Wind of Circumstances" chapter is laden with historical information on the Upper Peninsula islands that distances the reader from the narrator and his tale. In the final chapter, "The Fleetness of Time," Ruth's journal is ready for publication, yet the tireless biographer is reluctant to complete the research process (161). On the advice of his managing editor, Root stops his search for Ruth and begins on the journey that culminates with this text (176).

Recovering Ruth succeeds on many levels. The belief that affect is a crucial component to life writing is attested to by the empathy the reader feels for Root, his project, and his subject, Ruth. As a biographer, Root employs a diversity of research techniques and texts to document his subject. Although at times the author's theoretical generalizations about biography are heavy-handed, Root's enthusiasm for his work and his dedication to recovering the life of a forgotten woman are laudable.

Susan Friedman

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Jennifer Sinor. *The Extraordinary Work of Ordinary Writing: Annie Ray's Diary.* Iowa City: U of Iowa P, 2002. 254 pp. ISBN, 0-87745-833-2, $19.95.

When I agreed to review *The Extraordinary Work of Ordinary Writing*, I expected a book that was largely Annie Ray's diary, edited and introduced at length by literary scholar Jennifer Sinor. Instead I was surprised and delighted by this compelling montage of memoir, scholarly argument, and, of course, the diary of Sinor's great-great-great-aunt Annie Ray, who, with her husband, an itinerant blacksmith, homesteaded in the Dakotas in the late nineteenth century. Sinor's book surprises because it defies traditional genres, and in doing so, questions how notions of genre and literary value determine our readings, especially of "ordinary" texts such as diaries by "ordinary" women like Annie Ray. And the book delights by exhibiting the processes of feminist recovery of a writing self in the best sense—that is, Sinor's prose and her editing are consistently self-reflexive, situated, and keenly aware of the cultural work that such recovery performs and entails.

Since the late 1970s, feminist scholars of American literature have been engaged in the work of recovering women writers whose works have been "lost"—lost through the shifting aesthetic values of male-dominated publishing practices and the processes of canonization, or because these writings were never intended for publication. The recovery of women writers forces a reconsideration not only of lost authors now found, but of entire literary historical periods, or in the case of Sinor's work, literary genres and our assumptions about what counts as writing worth reading.

Sinor's central question is this: What makes certain writing "ordinary"? Her responses focus on what is at stake in asking this question in the first place, and her answers are vital to a consideration of the kinds of writing we value and recover. She charts her course in wonderful metaphors and set pieces from her own life as a military child; in lists or excerpts from her own notebooks and letters to family members; in excerpts, brief and extended, from Annie's diary, sometimes paired with her own reflections and sometimes not; and in prose that draws on rhetorical and autobiographical theory and her own poststructuralist feminism. Above all, like Annie's diary, Sinor's book defies a single narrative or argument, and instead asks us to revise our perceptions of the diary and "ordinary" writing.

Sinor begins with a photograph of Annie and family, circa 1928. Annie's gaze is directed outside the frame, "refusing to stop at the edges" (xi), and becomes a metaphor for all that her great-great-great-niece and editor cannot capture, explain, narrate, or uncover. For Sinor, "extraordinary" writing is often directed toward occasions, has a beginning, middle, and end, and is meant to be saved. "Ordinary" writing is that which is consumed or used,

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challenge story for dailiness and routine. Ordinary writing is process- rather than product-driven, writing "in the days rather than of the days" (95). While it includes lists, notes in margins, and doodles, it is defined less by what it is than by what it does. Sinor does not miss the gendered relationship of this distinction to the nature of American men's and women's lives:

> women have historically and primarily experienced time as measured rather than occasioned. . . . The repetition found in sewing, baking, cleaning, mending, the repetition found in menstruating, birthing, dying, the repetition of letter writing and letter reading, the repetition of waiting, waiting, waiting—in fact the general measuredness of women's bodies, tasks, and days assures both their skill and promise at translating the experience of "time in" to the page. (96)

Since ordinary writing "should not have survived" (9), we are faced with the challenge of how to read it, and Sinor's book takes us through the process of learning to do just this, challenging us to resist certainty, closure, and story. It is a process doomed to failure, she admits, because as soon as one captures what is transient, narrates the unnarrated, or remarks the unremarkable, it ceases to be so; it loses its status as "ordinary."

Nevertheless, Sinor delineates some strategies for reading, the most important of which is accountability. Sinor is *responsible* for this text—she is an editor, interpreter, and a literal and literary descendant of its author. She alone imposes context, narrative, hole-filling, bridge-building, elision, or addition. To account for herself and her role in shaping the text, Sinor at once acknowledges that she views Annie's writing as "complicated, accountable, and strategic," and destabilizes her own authority as editor and critic, pairing fragments of her life stories with Annie's. "Such disruption, I hope," she writes, "calls attention to the act of reading, of making meaning, and, in effect, reproduces the readerly position required when approaching ordinary writing, one not based on expectation of what you think you have" (21).

Sinor's argument ranges widely and deeply in autobiography theory, which she ultimately refuses because of its incapacity to accommodate the non-literary, the non-extraordinary, the non-reflective. Instead, she favors what she calls a "diurnal lens," which accommodates the immediacy, lack of closure, and even incoherence of the diary form. Sinor juxtaposes this argument with Annie's diary itself, written in a ledger book, including all entries from 1881, each with an average length of 7–10 lines. This placement proves her point, as one struggles not to impose one's own narrative on the events Annie records so sparely. A typical entry includes the weather, time of rising and retiring, chores accomplished, a note on the whereabouts of her husband, a record of visitors and/or visits, letters sent and received, and comments

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about her physical health or a book she is reading. Sinor follows this chapter with a record of her own responses: was she skimming? deciding what was important? creating narrative tensions? trying to make out what was crossed out? This editorial honesty enables us to see that how we have been taught to read and value texts may be at odds with recovering Annie's diary.

Ultimately, Sinor views Annie's text as a strategically composed diurnal map of the self. That is, Annie uses the diary to translate chaotic time and experience into the repetition, measure, and order of days. In some ways, Sinor admits, the construction of order is consistent with women's perceived household role in nineteenth-century domestic ideology. As well, Sinor notes Annie's use of parataxis and a "recycled" vocabulary of measuredness. In one of my favorite sentences in the book, she writes, "It is that the words required to do this work, to contain the reality of living on the plains in a claim shanty, must be as refined as the teeth of a rasp" (161).

As Sinor herself acknowledges, to write this book is to create and impose order on the diary, order that becomes perhaps most clear in Sinor's interpretation of this as a "haunted text," one that uses the measure and order of the diurnal form to keep its ghosts at bay. Annie's ill health and depression, Sinor maintains, is mitigated by the apparent orderliness of her record.

Sinor's accomplishment here is enormously important to the field of life writing, suggesting new ways to understand how writing maps subjectivity, how we define "ordinary" writing, and how this definition might revise our approach to life writing in general and the way that we acknowledge or value diverse texts and subjectivities. Moreover, Sinor models what Donna Haraway has called "situated knowledges," the awareness that we are responsible for the partiality of what we see and how we have learned to see it. Like Annie Ray's diary, Sinor's text, to its last page, which I urge readers not to miss, demonstrates that ordinary writing—and writers—are indeed engaged in extraordinary work.

Lisa M. Logan

Franklin Odo. *No Sword to Bury: Japanese Americans in Hawai'i during World War II.* (Asian American History and Culture series, ed. Sucheng Chan, David Palumbo-Liu, and Michael Omi.) Philadelphia: Temple UP, 2004. 328 pp. ISBN 1-59213-270-7, $19.95.

Franklin Odo's *No Sword to Bury* tracks a group of second-generation Japanese Americans—nisei—through WW II. The core of the study is oral history interviews and questionnaires Odo conducted with alumni of the Varsity Victory Volunteers (VVV), a short-lived unit in which Odo says

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become a metaphor for exemplary behavior for any victimized minority and the starting point of a generalized ethnic myth to be used in transcending "them" (182). Odo is trying to do seemingly contradictory things with long-standing stereotypes: explain their origins and deny their validity. In the process, he gives us a deep and detailed look at an articulate and important "them."

Odo begins with a survey of Japanese immigration to Hawai'i and of race relations in the 1920s and 1930s, when the VVV men were growing up. The VVV were mostly University of Hawai'i students when the Pearl Harbor attack occurred, and in the immediate aftermath many of them joined the newly formed Hawai'i Territorial Guard (HTG) until Japanese-descend-ant members were expelled. The VVV was formed as alternative service, tackling defense-related projects. It lasted for about a year, until the creation of the all-Japanese 442d Combat Regiment. VVV alumni were prominent in the 442d, as their experience allowed them to assume leadership roles, and after the war many achieved economic and political prominence.

The first chapter concerns "myths" regarding the issei generation, particularly the cultural legacy they supposedly brought from Japan: "hard work, thrift, education, fatalism, passivity, honesty, and willingness to sacrifice for the family" (10). Odo correctly notes that "these values were by no means universally respected or upheld in Japan" (10), and that this component of the model minority myth has been used to chide "unsuccessful" groups. Odo's insistence that something always be true to be considered an acceptable generalization seems unnecessarily defensive. That a culture is complex does not mean that it is impossible to come to conclusions, or that there are not dominant strains. Most of the issei came from a few counties in southwestern Japan selected for their climate, political connections, and traditions of passivity and migrant labor (see my "Emigration and Local Development"). For the first ten years of Japanese migration to Hawai'i, emigrants were screened for hard workers who would contribute heavily to their families' well being. The issei were immensely successful in that regard: substantial financial flows back to Japan continued to 1941. Also, education was a crucial component of the "rise and succeed in the world" (*risshin shusse*) ideology, which was as well known as some of the nationalistic myths Odo cites (227–28). In other words, the "myths" of issei character turn out to be pretty well justified, even in Odo's own interviews.

Postwar race relations frame the big questions Odo tries to address. He argues that the VVV were a significant part of a concerted effort on the part of Hawai'i's leaders to rehabilitate and protect the reputation of Japanese-extended residents (183). Concern about the Hawai'i Japanese community's

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loyalty was less irrational than Odo assumes (Stephan 1984), and Odo's subjects allow, in hindsight, that monitoring their activities was reasonable (184). Many VVV members were motivated by a desire to prove their patriotic credentials, but Odo's own research casts doubt on whether these efforts were intended to "restructure race relations" or simply to ameliorate the wartime rise in anti-Japanese sentiment (e.g. 159–65).

Against the "myth of linguistic assimilation," Odo cites the strength of Japanese-language schooling in Hawai'i and the great success of nisei translators and analysts in the Military Intelligence Services (MIS) (59–60, 268). It seems to this reviewer that this myth involves a conflation between the Hawai'i Japanese and mainland Japanese experiences. As Odo points out several times, the mainland Japanese were much more thinly distributed, while the Hawai'i Japanese were a plurality of the population. Mainland nisei were much more assimilated than Hawai'i's nisei, and much less likely to have had supplemental Japanese-language schooling.

The difference in wartime experience was also striking. Hawai'i Japanese were carefully monitored and the racial situation was tense, particularly when Caucasian military personnel began to take up residence (187, 198). The VVV themselves, however, reported being sobered by their visit to a mainland internment camp during their military training, which explained for them the low volunteer rate from the mainland nisei (232). So, the myth of nisei patriotism in the face of oppression also turns out to be two separate stories: the energetically patriotic Hawai'i nisei faced relatively little oppression; the oppressed mainland nisei were not strongly inclined to patriotism, in spite of their more thorough assimilation.

The "collective biography" form allows Odo to explore events and issues in some depth, though individual voices are weaker. A few stand out: Hung Wai Ching, the Chinese American who masterminded the VVV; Yugo Okubo, the radical; Richard Chinen, the boxer, kitchen-gang boss, and leader of the "street kid" faction. The rest tend to blend together: public school plus Japanese school; university students who aspired to be lower middle-class; then, after Pearl Harbor, joining the HTG, then the VVV, the 442d, and then back to Hawai'i for often distinguished careers. This common narrative forms the basis for the stereotypes which Odo is attempting to debunk.

The VVV men were atypical of the broader nisei community. They were college bound, from a community that was still largely rural and agricultural. Many were Christian, when the Japanese population was still about two-thirds Buddhist. Their UH affiliation helped them get into the VVV; but half the nisei in the HTG did not join the VVV (164); and the VVV alumni were distinguished from the majority of the 442d, both emotionally and

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...ically (230). Their university experience put them in a position, after ...war, to take advantage of GI Bill education to become lawyers, doctors, ...fessors, beyond the lower middle-class aspirations with which they ...ted college (253). Odo does not address this collective atypicality in a ...ticularly effective way.

Odo's own Hawai'i Japanese background, not to mention his scholar-...gives him a strong foundation and deep understanding of his subjects. ...leads to some quirky writing, though. Interview subjects are referred to ...both first and last names, sometimes in the space of a single paragraph. His ...experience is sometimes referenced, though he is a generation younger ...the VVV alumni (111, 159). There were interesting questions that were ...addressed: Odo admits that "Sex was a topic not easily addressed in these ...interviews. I did not push it" (295n32), though he does speculate in some ...(199–200). Fiction by HTG and VVV officer Tom Kaulukukui stands ...for missing details or difficult issues in several places (108, 185, 200), ...Odo defends (185–86) but which does raise interesting methodolog-...questions.

In the end, though there was some backlash against nisei visibility (248–...Hawai'i's "bloodless revolution" of 1954—shifting power away from ...traditional white Republican elites to a multiracial Democratic coalition ...—vindicated their efforts. Though this book seems at times to trade a ...myth for an institutional one, the important role the VVV played in ...overcoming anti-Japanese prejudice generated by the war is clear (219). This ...good addition to the literature on Asian America, on WW II's transfor-...of American life, and on Hawai'i, but it is not likely to be the last ...on any of those subjects.

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Jonathan Dresner

...Sartwell. *Extreme Virtue: Truth and Leadership in Five Great Ameri-...Lives.* Albany: SUNY P, 2003. 141 pp. ISBN 0-7914-5880-6, $16.95.

...book offers five essays on five American lives, read in terms of an ...into the virtues of good leadership and public life. The biographical

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subjects are a fascinatingly mixed bunch: Emma Goldman and Voltairine de Cleyre, early-twentieth century anarchists; Arizona conservative Barry Goldwater; the Lakota Sioux medicine man Lame Deer; and Malcolm X. Each has been chosen to provide a biographical context for the discussion of one (or some combination) of the virtues Sartwell thinks requisite to morally respectable leadership.

Goldman appeals to him for the intensity of her commitment to a greater cause. Matching this intensity, De Cleyre adds a reflective capacity for self-questioning that tempers her commitment with humility against the descent into fanaticism. Goldwater stands for integrity, meaning both truth-telling (not lying), *and* truthfulness *about yourself*—being authentic, without hypocrisy. Lame Deer exemplifies what Sartwell calls *connectedness*—in this case, connection to his people's threatened traditions—while Malcolm X is chosen for his truthfulness, a virtue that is for Sartwell a synthesis of all the others.

This book asks what qualities of character make a good leader, at any level of civic life, and what specific virtues contribute to morally worthy leadership. Leaders do not need to be paragons of virtue like a saint or Aristotle's great-souled man. The point is to identify a few specific virtues that contribute to good leadership.

A virtue is a morally admirable quality of character. Civic virtues are such qualities as are especially suited to public life and discourse. Sartwell wears his learning lightly, but he is well informed about philosophical issues in virtue ethics, and is able to draw appropriately while still very accessibly from the best recent work in this area. His conception of virtue is philosophical and sophisticated; there is no sententious cant about the need for greater "virtue," as in William Bennett's *Book of Virtues* (1993).

Truth, truthfulness, is a special virtue for Sartwell. Rather than being one more to add to the four he discusses, truthfulness is a kind of moral synthesis of all the other virtues of leadership. In this context, *truthful* means two things. One is telling the truth, not lying or dissembling. The other is authenticity: doing and saying in public as one does and says privately.

Sartwell describes Goldwater as present in his words. He didn't consult political prognosticators for advice on how to target his statements to his advantage. What he said and did in public life was a coherent version of what he said and did as a private person. Sartwell thinks Goldwater's failed 1964 presidential bid was a watershed in American political rhetoric: "The emptiness of American rhetoric originates in the 1964 campaign. The lesson that the pros drew from it is that plain speaking gets you beaten." It is not just the style of public discourse that is at stake. Truthfulness matters to

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cracy because only if public discourse is truthful, meaning without t or hypocrisy, can others freely choose their leadership. If a politician or says things he thinks people want to hear rather than from convic- any leadership he exercises is extracted by manipulation and obviously mpatible with democratic government.

Occasionally in his discussion Sartwell is drawn toward the Platonism of Murdoch, imagining selves transparent to reality and suchlike avatars of ic metaphysics. To me these are the glibbest passages of the book. The fulness that matters to public life requires discourse that stands up, that refuted, *and* the authenticity, the absence of hypocrisy, of the speaker. ever, neither of these requirements depend on the metaphysics of a espondence theory of truth," or any metaphysical transparency between and reality.

I'm skeptical of including connectedness among civic virtues. It's not I don't think it is a virtue. But I'm unsure that it is a *civic* virtue, a virtue ic leadership or *civic* life. Lame Deer, the Lakota Sioux medicine man ed to exemplify connectedness, is a beautiful man, justly loved and ted. Yet he served the essentially non-urban ethos of his people (for nce, saving the Sun Dance from extinction), rather than contributing to ship in a civic setting, which implies cities and, today, mass media.

Sartwell seems pulled in two directions when he tries to explain why nectedness is a virtue. Pulled one way, the relevant "connectedness" is to traditions and cultural memory of a people. That was the source of Lame 's leadership, which he never claimed or enforced by politicking. Author- was freely extended to him by his people in recognition of his connection their traditions. That seems plausible. In other places, however, Sartwell ains connectedness in terms of a metaphysical connection to Reality— dubious transparency I complained of. In this mood, Sartwell explains nnectedness as the opposite of narcissism. The narcissist sees only himself ever he looks. The connected make themselves transparent, emptying self into the world.

Such transparency is supposed to be a prerequisite for knowledge, and knowledge (Truth) a prerequisite for choosing the good. Thus Sartwell Iris Murdoch after Plato. Do we really need this Platonism in public dis- e? Must the public person Know the Truth (about Reality) before he or has a just claim to lead in public life? Even metaphysicians find it a chal- e to say how to attain (or confirm) such "correspondence." Is it really hing we should expect from good leaders? Follow that thought to the and you end up where Plato did: with philosopher-kings who, because Know the Truth, do not scruple to tell a useful lie.

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According to a Greek saying, he who would govern others must first govern himself. And be seen to be self-governing. Sartwell thinks that Malcolm X attracted leadership to himself by his conspicuous self-discipline, his "furious purity." His power over others "originated in his power over himself"; what he asks of others is always "less than what he asks of himself." Fortunately, reflectiveness and humor temper this intensity. Malcolm was obviously a radical to the status quo but he was not a fanatic, "because he knew the sources of his beliefs and his rage and because he maintained a sort of self-deprecating humor"—people who knew him remarked again and again "on his humor and openness."

Apart from an Introduction, the book has five chapters, each dedicated to one of the biographical subjects I've mentioned. These readings of five biographies in terms of civic virtues and the morality of leadership keep the discussion focused, concrete, and realistic. The result is an interesting, accessible, immensely well-written book on the morality of public life and discourse.

Barry Allen

Peter Gould and Forrest R. Pitts, eds. *Geographical Voices: Fourteen Autobiographical Essays.* Syracuse: Syracuse UP, 2002. 376 pp. ISBN: 0-8156-2940-0, $34.95.

Geographical Voices, edited by Peter Gould and Forrest R. Pitts, is an informative collection of fourteen autobiographical essays from long-standing, prominent scholars across the discipline of geography—human geography, physical geography, human-environment relations, and cartography. All the contributors entered the academy in the late 1950s and early 1960s, and played central roles in the changes geography has undergone since that time.

As a set, these essays contribute to two sets of literature. The first is autobiography, as a forum through which to convey ideas, lives, and careers of academics. The second is the history of geography, through autobiographies of scholars in various subfields of geography. When taken together—academic autobiographies and disciplinary history—a tension emerges reflecting one of the key issues spurring debate in much of geography, that between humans and the environment, between individuals and their contexts. Although the purpose of the collection was not to resolve this tension, the readers are left to address this tension by filling in the blanks. This remains a surprising aspect of the book, because a discussion of the context would be so fascinating—structurally in terms of the expansion of universities and the growing economy in North America during the times these men

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establishing their careers, and politically in terms of the resulting insti-
tional and personal privilege these men encountered throughout their
reers.

The chapters are all well written and engaging. Each provides a glimpse
o the formation of geography as a discipline in the English-speaking acad-
my while peeking into the lives of these particular men. I say "English-
eaking academy" and "these particular men" purposefully. The editors tried
ward off negative criticism for not including women and non-English
kers in this collection. The editors' choice to focus on English-speaking
ographers and those publishing widely in English was a result of what they
ll a "'linguistic gulf' that few, if any, geographers can overcome" (xii).
h a justification over-simplifies the role the English-speaking academy
played in the global—and not just European (see xiii)—interconnections
geography as a discipline, interconnections imbued with institutional
wer relations, friendships, languages, varied access to resources (including
owledge), divisions of labor, cultural differences, and capital. There were
o main reasons the editors cited for not including women: "not many doc-
al degrees were awarded to women in the late 1950s and early 1960s" (xii),
d the women they contacted declined to contribute because they "faced a
ss of other research and teaching responsibilities and were unable to par-
ipate despite generous and elastic deadlines" (xii). Both statements speak
mes about the history of geography in the English-speaking academy,
d the workload pressures women still face as they face retirement, themes
ut which the editors chose not to say more.

Each essay begins with a biographical career blurb documenting each
thor's strong academic lineage, worthy CV highlights, and disciplinary
ades. These serve both to introduce the contributor and to justify, with
ropriate disciplinary authority, the choice of each particular author. Some
the authors organized their essays according to their career paths—John
ert, Reginald Golledge, Donald Meinig, and Waldo Tobler. Others
re evocatively integrated their life choices into the story of their careers—
d Butzer, Richard Morrill, Forest Pitts, Yi-Fu Tuan, and Gilbert White. A
w organized their stories around the development of their shifting ideas—
e Curry, David Harvey, and Gunnar Olsson. Brian Berry was really the
y one who focused on his childhood and wrote about the process of get-
g accepted to graduate school. (His career path piece had been published
where in 1993.) Tuan's essay was a little different because, apart from
ey's flirting with a flashback style of writing, Tuan's piece was the only
nological one. For me, the best piece with regard to putting together
academic's autobiographical essay was William Garrison's. He organized

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his reflections around sets of tasks he undertook as part of his career, setting them within the framework of a popular Yogi Berra-ism, "when you come to a fork in the road, take it" (100). Nearly all the authors' stories had similar narrative elements—the piquing of interest in the world around them, the choice of geography as a field of study, and the history of employment as part of a career path. But there were topical elements recurring that brought out in more detail the lives of this group of men. Although not present in each essay, many of the authors engaged in moving their own thinking in unknown ways, attributing career development to either luck or a series of fortunate opportunities, discussing various aspects of departmental politics, engaging in self-promotion for different audiences, exchanging ideas formally and informally, getting satisfaction from interaction with students, being involved in applied activities beyond the academy, remarking disdainfully about current trends in theory within geography, making friendships with other academics, mentioning getting hired for jobs without interviewing, recounting heroic deeds, and remaining active academically post-retirement.

As I read these *Geographical Voices,* I experienced short-lived engagements with the lives of these individual academics. I found myself searching for a personal connection in an attempt to create a longer lasting bond. As I traced connections, created links, and charted relationships among the authors, I inserted myself into these maps. Some of my lines on the maps were intellectually important, some influential in my career development, and some rather trivial. For example, one connection was between White and myself. White referred often to his (lifelong) involvement with Quakers. I grew up in a town founded by Quakers, and was heavily influenced by Friends when I was quite young. One of my best friends in high school was from Borchert's hometown, Crown Point, Indiana. I studied with one of Butzer's students, Alf Siemens, at the University of British Columbia. I have been deeply influenced by Harvey, who wrote for my tenure case. I met Tuan at the University of Victoria when he visited as a Lansdowne Scholar. And, like Gunnar Olsson claims about himself, I had nothing to do with the demise of the Geography Department at the University of Michigan.

In sum, these are straightforward autobiographical essays that to varying extents weave together professional and private aspects of individual lives. Although this volume does not push the bounds of autobiography, it does assist in legitimating the form—by chance or by design—in geographical writing. As academic autobiography often does, much of the work falls upon the reader to link together these snippets of individual lives into larger intellectual moments. The specific history of the discipline captured in this volume needs to be brought out more clearly. Academics are shaped by the

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mic environments they are in, just as individual academics have an on the ways knowledge is produced. As a mocking irony for the edi- the authors, and their critics, the volume indeed reflects an authentic y of the discipline, as well as the way its history is being written.

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Pamela Moss

Margaret Morganroth Gullette. *Aged by Culture.* Chicago: U of Chicago P, 2004. 267 pp. ISBN 0-226-31062-0, $18.50.

is an interesting and thought-provoking book that offers new insights the perennial problem of ageism in America. The author is a self- ibed writer and cultural critic with an avid interest in aging issues. Her al thesis is that age is a socially constructed concept wrapped in a decline logy. That is, as a society and culture, we view aging in negativistic terms, ing on declines and ignoring the potential for progress across the life e. Our inner discourse, or personal narrative, is fundamentally negative, with images of decline and loss, which are fueled and perpetuated by our ies and our society as a whole. Thus, as individuals and as a society, we aged by our culture.

Gullette believes that Western culture is pushing the onset of age decline across the life course, beginning in midlife, a concept that she terms dle-ageism. She argues that social structures that support and promote ess for the individual are gradually being withdrawn from midlife. She s us to be cognizant of the economics of the life course, the cult of youth, other forces that drive ageism. In support of her views, Gullette draws on y sources of information present in American culture, as well as her own nal experience, to shed light on negative images and our implicit nega- y to the aging process itself. Broad parallels are drawn between culturally ructed views of aging, and of gender and race. Her work calls us to ques- our own assumptions about the aging process, drawing the reader into deeper and richer awareness of life course development in general, and what means to age beyond youth in particular. Through aging studies, which advocates, we as a society can become more aware of the acculturation of

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There are two major sections in the book: cultural urgencies, and theorizing age resistantly. Each section is comprised of five chapters. Throughout each chapter, she introduces notions and ideas to combat the "insidious decline ideology" at multiple levels of analysis. The book begins with a poignant illustration of the vulnerability of youth to ageist images reinforced by the media. To be precise, she describes a Boston science museum exhibit that invites children to enter into an age simulation booth and watch their facial features age dramatically, often with unpleasant and distressing results. She refers to this technological innovation many times throughout the book, insofar as it symbolizes and strengthens her decline narrative perspective. Another clever point she makes is that Americans' obsession with a youthful appearance, including anti-aging remedies and other forms of cosmetic surgery, presupposes age-related defects that come with time. In the second half of the book, she takes on a more applied focus, with emphasis on how to identify and overcome ageism. She cogently argues that resistance comes only by changing our age culture.

There are many commendable features of the book. As a first point and general statement, her work invites sociological contemplation. In service of her goal of raising age awareness, she argues that age divisions or cohort designations (e.g., Boomers and Xers [43]) are socially constructed and have numerous social and political implications, such as contrived generational identities, intergenerational conflicts, and manufactured generational gaps. In a similar vein, she challenges our thinking in the name of social justice, pointing a spotlight at racial and gender inequities, equating them with age. In fact, one of the many take-home messages from this book is that ageism is likely to become recognized as a social problem similar in magnitude to sexism and racism as the young are cast against the old, sparking societal unrest as well as public policy debate.

A second positive is that her work underscores the multidisciplinarity of aging studies, a laudable contribution. Her interdisciplinary approach is sound and thoughtful. Most academicians will agree with her impassioned plea for creating a "post disciplinary space for aging studies" (112), and her call for a convergence of disciplines to strengthen aging studies, noting that aging studies would benefit from a merger of cultural studies and critical/humanistic/feminine gerontology. As a third point, this book does an excellent job of sharpening our developmental awareness, especially with regard to child development. parents of young children will be especially intrigued by her arguments of hurried child development or speeding up the life course, dominance of the decline narrative, and how ageist attitudes and practices are perpetuated, often at a subthreshold level of awareness. Perhaps the most

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portant contribution of her book is to call special attention to midlife, ch has been a historically neglected life stage. Specifically, through eco- ic arguments (such as loss of occupational seniority) as well as Western socialization practices, she makes the point that midlife has acquired a ed status. In this sense, *Aged by Culture* builds on her previous work, *ing to Decline: Cultural Combat and the Politics of Midlife* (U of Vir- a P, 1997).

Despite the many positive features, this book is not without its share of cks. First, from an academic viewpoint, the author's central thesis es the multidimensionality of aging, and does not do justice to the real- s of healthy aging that many Americans experience, including adaptation, onal growth, and discovery in adulthood. Readers who anticipate and y the gains in experience, wisdom, and maturity that accrue with daily g over time, as well as today's seniors, may find the author's universal mentalist theme somewhat offensive. To elaborate, our reluctance to age probably not because people would not want the experience and knowl- e afforded to them by aging. Rather, it is the physical and physiological cline" that people fear. Who wouldn't want to have the wisdom of an , provided that this wisdom is not accompanied by loss of one's appear- ce and health? We suggest that fear of aging may be more a product of phasis on appearance and unrealistic beauty ideals than of a devaluing of ing or older people in and of themselves. From this vantage point, there's important piece of the puzzle missing in Gullette's formulation. She seems neglect (or perhaps downplay) that even more often than we see people ntinting age woes, and commercials touting anti-aging products, we see ple lamenting weight woes and commercials touting anti-weight products. e common notable theme in anti-aging and weight-loss products, as well in practically any cosmetic enterprise, is to eradicate *ugliness*. In all these mains, we see people lamenting *ugliness* and commercials touting anti- ness products ("whiten your teeth and improve your smile"). Karl Marx dicted that postindustrial society would experience a "fetishism of com- dities." Perhaps a large component of that is our fetishism of cosmetics. is preoccupation with appearance is at the crux of the matter: our society t afraid of getting old, it is afraid of getting ugly. From this perspective, *ged by Culture* would benefit from including an emphasis on vanity by cul- al standards, which may actually occlude chronological age as the critical iable.

As a second point of criticism, her eclectic style of thinking guarantees t a wealth of information is brought to bear, although sometimes the sup- tive evidence she marshals seems a bit of a stretch (for example, death of

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a child novels as evidence of aging and time [63–64]). Perhaps more troublesome is that her eclectic approach has resulted in a book that some may consider merely a compendium of kaleidoscopic thoughts, all of which converge on the diverse notions of self-narratives (positive and decline narratives), age studies, age ideologies, age hierarchies, age identities, middle-ageism, and aged by culture. Lacking crisp operational definitions and concise exposition, some readers may find that the numerous abstract concepts (and sidebar personal anecdotes sprinkled throughout the book) detract from instead of strengthen the central points Gullette is trying to make.

One could also question the organization of the book; the logical flow of ideas within chapters, as the topic divisions do not always fit the main idea of the chapter; and the at times esoteric language. There are also notable redundancies throughout the book. While the author's goal may have been to strengthen major points through reiteration, the unintended outcome may be loss of the readers' attention and interest. Finally, some readers may find her feminist slant and her less than judicious use of the vernacular to be offensive, in addition to creating problems for the objectivity of the discourse.

Aged by Culture takes its place among others that address contemporary views of aging and related life course issues. If success is measured by achieving the overarching goal of raising our *age consciousness,* then this book must surely be considered successful. It would be a valuable addition to the libraries of scholars and professionals with primarily academic interests in life course development from an interdisciplinary perspective. Given the author's perspective and personal slant, this book would also be of interest to feminists, social activists, psychoanalytic theorists, and others with interests in philosophy and political rhetoric. Whether or not this book would appeal to practitioners and service providers in the aging network, or to undergraduate students in college or university settings, remains to be seen. Perhaps the book would have its strongest influence as a supplemental text for a graduate seminar in the humanities, as some literary background is often necessary to appreciate fully the points the author is making.

Katie E. Cherry

Nowal Jamhour

Payton B. Mincey

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Rusk. *The Life Writing of Otherness: Woolf, Baldwin, Kingston, and Winterson.* New York: Routledge, 2002. 197 pp. ISBN 0-8153-3655-1, $65.00.

Rusk's consideration of "life writing," as opposed to traditional autography, focuses on "writing that is *from* as well as *about* the subject's life" such writing participates in a dialectical process of complex social as well aesthetic engagements with its readers. For the four writers Rusk discusses, engagements emerge from the construction of a "textual self" that the writers' otherness within mainstream society, thus engaging, tentially, with multiple audiences. The book constellates an interesting of twentieth century writers and texts, draws upon a wealth of critical perspectives on both life writing and the individual texts under consideration, and educates its readers well with regard to the concept of life writing. also provides her own critical readings of the texts under discussion. particularly useful for students embarking on the concept of life writing as as the study of these particular texts and writers, more advanced readers also find the book engaging in several ways. Unfortunately, its overall and structure remind us that it originated as a dissertation (part of ledge's *Outstanding Dissertations* series; Rusk took her Ph.D. from Stan- it is limited by a fairly traditional organizing framework—overall, and in each chapter—and overuses citation in the development of its analy- In spite of these and additional limitations noted at the end of this Rusk's text enables readers to contemplate their own "self-invention" John Eakin's term) as they encounter these four innovative narratives writing.

Rusk chooses these "hybrid texts" because of their challenge to readers "to through puzzles in ways that mirror the writers' own struggles to wrest from the contradictions they've faced. Thus the books strive to trans- how their readers perceive one another and, ultimately, how they act" Discussion of Woolf's *A Room of One's Own* opens the analysis, follow- Rusk's introductory critical synthesis. Woolf's overtly acknowledged ence on the two contemporary writers addressed, Maxine Hong Kings- (*The Woman Warrior: Memoirs of a Girlhood Among Ghosts*) and Jeanette erson (*Oranges are Not the Only Fruit*), is noted and becomes part of the ding process Rusk employs in discussing the way life writing emerges textual community. James Baldwin's *Notes of a Native Son* shares with Woolf, in Rusk's view, a focus on what she calls the "collective self" that writers emphasize . . . but wish they didn't need to. And each speaks an audience that is riven in two by social difference" (31). Rusk, a self- ified heterosexual, white, middle-class female reader of these texts,

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finds affinities with each writer's construction of self. She is at her best when she focuses on the nuances of such construction. As she states in her introduction:

> works that concern otherness . . . represent the self collectively, as a subject shaped by those forces that designate the less powerful as "other." These three views of the self—which I call, in order of increasing breadth, the unique, collective, and inclusive—manifest the competing claims of individuality, social difference, and hoped-for common ground. Although I consider mainly these three aspects of selfhood, two others also enter into the discussion—the communal and the familial. Communal, in contrast to collective, selfhood is a matter of affinity within a group, rather than awareness of prejudice against the group. (3)

Zeroing in on what she calls "innovative, writerly autobiography of otherness" whose "practitioners are members of groups that are not dominant in society" allows her to contemplate multiple readers' responses:

> Portraying the self as, in part, collective raises the issue of whom that representation addresses: those in the narrator's social group or groups? those against whom the collective self is defined? Generally, the text speaks to a multiple, divided audience, fractured along the stress lines of social dynamics. Its most important division, Francoise Lionnet observes, is the "split between those interlocutors who share with the narrator . . . [a] sense of community and those . . . who have a relationship of power" with that speaker [131]. Moreover, the individual reader as well may be split in regard to power relations with those in the narrator's social position. (7)

We read life writing, Rusk asserts, "to create ourselves anew." Reading therefore participates in potential self as well as social transformation. Woolf, Kingston, and Baldwin, according to Rusk's analysis, variously embrace the concept of otherness while at the same time attempting to enact both a new kind of subjectivity and new social formations that would encourage such subjects. Each text explores "the interplay among three aspects of textual selfhood, which I've called unique, collective and inclusive—that is, unique personality; collective kinship with those like oneself whom the dominant deem 'other' than and inferior to themselves; and inclusive humanity," Rusk writes. "The collective self . . . is the hallmark of the life writing of otherness" (105), and it is this that allows her to praise these three writers. Winterson, on the other hand, attempts such revisioning by its narrator's refusal to be "othered"; "collective lesbian selfhood does not loom large at all" in *Oranges Are Not the Only Fruit* (105). Including this text under a definition of life writing offered by Marlene Kadar—"Life writing comprises texts that are written by an

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thor who does not continuously write about someone else, and who also does not pretend to be absent from the text" (109)—Rusk ultimately feels deprived of that hallmark of inclusiveness by what she deems Jeanette's "assertive, unmodulated, unaccommodating voice," which "seems to tell its story and make assertions while scarcely acknowledging the presence of a listener" (131). Winterson's narrator, she concludes, "with her epigrams and narratives like messages in bottles, seems to address not a vast readership but one listener, one-on-one" (132). On the other hand, Rusk acknowledges that Winterson's fictive hybrid autobiographical text enacts its transformative work through densely complex, postmodern strategies, so that by ending with a sentence that refers the reader back to its beginning, the narrative "gives voice to the hope of two-way channels, of reciprocity" (132).

Two gaps in the text troubled my reading of Rusk's book. The first was her too facile dismissal of poststructuralist analyses of the concept of "author" and the reading process; the second was the literal absence of a concluding chapter in which she might have explored further the ramifications of the way these writers engage their reading publics across historical time and place, for example. Her introductory critical framework invokes and then dismisses Barthes's "Death of the Author" and Foucault's "What is an Author?" without a genuine engagement with how their analyses challenge the idea of the writing self, and yet offer strategic ways for considering a rethinking of how the "writing subject" might function in "minor" writing, to invoke Deleuze and Guattari's use of this term. Rusk doesn't seem to consider how such critiques of subjectivity might have interesting implications for the "othered" communities of readers such writers address. In the same way, she mentions Paul de Man's deconstructive theory of reading in a brief phrase in a footnote (via another critic, even). While her critical orientation is her choice, of course, opening up her discussion of Winterson particularly (as well as the other writers under consideration, in my view) to such critical strategies might have presented another rich thread for her analysis of "the textual self," of the very idea of otherness and its refusal—for the stakes involved in revoking binary frameworks. Further, the absence of a conclusion in which she could make her analyses more fully concrete in comparative terms gives the book an abrupt-ness that feels unsettling, particularly given the topic with which she deals. Such a conclusion would, I feel, have made the book sound less like a dissertation and more like a critical book engaging a broad and diverse audience. Another bothersome element of the book's structure, at least to me, was the frequent breakup of the chapters into subsections; this denied thematic coherence in some places, and often made the text feel choppy, as some sections were barely a page long. Perhaps this is more a criticism of Routledge's

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editing for the series than it is a criticism of the writer, but I definitely felt the lack of smooth thematic transitions within chapters to be annoying.

While noting the gaps and structural irritants, I also find much to recommend this book. The chapter on Woolf is particularly interesting, given that few critics talk about *A Room of One's Own* as an example of life writing per se. (I should note that parts of this and the chapter on Kingston appeared in a volume I co-edited with Laura Davis marking the seventh annual Woolf conference in 1997; it was interesting to see the full-chapter treatment of each text here.) Rusk is not afraid to call these writers on their own gaps and limitations; for example, she acknowledges Woolf's slippage into positions of class and imperial privilege, in spite of Woolf's condemnation of such privileges throughout the text. Rusk notes Woolf's "dual position both within and outside 'Whitehall'" (22), and allows this slippage to construct a more complex narrative self for Woolf.

Rusk's own critical voice is even and articulate. She provides a wealth of critical material without resorting to jargon, and though at times she relies a bit too heavily on certain critics (Sidonie Smith, Eakin, and Philippe Lejeune are invoked frequently), her own voice is prominent in the readings. We recognize that she presents these particular writers and texts not only out of a deep literary-critical engagement, but because Rusk is also attempting to create herself anew. The book positions its readers to do the same, challenging the dominant culture's understanding of identity, otherness, and collectivity.

Jeanette McVicker

Susan Ingram. *Zarathustra's Sisters: Women's Autobiography and the Shaping of Cultural History.* Toronto: U of Toronto P, 2003. 197 pp. ISBN 0-802-03690-2, $45.00.

This study is structured in three main parts, each part aiming to compare the auto/biographical practice of two women. Part I, entitled "Writing Over," examines the auto/biographical writings of Lou-Andreas Salomé and Simone de Beauvoir; Part II, "Writing Back," explores the work of lesser-known figures Maitreyi Devi and Asja Lacis; and the final part, "Writing Up," assesses the writings of Nadezhda Mandel'shtam and Romola Nijinsky. It is argued that these six modernist women represent a "suggestive constellation" which acts as a precursor to a particular aspect of the academic postmodern—namely, personal forms of academic criticism. Interdisciplinary in its methodology, this discussion draws on a wide range of scholarship in studies of auto/biography, postmodernism, ethics, and identity, and is underpinned by a neo-Nietzschean ambiguity in relation to the postmodern project.

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These six women writers, argues Ingram, are concerned more with restructuring representation in their bid for self-reinscription, and less with literary aesthetics in their narratives of self-other relationality. Overall, the narrative study aims to establish the modern, mythological parameters at work in these women's production of auto/biographical writing, and to assess self-understanding as cultural intervention. Questions arise, however, as to how terms such as "mythology" and "culture" are being *specifically* deployed in a study of this kind. Is, for example, a Beauvoirian notion of myth being mobilized? Or a Barthesian understanding? Might not the terms "culture" and "cultural history" be understood differently in different national contexts? The interdisciplinary and transnational nature of this discussion makes such terminological and critical precisions crucial.

It would also seem to be essential to interrogate the notion of "mythology" in relation to auto/biographical debates on truth and representation, given that it is always already impossible to "tell all" in auto/biography, and specific rhetorical strategies on the part of a writer to foreground particular concepts of truth and falsity would seem necessarily to require analysis. Moreover, the assumption that these diverse auto/biographical writings are united in a disregard for aesthetic concern is highly questionable, as is the assertion that these women actively sought ambiguity and interdependence. How might this assertion be substantiated?

Elsewhere, value judgements, an overreliance on disputed biographical sources, and decontextualized quotations diminish this ambitious study. An early example is the casual description of Beauvoir's writings as "often masculinist" with no explanation; elsewhere, quotations from Beauvoir's *Memoirs of a Dutiful Daughter* are used to summarize her overall autobiographical intentions, neglecting how the narrative strategies employed in this vast autobiographical enterprise evolved during the course of its lengthy production from the mid-1950s onwards. It is, however, valuable to focus, for the most part, on lesser-known women autobiographers, usefully drawing the works of Maitreyi Devi and Asja Lacis, for example, into wider debates on self-representational writing. Sometimes, however, one has the impression that the diverse narrative strategies employed in these women's writings are neglected, and read through the lens of overarching concepts which structure the discussion, such as an ethics of obligation and interdependence-concepts which (for this writer) require contextualization in debates in feminist ethics and in gender studies more broadly.

Overall, this study is perhaps overambitious. A smaller sample of writers would have enabled a more detailed and nuanced appraisal of these diverse auto/biographical projects emanating from highly specific national

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and cultural contexts—contexts which would seem imperative to analyze in a bid to understand the ways in which these writers intervened in shaping and being shaped by cultural history.

Ursula Tidd

Robert Richmond Ellis. *They Dream Not of Angels but of Men: Homoeroticism, Gender, and Race in Latin American Autobiography.* Gainesville: UP of Florida, 2002. 220 pp. ISBN 0-8130-2441-2, $55.00.

A complementary volume to his earlier study of gay self-representation in Spanish texts (*The Hispanic Homograph,* 1997), Ellis's latest book examines an extraordinarily wide variety of life writing from across Latin America. Inflected by the fundamental issues of race, politics, and class as they intersect with male homoerotic practice, gay male identity, and the problematics of representing masculinities and femininities, his analysis successfully bridges examples from the Colonial period to the twentieth century. Rather than finding categories mutually exclusive—that a mythified and monolithic *machismo* has cast out all traces of the feminine once and for all, for example, or that "race" and "culture" are coterminous (4)—Ellis, to his credit, argues for shades and tones of dynamic influences and crossovers among them. What some critics have read as exclusions, Ellis finds to be the "haunting" (6) of one discourse by another.

What Ellis vividly evokes as his exploration among the "coilings of homoeroticism, gender, and race" (4) makes evident for the reader one of the important and distinctive aspects of this volume: even as he delves into the multiple dimensions of written language, his prose conjures up visual images that go a long way to establish in his own work what he sees Latin American life writers themselves attempting to do. That is to say, Ellis brings particular lives out of the shadows and turns them into visible, palpable, material bodies for us; this is the goal he shares with the writers of prose and poetry whose words fill his pages, those who write to stave off fear, disease, death, and the immateriality suggested by the title's reference to the realm of celestial beings. What critic Terry Castle has done for refocusing the study of women, gender, and sexuality in English letters with *The Apparitional Lesbian* (1993) would be a good parallel to draw here, and less far-fetched than it might seem at first glance, since her stated argument is to undo the "ghost effect" under which "many people have trouble seeing what's in front of them . . . [despite] being there, in plain view, mortal and magnificent" (2). Aside from proposing to return the lesbian body from the reign of "phantom" (or, perhaps, the phantasmatic), Castle's language parallels Ellis's in its emphasis on corporality.

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As a continent filled with a diversity of histories and cultures, Latin America shares a number of traits which have, over time, been codified into myths, but which have also fed collective imaginaries with presences and absences, with lives often too weighty for "normal" human flesh, or too ethereal, transcendent, or absolutely ghostly to seem "real" at all. From the time of the Spanish conquest, with the lethal practices of the Inquisition in tow, the human body has been the canvas on which economic, cultural, and sexual encounters have played out across the vast territories of Latin America. With the advent of "liberation" and the independence movements of the nineteenth century, followed by the abolition of slavery, the individual body and the body of the nation came into focus for the inscription of the signs of modern identity, including all of Ellis's "coilings" as to how to represent the "new" Latin America and its citizens. The subsequent dictatorships of the twentieth century brought the intervention of the military into the mix, and the human body once again became the center of social and political tensions—prison, torture, death, abuse, exile—as it also assumed the iconic role of a visible surface for protest and self-expression. Whether we speak of repression from the left or from the right, radical responses always have been inscribed on live human flesh.

Ellis does not consider this long view of history and culture some definitive "coming out" in any sense of the term, but rather a constant Barthesian "heading against the traditional grain of history" (8) through the tense clash of discourses that both become a matter of life and death and frequently blur the boundaries of traditional autobiography and fiction. Neither celebratory nor condemning of any single text, Ellis's study instead allows the bodies in question to speak for themselves in all of their indecision and ambiguity. And, following the lead of Sylvia Molloy in *At Face Value,* he asks us to read the homoerotic *differently,* to break through the "hetero-izing reader-gaze" (7) which blinds us to the rich possibilities of how many variants there are to know "the homoerotic has been and continues to be lived" (28). Rather than "fixing" a writer or forcing the reader to accommodate him into a recognizable taxonomy or classification, Ellis problematizes each text by seeking to contradict the "ontological negation" (39) of its narrator; thus, life writing is seen as an antidote against death (or, in some instances, death-in-life). We may apply Ellis's commentary on the autobiography of Cuban slave Juan Francisco Manzano to the whole of the volume: "by writing the story of his life . . . by simply depicting himself as alive" (39) despite all of the trauma and physical torture he is forced to endure, Manzano manages to envision himself as a desiring subject. As the enslaved Florencio and Manzano look intently at one another, the *Autobiografía*'s narrative voice does not resolve

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the "fundamental crisis of meaning" (39) surrounding the text (and the often degraded life it represents), but he does most certainly return the gaze of a society that denied his humanity and his right to an imaginary.

The six chapters of Ellis's carefully argued book—on Manzano, Vargas Llosa, d'Halmar, Arenas, Nandino and Thomas, and Bianciotti—return time and again to the problem of self-knowledge, and by implication, to the process of self-representation in the face of collective denial. The burning question involves genre as much as it does sexuality or gender, as Ellis moves away from more traditional forms and formats of autobiographical texts to look at other spaces—including poetry—for the traces and residues of otherwise seemingly unwritten lives. Ellis demands that readers open their eyes to the sometimes "camouflaged textual subjects" (79) whose reconfiguring of "autobiographical dimensions" (169) may open the door for us to "the hope of another's life" (173) where we may least expect to find it. Thus, the need to "look," the scopic regime, dominates this book, from references to a (belated?) mirror stage in Manzano's narrative (39) to the Orientalizing gaze of d'Halmar's Chilean narrator (72), from the "racial drag" of Peruvian Vargas Llosa's texts (79) to the eye of alterity in Argentine Bianciotti (162) and the un-veiling of the gaze in Mexican poet Villaurrutia (170). For Ellis, a life comes into being as it simultaneously comes into view; in other words, subjectivity is both verbal and visual. And herein lies the most innovative aspect of this study: aside from its synchronic and diachronic breadth, it is singularly distinctive in its establishing of the gaze as the center of the "I." What Mexican writer and critic José Joaquín Blanco writes of as the simultaneous enticement and fear of "eyes I dare not meet in dreams," Ellis turns into the mirrors of the anxieties and desires of an entire society.

Framed by a detailed theoretical introduction and a suggestive, if all too brief, conclusion, Ellis's text extends an invitation to partake of the pleasures and powers that ostensible silence and invisibility have to offer if only one dare to look. Like Villaurrutia's images of elevators that whisk young men up and down L.A.'s highrises to promising rendezvous, adding their luminous desires to the evening sky's bright constellations, Ellis offers the reader a stairway on which the writer of an unconventional life may meet the desirous reader halfway. And, like Villaurrutia's young men who move from the realm of angels to that of men (sailors) as his narrators hopefully cruise the streets of urban California, readers may find their own utopian dreams materialized, or at the very least find "a promise of our own unrealized possibilities" (173) in these texts. Ellis is to be commended for taking on such a challenging project, and for engaging with it in an open and approachable

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His book adds new dimensions to the study of life writing and is definitely a recommended read.

Claudia Schaefer

Bel, Charles, ed. *Poétique: revue de théorie et d'analyse littéraires.* Paris: Éditions du Seuil, February 2003. *Autobiographies* 73–123. ISBN 2-02-057342-3, EUR15.

Two noteworthy contributions to the review *Poétique* make up the special section titled "Autobiographies." Philippe Lejeune's "La rédaction finale de *Je se souvenir d'enfance*" provides an exceptional examination of the genesis and construction of Georges Perec's celebrated autobiographical text. Joël Roman's "Ruines écrites et écriture de soi" contains an insightful and original analysis of Rome in the autobiographical works of François-René de Chateaubriand and Henri Beyle Stendhal. These two lengthy reflections approach the problematic of autobiography from very different angles that complement each other. Their common concern with beginnings—manifested in their focus on the conditions and circumstances that occasion the composition of autobiographical texts—gives these articles a sense of cohesion, and adds in different ways to our understanding of the geneses of autobiographies.

Lejeune begins his article by indicating that he is picking up on an earlier study published in his 1991 *La Mémoire et l'Oblique*; this preceding analysis was incomplete, and this substantial addendum fills in some significant holes through the implementation of three new discoveries. First, a letter written by Perec addressed to Maurice Nadeau, editor of the literary journal *La Quinzaine littéraire,* reveals that the writer's sessions with psychoanalyst J.-B. Pontalis enabled him to come back to and complete his manuscript for *W.* This return was not wholehearted, at least not initially, since Perec had other projects underway; but the completion of *Espèces d'espaces* in August 1974 set the stage for a rewriting—and complete restructuring—of an unfinished manuscript. Second, the working copy of the autobiographical text sold to a Swedish collector named Carl-Gustav Bjurström in a 1975 auction (the proceeds of which benefited *La Quinzaine littéraire*), is now available for consultation at the Royal Library in Stockholm, and this indispensable document was the object of Lejeune's attention during a recent visit to Sweden. While he had an opportunity to consult photocopies of these texts several years prior to this trip, Lejeune maintains that the "*couches d'intervention*"—the layers of pencil, pen, and marker that indicate the temporal dimension of the author's intervention—are distinct only on the original

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copy. Lejeune insists that the meticulous corrections inherent in this text debunk previously held theories that Perec knowingly falsified childhood memories in his autobiographical work. The third element that facilitated Lejeune's reconstruction of Perec's compositional act was a review of the latter's 1974 agenda, where the final editing of the book is recounted in daily dated entries. Lejeune includes these in his article, providing proof for his careful conclusions, and also giving us a glimpse into the workings of Perec's mind, in tandem with, yet separate from, his textual production.

In his analysis of Perec's writing, Lejeune pays special attention to the structure of the text, demonstrating that the author modified it considerably, moving from a ternary to a binary form that supposedly rendered more feasible its timely completion. But, for all his detailed study, Lejeune does not claim to be certain of his determinations. He expresses his doubts in the final paragraph, indicating that the author himself could of course tell us much more about the text's composition, and that the "science" of studying the work's layout and development does not provide—or explain—the emotion that stems from interpretation of the novel. Lejeune maintains that emotion is born in the relation among different texts, between different tones. In his view, what is *not* included in the final publication is as important as what is: significance lies in the silences, the intervals, the echoes, and the blanks. He has recourse to musical metaphors here in his emphasis on the importance of interpretation; a piece must be *played* in order for it to exist, even if interpretations turn out not to be correct, at least not down to the last note.

Musical metaphors also resound in the final paragraphs of Loehr's article on Chateaubriand and Stendhal. Loehr draws from Stendhal's statement in *Promenades dans Rome* about his desire to be understood only by those born for music, to touch on the capacity of musical notes to echo in our minds long after they are played—just as ruins remain long after edifices have crumbled, just as names last long after periods and places have disappeared, just as literary works persist even when their authors have passed away. Loehr closes on this somewhat somber note—in harmony with the title (and content) of Chateaubriand's 1846 autobiographical opus *Mémoires d'outre-tombe*, cited throughout Loehr's article—as a gesture in movement away from the dominating sense explored earlier in this analysis: sight. Viewing the city as a place of semiotic significance, Chateaubriand and Stendhal seek in Rome a clear reflection of what lies within them. The ineffectiveness of this scopic enterprise is unveiled when Loehr turns to Jacques Derrida's *Mémoires d'aveugle*. This illuminating work by a contemporary philosopher sheds light on the quality of ruins that allows observers to see *without showing* them anything at all. While the archaeological act of uncovering one layer of the self

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another is rich and revealing, total lucidity with respect to one's self is elusive, since human memory is itself in ruins. What is most striking about Loehr's analysis is that the decomposition of these ruins by incomprehensible fragmentation and proliferation is seen in a positive hue, as leading up toward the future. The silence of the disappeared city gives rise to voices that sing from an unknown region.

Extensive notes and quotations make Loehr's article more than worthwhile; they complement the critic's arguments convincingly, as do the annexes to Lejeune's piece. The inclusion of these reflections in *Poétique* is important to current research in *autobiographies* in their plural forms; the diverse approaches they represent serve to valorize a variety of autobiographical writing from different periods of French literary history.

Alison Rice

Philippe Lejeune and Catherine Bogaert. *Un Journal à soi: Histoire d'une pratique*. Paris: Éditions Textuel, 2003. 215 pp. ISBN 2-84597-057-9, EUR52.00.

Journal to Oneself: History of a Practice fills a major gap in the field, inasmuch as it is the first extensively illustrated volume existing on diary writing. In fact, this book derives from the catalogue created for an exhibition on diary writing organized in 1997 in Lyon, France, by Catherine Bogaert and Philippe Lejeune, specialist in autobiography in France and co-founder of l'Association pour l'autobiographie et le patrimoine autobiographique (APA). Here, the authors "propose a journey in diary-land," "a land not well known because diaries are discreet by nature" (7). So as to disclose the invisible part of the "iceberg," the authors immersed themselves in the archives and found an impressive variety of creative forms of journal writing in France and elsewhere in Europe. Hence this ultimate goal: "One can dream that one day these archives, while continuing to be rooted in their country and culture of origin, will contribute more actively to the reinforcement of European identity" (208).

The introduction addresses three basic questions. First, who keeps a journal? According to recent surveys, there are more female than male diarists; this is "not surprising," because "generally, women tend to write more than men" (8). Second, what is the relationship between journal writing and time, and between the journal and its author? Etymologically, the terms diary and journal indicate that this form of writing is rooted in the instant, the original moment, the daily, and sometimes the hourly. Diary writing therefore reflects a new esthetic of temporality. A journal constitutes some sort of "hard disk" which cannot be altered after the fact; if altered, it becomes an autobiography.

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Journals do not limit themselves to being a means to survive or to resist a difficult life situation—Sartre keeping a journal during the war, for instance, or Dreyfus when sent to Guiana. Such journals are also a means of introspection and of expression. Third, is keeping a journal good or bad? If in protestant countries the writing of spiritual journals was always encouraged, in catholic countries this form of writing was generally found to be suspicious. Moreover, serious critical works on journal writing are in fact very recent. In the past, in spite of the existence of thrilling journals (Stendhal, Hugo, Barbey d'Aurevilly, Anne Frank), journal writing was seen as a "double nullity" (11) or a sign of vanity or sterility.

The next four chapters address all the conceivable aspects and forms of diaries. Each chapter is subdivided into brief and concise sections introduced by a self-explanatory title. The wording and content are straightforward, devoid of jargon, and in short, accessible to any class of reader interested in the subject matter. For Lejeune and Bogaert, journal writing is a cultural thing, which obviously involves the ordinary person of any age—hence the constant juxtaposition of unknown diary writers and *res literaria* prestigious stars. It is also clear that for the authors, journal writing constitutes a spectacle. Thus the volume is published in a sumptuous in-folio edition with a blue cover, and each page is a visual feast, thanks to the illustrations: a flurry of superb diary reproductions (over 200).

The first chapter, "Origins," explores the "ancestors of the personal journal" (44). The birth of the journal in antiquity coincided with the need to keep a record for commercial and administrative reasons. During the Roman Empire there was the acta civilia, which disappeared during the Middle Ages and reappeared with the Edict of Villers-Cotterêts in 1539 in France; the acta forensia; the acta militaria; and even a diurnal acta (to spread the news in the Empire). Heads of households would keep a book of records (codex, tabulae), and also chronicles (commentaria) recapping notable events. The spiritual practice of daily introspection was very ancient in the context of Stoicism, although it did not lead to a written practice until the first Christians, who used journals to establish an account of their sins. The introduction of paper replaced the use of very common but cumbersome tablets, making writing possible and even easy for many. The introduction of new means of measuring time in the seventeenth century (an annual calendar instead of a perpetual calendar without days, a personal watch with a needle for the minutes) also accounts for the development of diaries. Log books and travel books originated in 3000 BC with the descriptions of coastlines, and evolved into the modern logs that pilots of ships had to keep. Christopher Columbus's log, lost but rewritten by Las Casas in an abbreviated version, is

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commented upon along with Montaigne's *Journal de voyage* dating from a century later, a journal originally written by Montaigne's secretary, and later by Montaigne himself, who wrote in Italian while in Italy. Books of reasons (which means account in Latin) varied in content: they could either be exclusively an account of business matters, or communicate important events relating to the family (death, birth) or to the collectivity (memorable events in the village or town).

Three volumes stand out: the famous diary written in cipher by Pepys during the Restoration; Jean Héroard's journal in the seventeenth century, which concentrates exclusively on the particulars of the future King Louis III and his everyday life; and the writing of Pierre-Philippe Candy, who reported the details of his finances and his erotic life until his marriage in the eighteenth century.

Historical chronicles started with the historian Asellio in 200 BC, and continued with Joinville, Froissart, Commynes, and the anonymous *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris* (1405–1449). Numerous journals were kept during major historical events such as the Ligue or the French Revolution. Of particular interest is the Journal Lucile Desmoulins kept from 1789 until she was guillotined in 1794, and the diary written by Louis XVI, first king to have kept the exact same journal day by day from age eleven until August 10, 1792, the date of his arrest and only six months before he was guillotined.

The spiritual diary, which dates back to the Reformation, corresponds to a journal of prayers or personal examination, and is "historically the first form of really 'intimate' journal. This writing practice does not consist of recording factual information in a monologue form but of restituting the dialogue of the soul with God or with oneself" (56). In 1810, Marc-Antoine Julien proposed a method of surveillance using diaries and time which was similar to the use of space in the 1790 panopticon of Bentham. "It is not random," write the authors, "if this obsession with control develops when many people like Benjamin Constant are going to seek a refuge from the look of others in the secrecy of their journal" (61). Constant "is as important for journal writing as Rousseau for modern autobiography. However Constant took a different path. 'I want to show my peers a man in all the truth of nature' said Rousseau. Constant thought the opposite: that one can reach truth only in secret; otherwise one speaks for the gallery" (62). In 1803, at thirty-five years old, Constant started his secret journal (published only recently, in 1952). In 1811, he began to transcribe his diary in Greek letters; he also replaced certain ideas or words by numbers: 1 stood for "physical pleasure," 4 for "work," 5 for "discussions with my father," and so on (66).

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The second chapter, "The Practice of a Diary," deals with all aspects surrounding the confection of diaries: the medium used to keep a diary (Simenon used a recorder; a 'Diary' was a white book in nineteenth-century England), the display of the title on the page, the length of the journal (Amiel's was 16,800 pages long). A section dedicated to "Cross Diaries" is particularly worthy of note inasmuch as it deals with "parallel journals kept by persons who shared the same experience or lived together a significant part of their life." Gide's journal, for example, is actually at the "center of a plethora of other journals" (111). He and his friend Pierre Louÿs related the same episode of their youth in their respective journals; moreover, Gide's friend Maria Van Rysselberghe kept a journal on Gide for thirty-three years without him knowing it. From the first day of their married life in 1840, Robert and Clara Schumann together kept a journal with the "events of everyday life, of their artistic life, and sweet words" (114). Proofreading is also examined: "How can one be so stupid," Stendhal writes in the margin of his journal when reading it over (124).

The third chapter, "Stages of Life," starts with a section on childhood and the fact that journals are now part of educational curricula, making journal writing a practice which starts at age ten. Otherwise, "during the pre-adolescent phase, pain or secrecy is often the way one starts to keep a journal. . . . This class of age, as well as the idea to write letters to oneself, appeared at the end of the eighteenth century, during the pre-romantic age." It is an age when one "discovers solitude, time, death, sexuality, violence, boredom" (138). Generally, adolescents are found to write a lot more than adults; however, they tend to stop keeping a journal when they engage in their first sentimental relationship.

Two journals are quoted in this regard: Marie Bashkirtseff, a young and rich Russian girl who lived in France and Italy, and decided to become a painter at eighteen but died from tuberculosis at twenty-four. She kept an "immense journal" where she describes herself entirely and in the nude (141). In the nineteenth century, fifty-year-old Jules Michelet narrated all of the events surrounding the life of his second spouse, who was then twenty-one, be they of a sexual, digestive, or atmospheric nature: "Neither Héroard's journal on the health of Louis XIII, neither Montaigne, Rousseau nor anyone has said as much as I," confided Michelet (148).

A section entitled "Family Life" evokes parents keeping notes on the birth and the first years of their children, a practice especially à la mode after the appearance of Rousseau's *Emile* in 1762. Another section treats the introduction of psychoanalysis and dreams into diaries. Georges Perec published a diary of his dreams in 1973. Since 1993, Michel Longuet has been

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writing his dreams on his website. Diaries are also marked by the introduction of the weather (in 1939 a child, Roland Louvrier, decided to paint a meteorological journal until the end of the war), diseases (journals kept by people with fatal diseases), or wars (twelve year old Réjane Leproust from Caen wrote an hour by hour succession of events during D-Day).

The last chapter, "From the Intimate to the Public," starts with the publishing process. We learn that in the nineteenth century, only travel logs were published. In the 1880s everything changed. Barbey d'Aurevilly published his *Memoranda*, and two scandalous journals appeared in 1887: the Goncourt brothers' and Marie Bashkirtseff's. The following years saw the publication of the journals of Stendhal, Michelet, Rétif de la Bretonne, and Delacroix. The "journal series" emerged with Leon Bloy (1896) and Julien Green (1938). Since then on, diaries are part of literature in France. Lejeune and Bogaert examine the passage from the diary to the œuvre in Anne Frank's case, since all of her original diaries were lost and recreated by her father, Otto Frank. The conclusion recaps all the events related to the recognition of diaries as a major genre: inquiries, anthologies, studies, associations, exhibitions, and TV programs (on Arte in 1998, for instance).

A complete bibliography of studies and inquiries on journal writing, and an index of names can be found at the end of the volume. Furthermore, since most of the diaries mentioned in the text come with remarkable visual illustrations, the name of the journal's author, a short explanation, and a transcription of the handwritten page selected, the format allows for a quick and fascinating perusal of this magisterial work.

Marie-Christine Garneau

Elizabeth R. Baer and Myrna Goldenberg, eds. *Experience and Expression: Women, the Nazis, and the Holocaust.* Detroit: Wayne State UP, 2003. 321 pp. ISBN 0-8143-3063-0, $24.95.

This is an important new book on the topic of women and the Holocaust. The precise title of this fine anthology suggests its range, and the introduction points to its interdisciplinary character. In fact, this volume stretches beyond the existing and familiar work on the subject, while also paying ample tribute to it. I agree with the remark on the back cover—namely, that the book "is superbly edited and introduced." In the individual chapter introductions, its editors, Elizabeth R. Baer and Myrna Goldenberg, have skillfully connected and cross-referenced the different contributions. This provides the edition with a continuity that is often missing in other edited

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volumes. The occasional overlapping of themes and references cannot be avoided, since each contribution also functions as a separate entity.

The diverse articles shed light on the subject of women and the Holocaust from many different angles. This volume grew out of the 1997 Holocaust Scholars' Conference that featured two panels on these issues, and it includes most of these participants. Looking at the table of contents, one finds familiar names in Holocaust scholarship, including the two editors, and Stephen C. Feinstein, Carol Rittner, Anna Rosmus, and John Roth, to mention a few. The book is dedicated to the late Sybil Milton (1941–2000), and her article "Hidden Lives: Sinti and Roma Women" has been included. It is an important topic on which she had done extensive research.

The Introduction, "Experience and Expression," by Elizabeth R. Baer and Myrna Goldenberg, includes an historiography that is an excellent summary of the existing scholarship, and therefore functions as a useful "women and the Holocaust" in a nutshell. Both give ample credit to the scholars who have worked in the field, and to their publications, most notably Carol Rittner's and John Roth's first and excellent collection, *Different Voices*. From it, the eleven-page Chronology, covering 1933–1946, has been reprinted and placed at the beginning for quick reference. It is particularly helpful for those using *Experience and Expression* as a reader.

Danielle de Lucia Brugess must be commended for her tasteful and fitting cover design, which is based on a photo appearing in the volume. It shows the deportation of women and children to an unidentified Yugoslavian concentration camp in 1942.

The table of contents divides the book into four major parts: 1) Proposing a Theoretical Framework; 2) Women's Experience: Gender, the Nazis, and the Holocaust; 3) Gender and Memory: The Uses of Memoirs; and 4) Women's Expressions: Postwar Reflections in Art, Fiction, and Film. Each of these sections discusses earlier contributions to the subject, is clearly footnoted, and either provides new findings or highlights well-established facts and ideas.

In Part 1, John K. Roth surveys how renowned (mainly male) scholars have or have not changed their minds about the specificity of women's Holocaust accounts, or how they have perceived them. Examples are Yehuda Bauer and Raul Hilberg, who now see a difference in gender, while Lawrence L. Langer continues to argue a more universalist position. Roth also praises Web sites dedicated to Women and the Holocaust, such as the pioneer site with this very name established by Judy Cohen from Toronto, Canada.

Pascale Rachel Bos's "Women and the Holocaust: Analyzing Gender Difference" is a valuable contribution to scholarly research because it provides

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contemporary way of viewing and interpreting gender. Heretofore the emphasis on women's typical survival strategies has been on their qualities of giving and sharing. Bos asserts that these are "gendered experiences" that become "gendered memory," and that then provide "gendered narrative." She says, "men and women *experience, remember,* and *recount* differently" (32) as an expansion of what Marion Kaplan described in 1998 as "a relationship between gender and memory." Although all of these factors are difficult to discern or prove, Bos raises valid questions that need to be considered in future gender studies. There are also the gendered views of feminist scholars—most of whom are women themselves—that may color such research. The same considerations may be applied to the contemporary writing of Holocaust memoirs, because these in turn can be influenced by existing scholarship: i.e., women survivors may anticipate readers' expectations of "gendered" accounts, and write them accordingly.

Part 2 deals with issues that are not always highlighted in collections. The essays here provide detailed information of events, times, places, and individuals. These essays include the aforementioned informative piece on the Sinti-Roma by Sybil Milton. Three contributions focus on female perpetrators. Anna Rosmus presents the largely ignored situation of female workers who were brought into Germany during the war from German-occupied countries. She answers the question of what happened to their pregnancies, and in some cases, their infant children. Rosmus reveals the chilling facts of forced abortions and even the killing of newborns. She mentions the special birthing and children camps inside Germany for Polish and Russian women forced to work in war production. These places were in existence from 1943, and were also called Children's Camps (*Kinderlager*). Needless to say, they generally did not have the welfare of the infants in mind.

Susan Benedict's "Caring While Killing" focuses on German women as (sometimes kind) perpetrators. They were involved in the euthanasia killings of what the ideologically infused German experts deemed "life unworthy of life" (*lebensunwertes Leben*). The code name for this extensive murder program of people with disabilities was *Aktion T-4* (Operation T-4), named after the Reich Chancellery's address at Tiergartenstraße 4 in Berlin. The medical doctors of T-4 subsequently provided the backbone of the trained force of killers at the death camps in Poland.

Still within the same subject, Mary D. Lagerwey researched "The Nurses' Trial at Hadamar and the Ethical Implications of Health Care Values." In the town of Hadamar in Hesse, Germany, the State Psychiatric Hospital and Sanitarium was an *Aktion T-4* euthanasia-killing center from 1941 to 1945. More than 11,000 Germans, including over 5,000 children, were murdered

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there. The central aspect of nursing practice before and during the Third Reich was a person's ability to reflect "the highest ethic" (114). When the murdering nurses faced trial in Wiesbaden in 1945, their defense was focused on their practice of "two character traits, duty and selfless service" (115). Lagerwey explains that this was done without blinking an eye, since Nazi ideology provided the nurses with a morality that was founded on "a shift in focus of care and moral responsibility from the individual to the nation." Thus did the German nurses justify their participation in murder (123), and plead "not guilty" (118) based on reasons of State.

The third part of the book is entitled "Gender and Memory" and focuses on "Uses of Memoirs." Judith Greenberg writes on "Path of Resistance: French Women Working from the Inside," and rectifies a shortcoming in Resistance research—namely, the involvement of women. Greenberg discusses "the 'inside' activities of two women, one Jewish and one Protestant, who worked actively as resisters in France—Denise Siekierski and Madeleine Barot." She highlights instances in which gender affected their narratives (132). Perhaps it is worth noting that there may be a link between them and Simone de Beauvoir, who included Resistance women as important characters in her early novels, especially *The Mandarins* (1960). De Beauvoir's insightful historical allusions, expressed in fiction, have been largely neglected.

Goldenberg writes in "Food Talk: Gendered Responses to Hunger in the Concentration Camps" that, philosophically, the subject of food became public only when its functions became economic or religious (164): i.e., entered the sphere considered male. She states that hunger "often evokes a different kind of response in women," and points to the interesting fact of remembering absent or dead family members through recipes. In that way, "recipes carry the past," and within the Holocaust context, were often used as fantasies that were spoken rather than written (172).

Stephen C. Feinstein begins Part 4 with "Jewish Women in Time: The Challenge of Feminist Artistic Installations about the Holocaust." Feinstein situates his subject in historical, artistic, and feminist terms. He provides a thorough analysis of the installation artwork of two female artists: Ellen Rothenberg's "Anne Frank Project" (1990), and Nancy Spero's two installations (1993) about the fate of women during the Nazi era. Their work represents "Hitler's best known victim" and "lesser known women victims." Both artists base their work on existing texts, *The Diary of Anne Frank*, and in Spero's case, poems by Bertholt Brecht and Nelly Sachs. Feinstein's excellent treatment of the installations of Rothenberg and Spero itself serves as a template as to how to proceed with women's artistic expressions of the Holocaust. It brings to mind contemporary artist Ruth Liberman from New

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who fires bullets into German words, thereby fusing text and visual art a powerful statement about language and memory. Employing a different approach, Canadian artist Sylvia Safdie uses earth and stone in her installation pieces (see *Afterimage/Rémanences: Evocations of the Holocaust in Contemporary Canadian Arts and Literature*).

Lilian Kremer's article on Holocaust literature touches upon several more relevant themes concerning women. Two examples are sexual abuse and resistance. Perhaps Kremer could have expanded the range of material under discussion, since she includes the already well-documented "The Shawl" by Cynthia Ozick (1970) and *Anya* by Susan Fromberg Schaeffer (1980).

The last article, by Rebecca Scherr, although also meticulously written and edited, may be the weakest link in the chain. The title promises more than it delivers. From "The Uses of Memory and Abuses of Fiction: Sexuality in Holocaust Film, Fiction, and Memoir," one expects an overall treatment of the subject. Instead we find a familiar analysis of only two frequently used works: the novel *The White Hotel* by D. H. Thomas (1981), and the film *The Night Porter* by Lilian Cavani (1975). Although Scherr speaks of "numerous works that treat sexual relationships and eroticism as dominant themes," there are really not that many of this kind. Sherri Szeman's *The Commandant's Mistress* (1993) and *Sophie's Choice* by William Styron come to mind as literature (1979) and film (1982), but she does not mention them. Neither does she discuss Hollywood's first exploration of the theme of female sexuality and the Holocaust, Sidney Lumet's *The Pawnbroker* (1964).

Finally, bibliographies would have been welcome, either as individual reading suggestions after each chapter, or as an overall bibliography divided into a few subcategories, such as the ones available on the web site Women and the Holocaust. This said, the sources mentioned in the footnotes of each contributor are extensive, and comprise much of the available material on the subject. There are, of course, repetitions.

Missing too is a section on Holocaust films, both documentaries and fiction. In a contemporary world of visual images, it is important to highlight this medium, in this case from a feminist perspective. A good example is a filmography by Gary Evans, available on the Web site Women and the Holocaust. Such compilations are useful for teachers as well as researchers.

A more serious omission is a chapter on the Ravensbrück concentration camp for women in Germany, since it contained women from diverse European countries, as well as Germans and Jews. Many of the women incarcerated there fell victim to horrible medical experiments, such as on the effects of gases used in combat. Others suffered as forced laborers for the Reich war effort in abominable underground conditions. In addition, that camp had its

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share of female perpetrators and a number of survivors, as mentioned in Rochelle G. Saidel's 2004 book, *The Jewish Women of Ravensbrück Concentration Camp*.

A minor quibble is the misspelling of German words. It is laudable, though, that the contributors refrain from using the perpetrator's language when dealing with annihilation. With very few exceptions, they avoid the Nazi German "extermination" (*Vernichtung*) that one finds too often in other works. May we attribute this to women's writing?

This superbly written and edited volume would make a fine reader for a university course on women and the Holocaust. I also recommend it highly to be included in any library collection on the Holocaust.

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Karin Doerr

Oren Baruch Stier. *Committed to Memory: Cultural Mediations of the Holocaust.* Amherst: U of Massachusetts P, 2003. xvi + 277 pp. 15 figures. ISBN 1-558-49408-1, $37.50.

Do we live in an age that looks to memory now that history has, as Fukuyama claimed and Niethammer pondered in 1992, come to an end? The question arises less from the demise of the so-called "Evil Empire" than from the deconstruction of naive realist historiography, the development of Photoshop CS among other manufacturers of simulacra, and perhaps, the foreclosure of any complicity in the series of atrocities that both preceded and followed 1992. As a consequence, do we yearn for the hoped-for realia of recollected *Erlebnis* (lived-experience) or the monumental materiality of sites of memory (Pierre Nora's *lieux de mémoire*)? Or conversely, are we anxious about possibly acting out (yet-to-be) recovered memories? The list of publications in the human sciences over the last decade throughout Europe and North America would suggest a near obsession with the means, meanings, motivations, and aftermaths of memory. Books with titles reading "Memory", "Mémoire," "Gedächtnis/Erinnerung," compete for our attention with others shouting "Trauma," "Trauma," "Trauma."

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Both series converge on—and perhaps emerge from—the Holocaust. A quick check of Amazon indicates that there are over eighty works in which "Holocaust" and "memory" are conjoined. Oren Baruch Stier's *Committed to Memory: Cultural Mediations of the Holocaust* is another such title that attempts to find some forgotten niche in this growing archive of memoranda. With its suggestions of preservation and of duty, the title itself, *Committed to Memory,* embodies the duality of the many embodiments of Holocaust memory that the author addresses. Stier examines a broad spectrum of ways in which Holocaust memory work is being performed: museum exhibits and boxcars and hair piles, Art Spiegelman's (auto)biography *Maus* and Emily Prager's novel *Eve's Tattoo,* the Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies at Yale and the Shoah Visual History Foundation, the Simon Wiesenthal Museum of Tolerance and the March of the Living.

Several of these locations have already been frequently visited by previous scholars, and one in particular, *Maus,* could have been missed without any loss to Stier's argument, since his analysis adds nothing to the extensive literature on Spiegelman's work. But a number of his other journeys are enriched by his participant-observer perspective, especially his involvement with the March of the Living and his tours through the changing formats of the Museum of Tolerance over the course of the 90s and into the year 2000. The author insightfully intermixes his own experiences with the literature on technology, tourism, and ritual, and thereby supplements James Young's extensive work on monuments and memorialization. Stier's discussion of the "strategies of display" and frames in which Holocaust exhibits and testimonies are presented is often quite nuanced, except that he never questions the authenticity and genuineness of those two framing words "authentic" and "genuine," and has a, for me, far too positive valuation of the effects of technology on memorialization.

Stier describes his project as tracing the public mediations of "collective/cultural/social" memory, those embodiments of contemporary Holocaust memorial culture, along two primary trajectories. They are the temporal (primacy given respectively to atemporal, past, present, and future-oriented representations) and the physical (primacy given respectively to iconic/idolatrous, ocular/aural, interactive, and ritualistic performances). Yet another structuring principle also appears to be at work, for *Committed to Memory* can also be seen as a complement to Lawrence Langer's *Holocaust Testimonies: The Ordeal of Memory.* Over and against Langer's masterful morphology of surviving memory, a delineation of five types of memory (deep, anguished, humiliated, tainted, unheroic) present in the oral testimonies of survivors, Stier offers five modes of memorial practice (remembering, inscribing, framing,

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mediating, performing). Moreover, in contradistinction to Langer's concern with survivor witness, Stier addresses the subsequent generations of, in Dori Apel's terms, secondary witnesses (cf. Liliane Weisberg's review of Apel's *Memory Effects: The Holocaust and the Art of Secondary Witnessing* in *Biography* 26.3). More significantly, where Langer would problematically grant an immediacy and singularity to the oral testimonies of the survivors (especially in contrast to written testimony), Stier emphasizes the mediated and social character of memory.

With this emphasis, Stier avoids the excesses of the recent literature on trauma that has as a primary focus the memories of the Holocaust victim; those works would ascribe real unmediated presence—Truth—to traumatic recollection, and irreproachable innocence to the allegedly victimized recollector. In those studies, trauma becomes the norm, the ground of not just identity, but history as well. Such presuppositions facilitated the hoax perpetrated by Binjamin Wilkomirski/Bruno Doessekker and his purported memoir, *Fragments*. Stier briefly discusses select works by a number of these trauma theorists, including Shoshana Felman, the late Dori Laub, and Ernst Van Alphen (he does not address either Cathy Caruth or Bessel van der Kolk, who are the leading proponents of trauma theory). However, by rarely—and never directly—addressing "trauma," Stier fails to engage a key, if not the key, *point de capiton* in the study of Holocaust memory. And he no less avoids the discussion of such psychological categories as denial and repression that are also often associated with studies of the Holocaust and memory, and that like memory, for Stier (following Amos Funkenstein), can be understood to have a collective dimension without hypostatizing them.

In lieu of "trauma" as the arch-index of the Holocaust, Stier substitutes an even more problematic and never defined notion: sacrality. He argues that "turning a religious studies perspective" (40) on Holocaust remembrance—such as attending to its "sacred core" (42) and to the "mythic and mystic forces undergirding" it (xiii)—"contributes to a deeper understanding" (40). Yet to leave a notion such as the "sacred" all but unexamined (cf. 166–67) ignores the critical perspective of many of the historians of religion (such as Jonathan Z. Smith and Catherine Bell) that he otherwise makes good analytical use of, and thereby obviates the promised "deeper understanding." More significant, the omission of such reflection is accompanied by a neglect of the questions about the religious character and "redemptive slant" (35) of the Shoah that so many of his sources ask.

In his concluding chapter, Stier addresses the obverse of the biblical command, "Zakhor" ("Remember"), the obligation that shadows reflection on the Holocaust: "Never Forget." Remembering and forgetting are always in a

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dialectical relationship. As Stier notes there are dangers in neglecting the one for the other: idolatry on the one hand, negationism on the other, and tri-halist identity constructions in both cases. We must somehow negotiate a way between Nietzsche's happily-grazing-because-forgetful cows and Borges's prostrate-because-unable-to-forget "Funes the Memorious." Are we not suffering from too much memory of the Holocaust—or not enough of the right kind? Stier's answer to both questions is yes.

Jay Geller

Shelley Hornstein and Florence Jacobowitz, eds. *Image and Remembrance: Representation and the Holocaust.* Bloomington: Indiana UP, 2003. 336 pp. 74 b + w photos. ISBN 0-253-21569-2, $22.95.

Since the Enlightenment the observation of the visual world has had a privileged status: it is a precondition and guarantee of knowledge and understanding. Being an eyewitness of something implies more or less automatic apprehension and comprehension of the observed situation or event. This link between seeing and comprehension, however, has been radically disrupted in the experiences of Holocaust victims.

Ernst van Alphen, *Image and Remembrance*

In his most recent novel, 2003 Nobel Prize for Literature winner J. M. Coetzee builds his story around the eponymous main character, Australian writer Elizabeth Costello, who, in the course of the book, delivers several lectures in international settings. In a chapter entitled "The Problem of Evil," Costello goes to Amsterdam to present a talk to a conference of theologians and philosophers. She takes as her subject a novel she had been reading about the July 20, 1944, plot to kill Adolf Hitler, a novel that cast a "malign spell" upon her due to the visceral details it contains about the execution of the would-be assassins. The reading experience summoned one word to Costello's mind: *obscene.* This, in turn, causes her to speculate about whether "people are always improved by what they read." Her conclusion is a resounding NO: she believes that when the author wrote the novel, he "came in touch with something absolute. Absolute evil." And, when she read the novel, she says, "that touch of evil was passed on to me." Costello articulates the conundrum thus: "How can we know the horrors of the Nazis . . . if our artists are forbidden to bring them to life for us?"

Lurking behind this conundrum is, of course, the admonition (later retracted) from T. W. Adorno that "To write poetry after Auschwitz is barbaric." As evidenced by the fact that the dilemma posed by Adorno is now

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being explored in Coetzee's metafiction, writers and their critics have deliberated for decades over the propriety of creating imaginative texts about the Holocaust. Until very recently, however, studies exploring visual images of the Holocaust—films, photographs, works of art, monuments, architecture—have been relatively few. *Image and Remembrance: Representation and the Holocaust,* edited by Shelley Hornstein and Florence Jacobowitz (both at York University in Toronto), makes a significant contribution to our understanding of such depiction of evil. The anthology accomplishes this task in several ways: the contributors are a distinguished international array of some of the finest minds working in Holocaust Studies today; the approaches are distinctly interdisciplinary, drawing from fields as wide-ranging as Jewish Studies, comparative literature, curatorial studies, philosophy, German, and film studies; the essays have been thoughtfully arranged to provoke new insights; and the topics of the essays are central to achieving comprehension of the issues at hand.

The editors open the text, which they describe as an anthology of art criticism, with a succinct and incisive introduction. Defining representation as "the active play between creating a fictional work and making reference to a real event," they bypass the by now stale debates about the possibility of representing the Holocaust, and instead offer essays which confirm that possibility by studying such art. The objective of Hornstein and Jacobowitz is not a comprehensive overview of the topic of art and the Holocaust, but rather a volume that explores "the practice of remembrance."

One of the ways in which they achieve this goal is to structure the collection so that it "reflects some of the fundamental concerns that continue to inform the urgency and necessity to remember." They have ordered the eighteen essays into four sections: I. Commemoration and Sites of Mourning; II. Personal Responses and Familial Legacies; III. Memento Mori: Atrocity and Aesthetics; and IV. National Expressions of Remembrance. Thus, rather than the more predictable organizing principle by type of art—a section on film, for example, and another on monuments (a choice editor Barbie Zelizer made for organizing her anthology *Visual Culture and the Holocaust*)—this principle juxtaposes, for instance, in the first section an essay about the film *Shoah,* another on Shimon Attie's evocative photographic projections on Berlin buildings, a meditation by architect Daniel Liebeskind on "Trauma" and the creation of the Jewish Museum in Berlin, and James Young on the counter-monuments of Horst Hoheisel, Rachel Whiteread, Renata Stih, Frieder Schnock and others. This opening section on Commemoration and Sites of Mourning therefore becomes a palimpsest of diverse media, inviting the reader to think about the possibilities and practices of collective memory.

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The following section, by contrast, invites the reader to consider personal memory in various forms. The first essay, by child survivor Susan Rubin Suleiman and second generation Marianne Hirsch, looks at the intergenerational and familial layers in Tatana Kellner's *Fifty Years of Silence,* a work of art which takes the form of two books, created in collaboration with Kellner's survivor parents. Other essays in this section reflect upon the visual of the memoirs of Auschwitz survivor Charlotte Delbo, on documentaries about gay men in the Third Reich, and the photographs of Mikael Levin as an example of the concept of "postmemory," that memory which is "not recollection but . . . projection" passed from survivors to the second generation. Readers particularly interested in second generation artistic efforts might also wish to look at Dora Apel's *Memory Effects.*

One of the most provocative and persuasive essays in the collection opens the third section. Entitled "The Iconic and the Allusive: The Case for Beauty in Post-Holocaust Art," this piece by Jane Wolff, Associate Dean for Academic Affairs in the School of the Arts at Columbia University, lauds the work of Morris Louis and Ben Shahn while decrying that of George Segal and Jerome Witkin. Wolff argues, effectively, for what she calls "allusive realism" in Holocaust art. Acknowledging her debt to Saul Friedlander for this concept, she defines it as a "nonmimetic, nonabstract form of representation . . . based on a resistance to a too-facile account with claims to both coherence and closure." In this way, Wolff offers an approach to one of the most intractable controversies in post-Holocaust aesthetics.

The final section offers essays about efforts at memorialization in Vienna, Budapest, Paris, and Berlin. The latter city is the subject of a wide-ranging, insightful study by Leslie Morris, Associate Professor of German and Director of Jewish Studies at the University of Minnesota. Morris's essay is a kind of Richter scale of the seismic changes in Berlin in the 1990s. Reading the city like a text, she moves from discussion of the semiotics of the bagel shop at Potsdamer Platz to Liebeskind's Jewish Museum, Thomas Mitscherlich's 1996 film *Reisen ins Leben,* works by Anselm Kiefer in the remarkable and underappreciated Hamburger Bahnhof Museum, and finally, to an analysis of the rock opera *Hedwig and the Angry Inch.* The essay is a *tour de force,* drawing connections about the use of elegy as *vergangenheitsbewältigung* among diverse productions.

Image and Remembrance is lavishly illustrated: seventy-four black and white reproductions of photographs, film stills, art works *et al.*, most of them printed sharply and clearly, enhance the reading experience tremendously. Several uses can be envisioned for this welcome book: course adoption in Holocaust Studies, art history, trauma studies, and cultural studies courses;

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use by historians as an introduction to issues of representation of the Shoah; similar use by art historians in need of a primer on the range and aesthetics of Holocaust art; and, obviously, multiple uses by Holocaust Studies scholars. A small quibble: providing dates for the original writing/publication of each of the essays would have been very helpful to scholars using the text, particularly given the intertextual nature of much of the contents.

Image and Remembrance arrives at an ideal moment. As a transition in emphasis occurs in Holocaust Studies, from an historical analysis of what happened, when, to whom, and how, to a focus on the possibilities and limits of representation, this book will serve as an invaluable source of the theories, practices, disciplines, scholars, critics, productions, and locations of memory work.

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Elizabeth Baer

Susan Gubar. *Poetry After Auschwitz: Remembering What One Never Knew.* Bloomington: Indiana UP, 2003. 288 pp., index, 1 color and 20 b&w photos. ISBN 0-253-34176-0, $35.00.

With *Poetry After Auschwitz,* Susan Gubar joins a growing group of distinguished feminist critics, including Marianne Hirsch and Claire Kahane, who have turned to considerations of the Holocaust in recent years. Indeed, the itinerary traced by Gubar's scholarship constitutes a fascinating map of recent concerns in literary and cultural studies. Gubar first became prominent through her collaboration with Sandra Gilbert; their path-breaking study *The Madwoman in the Attic* and its three-volume sequel *No Man's Land: The Place of the Woman Writer in the Twentieth Century* changed the way that literary history is conceptualized and practiced, and helped make feminism an unavoidable reference point in literary-critical discussion. While Gubar has continued to intervene in debates about feminism, as in her *Critical Condition: Feminism at the Turn of the Century* (1999), she has also recently turned to questions of race and to African-American literary history, as in *Racechanges: White Skin, Black Face in American Culture* (1997). In her new book, Gubar brings the critical faculties she has developed through her work on gender, race, and literature to bear on a corpus of texts that has, surprisingly,

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ceived relatively little commentary. Despite the proliferation in recent years books on the representation of the Holocaust, there has been a paucity of ork on the verse that Gubar considers here: English-language responses to e Shoah.

Gubar's title bears witness to the fact that there is nevertheless a long-nding discourse on the possibility and ethics of poetic response to the olocaust—a discourse whose most obvious reference point is Adorno's oft-ested judgment, formulated in the late 1940s, that "To write poetry after uschwitz is barbaric." Although embedded in an essay, "Cultural Criticism d Society," whose topic is ostensibly far from the Nazi genocide, Adorno's ase was quickly and critically taken up in the German-speaking world d then beyond. In later writings such as "Commitment" (1962) and *Neg-ve Dialectics* (1966), Adorno simultaneously retracted his indictment of etry, which he came to understand as a privileged site for the expression f suffering, and expanded it to include also philosophy and even life itself. s with much of his philosophical and critical work, Adorno's considerations f Auschwitz pull in several directions simultaneously, and do not allow any y exits from the demands of history.

Gubar astutely observes that—whatever Adorno's ultimate intentions—e effect of his dictum was certainly more to inspire than to deter the poets. t this effect does not mean that Adorno was "wrong" to question poetry, r that poetry after Adorno has blithely picked up where it had left off before e Nazi genocide. To the contrary, as much of the poetry ably presented d nimbly analyzed by Gubar makes clear, Adorno's radical questioning of sthetic response in the aftermath of genocide has indelibly marked literary d visual production. Not only critics but artists and writers have had to ggle with the ethical issues Adorno put on the agenda; poetry lives on after uschwitz, but only because post-Holocaust poetic practice self-reflexively corporates anxieties about the dangers of aestheticizing the disaster into its y form.

Gubar has amassed an impressive archive of English-language Holocaust rse, and she has also devised a manageable means of presenting it to us. She ternates effectively between sustained readings of selected poems and brief counts of many others. This strategy allows her to range widely without shing the formal properties of verse, and to bring to our attention a mix better and lesser known poets. Along with re-readings of such well known mes as Sylvia Plath, Anthony Hecht, Denise Levertov, Sharon Olds, Ger-d Stern, and Charles Reznikoff, she also introduces us to poets who are (at ost for me) revelations, such as Jason Sommer, William Heyen, and Jacque-e Osherow. Exposure to such a range of verse that has been so sensitively

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presented will no doubt influence the way I teach Holocaust literature in the future. In addition to including "canonical" Holocaust-survivor poets such as Paul Celan, Abraham Sutzkever, and Dan Pagis, as I normally do, I will certainly want to share with my students the works of English-language "proxy witness" that ground Gubar's analysis.

While Gubar's focus is certainly on the close reading of responses in verse to the Nazi genocide and its aftermath by English and American poets, the book actually possesses a much wider scope. It makes extensive and impressive reference to a range of scholarship on the Holocaust, as well as on poetics, psychology, and history, among other fields, and it engages insightfully and at length with the visual arts, especially photography, but also painting and installation art. In eight weighty chapters, *Poetry After Auschwitz* addresses a series of issues pertinent to representing and coming to terms with historical extremity. In the introductory chapter, "The Holocaust is Dying," Gubar sketches the reception of the Nazi genocide in postwar European and North American cultures. Detailing how knowledge of the Holocaust has sometimes been repressed, denied, or reified as unique, Gubar suggests the possibilities that poetry offers for addressing the difficulties of grappling with histories that "one never knew." Chapter 2, "Masters of Disaster," argues that despite the various mechanisms of avoidance, the Shoah "lives on" in postwar societies, and that its impact is felt in the suicides that have claimed many Holocaust survivors and in the transgenerational traumatic legacies absorbed by children of survivors.

Having established in her opening chapters how the Holocaust has simultaneously been central to and yet marginalized by the postwar world, Gubar proceeds to chart the various figures, genres, and forms that poets have employed in shaping the terms of response to the genocide. Thus, the third chapter, "Suckled by Panic," considers the way that the severing of the parent-child bond has served as a figure for Holocaust trauma in the poetry of child survivors and children of survivors. Turning productively to the visual arts in Chapter 4, Gubar discusses "pictures out of focus": works by contemporary artists who draw on actual Holocaust and pre-Holocaust era photographs; and poems that verbally stage the limits of photography as a source of understanding. Documentary sources other than photographs have also served as the inspiration for many literary works in the aftermath of the genocide, and, in her fifth chapter, Gubar tracks the way such works critically engage with documents in a self-reflexive form of anamnesis she calls "proxy-witness." Other poets have attempted even more daring incorporations of the past; Chapter 6, "The Dead Speak," engages and defends poets such as Sylvia Plath who have used personification and prosopopoeia (impersonation of an

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dead, or inanimate figure) to take on the voices of the dead. Like most poets writing in the wake of the Holocaust reject poetry's traditional associations with the provision of solace and production of redemptive meaning. Instead, poets have fashioned anti-elegies, as Gubar explores in her fourth chapter, "Could You Have Made an Elegy for Every One?" As its title citation from poet Jacqueline Osherow) suggests, Holocaust anti-elegies foreground the radical asymmetry between the individual lyrical voice and the overwhelming scale of mass death. While a topic such as poetry after Auschwitz ought not to permit affirmative conclusions (such affirmative culture was precisely the target of Adorno's wrath), Gubar does allow herself in her conclusion, "Poetry and Survival," to explore what the verse she has read offers in an unredeemed world. Through a reading of Anne Michaels's novel *Fugitive Pieces*, and a return to several of the poets with whom she has been concerned, Gubar offers evidence that in responding to genocide, poets offer at least models for "empathic identification" that neither cut us off from the other nor subsume it beneath our narcissistic concerns. Such a movement beyond the present and beyond identity politics remains crucial in a world still defined by social hierarchies and racial animosity.

Because she is not a historian, Gubar does not offer us new insights into the Nazi genocide itself. However, her methodological wager that even imaginative writers separated from the events can help us think through the dilemmas that the events raise is a welcome intervention into a field still dominated by conservative and empiricist understandings of what counts as knowledge. Yet Gubar's ultimate contribution extends beyond the field of Holocaust studies: *Poetry After Auschwitz* speaks most effectively to the issue of literature's capacity and responsibility in the face of human-made catastrophes. In insisting that poetry is an empathetic art that can and must be practiced across the caesurae of divergent historical experiences and social identities, Gubar contributes to the renewal of a properly humanistic criticism, one that looks squarely in the face of the disasters and inequalities that continue to define human cultures, and refuses to look away.

Michael Rothberg

Beth Greenberg, ed. *Trauma at Home: After 9/11*. Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 2003. 227 pp. ISBN 0-8032-7108-5, $19.95.

One of the essays in this collection, by Richard Stamelman, quotes the dictionary definition of the term "ground zero," thus reminding us of the term's modern—and American—historical roots in the detonation of nuclear bombs in the 1940s and 1950s over desert, city, and water. In addressing the

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other end of the temporal continuum from mid-century to turn-of-century, another essay, by Claire Kahane, strikes a common theme inside as well as outside of the *Trauma at Home* of American "entrance into the culture of globalized political violence with no safe boundaries" (110). This historical and cultural transition represents an ironic and ugly instance of "cultural exchange" whereby urban death through the air returns to the homeland of strategic bombing. This is not to equate Allied aims in the Second World War with Al Qaeda aims on September 11, but simply to characterize the worldwide danger, now fully realized, of the swift means of destructive technology. Now Americans too, through a Pearl Harbor of the homeland, know what it is to encounter mass death in the midst of civilian life. Movingly, Donna Bassin offers instances of the aftermath: "One mother told how painful it was to be at ground zero. If her son had to die there, she explained, she could at least stand there and be with him. One woman wanted to leave a blanket for her daughter. This mother knew her daughter was dead, but there was still a wish to comfort and protect her" (198).

As with any collection of essays, the rhythm of *Trauma at Home* is uneven. But that is not a bad thing, particularly since it is the aim of the book to reproduce as well as to analyze the still fresh confusion of thought and affect over the crashing events in New York of September 11, 2001. Some or even most of the essays, and the collection as a whole, thus bear the marks of trauma, of experience or information not fully, or at all, worked through. This too is a strength of a weakness in the reproduction in content and form of the fact of individual and mass trauma. Some of the essays also address the issue of comparative suffering; for example, that of the slow, steady, silent grind of poverty and violence that affects those many who are very unlike the mostly upscale victims of the gruesomely spectacular blow against the World Trade Center. Will suffering and a new sense of American vulnerability upward within the social spectrum increase or decrease empathy for those below suffering from structural inequalities? Or will old cultural and psychological patterns now reinforced by collective disaster prevail? Patricia Yeager observes how quickly and "coercively" the rubble of the World Trade Center was removed (187), and concludes in the distant spirit of Norman O. Brown's *Life Against Death* (1959) that this reflects a longstanding Western preoccupation with the removal of the dirt and debris that are unsettling reminders of mortality. The speed of removal and plans for renovation also reflect an American cultural predilection for not dwelling on the past, something that in the relatively rapid recovery of the ethic of "business as usual" after September 11 must strike America's fundamentalist foes as another "profane" indulgence in prosperity and diversion at the expense of loftier concerns.

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Trauma at Home not surprisingly contains several essays written from a psychoanalytic point of view that attempt to confront the phenomenon and experience of trauma. It is noted how Holocaust survivors in New York City in the aftermath of 9/11 had to deal once more with nightmares that had actually disappeared over the years. While Susannah Radstone suggests "that trauma may be of only limited value in aiding understanding of the impact of large-scale events such as those of September 11" (118), most of the others find in the twentieth-century literature on trauma much that is valuable in confronting and understanding the effects of the 2001 attacks. The work of Cathy Caruth, Dominick LaCapra, and others on the etiology of trauma is cited to analyze the myriad reported psychological effects of the burning and the tumbling of the Twin Towers. Almost all of the contributors to *Trauma at Home* therefore have recourse to the mimetic model of trauma, which posits that the traumatized person is unable to integrate the trauma into his or her cognitive or perceptual system. The result is subjective acting out of symptoms in the place of objective recollection. Both Kahane and Radstone argue, moreover, that traumas are not inscribed on a blank slate, but that there is individual and collective history at work in their construction. For according to Slavoj Zizek, "deeply unsettling traumas are not those that are entirely unexpected but those that are anticipated in fantasy, those in which one has a libidinal movement" (108). The theoretical orientation used in *Trauma at Home* disregards, rightly in my view, the "antimimetic" model, which holds that trauma is a completely external event that can be controlled and mastered. The events of September 11 as reproduced in *Trauma at Home* add considerable evidence that mastery and recovery have much to overcome.

Geoffrey Cocks

A. J. Daymond, Dorothy Driver, Sheila Meintjes, Leloba Molema, Chiedza Musengezi, Margie Orford, and Nobantu Rasebotsa, eds. *Women Writing Africa*. Vol. 1: *The Southern Region*. New York: Feminist Press at CUNY, 2003. 554 pp. ISBN 1-5586-1406-0, $75.00.

Women Writing Africa is a landmark text that fills a considerable gap in the scholarly field of Southern African writing. The text overflows with copious primary and critical source material sufficient for many new analyses of gender relations not only in South Africa but for the whole Southern region of the continent. It provides a comprehensive history of Southern African women's complex lives and experiences, and introduces readers to an array of contemporary critical perspectives that will be welcomed by feminist and

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Africanist scholars, students, and general readers. The multiple voices of this rich compendium almost burst through its bold yellow and black hardback cover. A major editing achievement and invaluable teaching and research tool, the volume came about through the active encouragement and support of Florence Howe at the Feminist Press, at the instigation of Tuzyline Jita Allan, an associate professor of English at Barnard College, and the financial assistance of the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations. Coming on the heels of the groundbreaking volume *Women Writing in India* (1990), this work of international feminist scholarship was ten years in the making. One-hundred-twenty selections were chosen for the anthology, bearing witness to the voices of over 150 women from the Southern African region. Organized by decades in an historical chronology from 1854 to 2001, the selections feature documentary sources including orature (i.e. transcriptions and translations of women's initiation, wedding, and funeral songs; traditional isiZulu and isiXhosa work songs and praise poetry; Setswana [Botswana], Nyemba [Namibia], and Xhosa [South African] initiation songs; interviews with resistance fighters; court testimony, and the like), political petitions and speeches, and letters to newspapers, as well as overtly literary poetry, prose, and novel excerpts, and edited selections from autobiographical memoirs.

The volume presents disparate voices from colonial, apartheid, and democratic South Africa, Lesotho, and Swaziland, as well as Botswana, Namibia, and Zimbabwe. The seven editors, joined by a host of editorial assistants and headnote writers, foreground political texts arising from ancestral, communal, and modern political contexts. The editors note that they often made difficult and contentious choices, at times deliberately including selections from lesser known black and coloured women over more familiar texts by white authors, while also choosing lesser-known pieces by well-known writers like Tsitsi Dangarembga, Bessie Head, Nadine Gordimer, and Zoë Wicomb.

Coming out in 2003, the publication prompts the obvious question: Why an anthology of women's writing, and why now? To some readers it may seem dated, appearing after the halcyon days of feminist publishing, at a time when feminist scholars themselves have critiqued the homogeneous and essentializing notion of selecting texts solely by reason of the gender of their author. As Dorothy Driver notes, however, in an overview of the project prepared for *Kunapipi* (2001), although many Western nations produced historical anthologies devoted to women's writing in the 1980s and 1990s, only two appeared in South Africa, and none in the other countries represented here. In addition, as long as activists and scholars labored under the oppressive conditions of colonialism and apartheid, concerns with gender took a back seat to racial protests against imperial control by white national

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governments.[1] In South Africa throughout the apartheid period, stories of the struggle against repressive white regimes privileged race relations. Although women wrote, their primary focus was on the politics of racial oppression, not on gender inequalities. In recent years, much of the scholarship documenting the culture, literature, politics, and history of the region has been male-centered, with little attention to women's involvement in public culture, or to gender as an analytical tool. Fiona Ross's *Bearing Witness: Women and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa* (Pluto, 2003) and Tanya Lyon's *Guns and Guerrilla Girls: Women in the Zimbabwean Liberation Struggle* (African World Press, 2003) are new and notable exceptions. This anthology represents such a diversity of women's voices, from different social, economic, political, and cultural traditions, that it defies any presumption of homogeneity within the fluid category "woman." In important ways the anthology is a belated contribution to feminist scholarship within the field of African Studies. In the words of the editors, "*Women Writing Africa* . . . became a project of cultural reconstruction that aims to restore women's voices to the public sphere" (xviii).

The volume does much more than this. It also offers an abundance of primary source material and secondary critical commentary that prompts new acts of readings and interpretation beyond contemporary national borders and received colonial and white categories of analysis. Headnotes introduce each selection, offering in-depth historical, political, and biographical perspectives. The headnote writers themselves present a variety of often conflicting views. Evaluating them against, or in dialogue with, each other would reward the reader seeking to understand the conflicting and evolving critical perspectives of present Southern African scholars as they endeavor to interpret the past. The headnotes frame each selection, giving evidence of the writers' differing critical orientations to history, orature, life narratives, race relations, and more modern forms of feminism. Sometimes the headnote writers contextualize early indigenous political activities to later mixed-race protests, a valuable aspect of the critical framing in a book without an index that might assist the reader in linking various thematic concerns. Sometimes they assert a "nascent feminist consciousness" to women's protest writing in earlier eras that can be read against differing (and more postmodern) interpretations of the authors who compiled the introduction. The headnote authors also lend a diversity of local critical perspectives by young as well as more seasoned African scholars, in counter-distinction to the predominance of critical interpretations already available by first world scholars of Southern African literature. To add to the complex layerings, the text opens with a preface that addresses the logistical and linguistic challenges presented by the project,

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followed by an eighty-two-page collaborative introduction by the seven editors that includes authoritative footnotes and an extensive bibliography.

The critical introduction works across the chronological organization of the volume, raising a multitude of questions about the production, framing, circulation, reception, and interpretation of the selections. In the words of the editors, their intention was to "open up the archives of Southern African women's cultural and political history to different ways of understanding the region, an understanding which will focus now on homogeneity, now on heterogeneity, now on sameness, now on difference, and allow for entirely new connections and insights" (5). Among other things, the variety and accumulation of selections confounds the cultural category of "woman," while also positing the centrality of gender to the articulation of voice, identity, and social relations as women "write" Africa and Africa writes "women." The Introduction and headnotes also attend to colonial, Christian, patriarchal, and other modes of cultural domination affecting the production of "voice" that differently inflect the selections of white, black, and coloured writers (as defined by the racialized categories of apartheid), and provide an historical overview of major ethnographic, political, and cultural influences on women's voices and writings emanating from the Southern African region. These include attention to a variety of indigenous traditions and practices; colonial migrations; the influence of Mission-based education in the nineteenth century; the pass law demonstrations that led to the Sharpeville massacres of 1960; the *Drum* magazine decade of writings from the black intelligentsia in the 1950s; the male-dominated Black Consciousness movement and women's agency within it; censorship and apartheid writing in exile; resistance and guerrilla movements in Botswana, Zimbabwe, and South Africa; the Truth and Reconciliation Commission; the HIV-AIDs crisis; and post-apartheid social, political, and global relations.

The editors alert readers to the contrapuntal tensions of "one voice against another" (21) as they resonate within the chronological organization of the text, registering and mediating complex gendered relations, rendered through different styles, genres, and performances of voice. South African black women's petitions represent a collective "we," sometimes mitigated by legal and political conditions that disable an identifiable and unified "women's" position; selections by black, white, and coloured women contest each other; traditional, rural, and urban-based indigenous women assert the ongoing importance of homeland customs, *ubuntu,* female initiation, and motherhood traditions; colonized black women deploy indigenous legal traditions in opposition to settler impositions of law. As the Introduction signals, black women assert resistant versions of selfhood in their relationships

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settler whites; and white women confess to their ambivalence over sex-jealousies with black women, fears of black male sexuality, and anxieties the insecure nature of their custodial, European positions. Individually collectively, the women's voices evince relations of intimacy and conflict each other and their menfolk; and with tribal, colonial, apartheid, and the case of Botswana, Zimbabwe, and South Africa) liberationist leaders' archal presumptions of authority over their lives. Taken together, these forms of narrative defy naive Western readers' opinions concerning African women's docility and subordination to men, and confound easy division between settlers and those they attempted to colonize. The rent modes and genres of writing included call attention to hybridized oral versus written traditions, and difficulties of cross-cultural transla-In the words of the editors, "the 'hybrid' construction of black and voices is a crucial topic throughout [the] anthology" (20).

In keeping with local African traditions, orature (however compromised the mediations of recording, transcription, and translation) constitutes third of the selections, rendering a rich blend of voices from matrilineal patriarchal societies, as well as diverse cultural groups and traditions. In of the many comprehensive footnotes to the Introduction, Yvonne Vera, contemporary Zimbabwean writer, offers testimony to the importance of traditions:

> Our people know the power of words. It is because of this that they desire to have words continuously spoken and kept alive. We do not believe that words can become independent of the speech that bore them, of the humans that controlled and gave birth to them. . . . Words surrendered to the stranger, like the abandoned child, will become alien—a stranger to our tongues.
>
> The paper is the stranger's own particular custom, a trick he employs against time. Among ourselves, speech is not like a rock. Words are as malleable as the minds of the people who create them. (from *Nebanda* [1993] 39–40; qtd. 56n14)

Despite Vera's assertion of the primacy of voice, the selections offer much to the student of literature. Ironically, the piece of Vera's writing selected by the editors for the anthology actually celebrates writing over speech, although as a highly physical and tangible form of activity. "The woman I am," she writes, "inside the writing, embraced and freed by it" (489).

The juxtaposition of her statements demonstrates the fluidity of subjectivities and speaking positions put forward in the anthology. The former of Vera's statements, in its attempt to speak for "our people," also prompts the question of who is the "we" of the anthology, and to whom is it addressed?

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No doubt the Feminist Press has an American university audience in mind. But the text, also to be published by the University of Witwatersrand, when taken up by African readers—students, aspiring writers, feminists, historians, and cultural critics alike, both in the region and in diasporic locales—is bound to inspire multiple responses, and call forth different interpretations and understandings.

The anthology challenges many notions of women's presumed docility, marking it as an overtly feminist project. Voices of dissent and resistance to colonial authority, like the first poem written in English by a black South African woman, Adelaide Charles Dube in 1913, confound presumptions of the black women's lack of power or agency against colonial power structures and the loss of ancestral homelands. Headnote writers note that migrant women's music and Zulu women's praise poetry also carried on a politics of resistance that transformed the traditionally masculine forms of oral literature. In the townships and homelands, Xhosa women's praise poetry played a crucial role in subverting state mechanisms of authority while also curbing the patriarchal presumptions of husbands, brothers, and sons. At the same time, South African women, educated by American Missionaries and sent to university in the United States from the 1880s to the 1930s, before the opening of Fort Hare (the first black South African university, established in 1939), learned, borrowed, and were empowered by the civil rights movement in the United States and feminist campaigns in the English-speaking world. Xhosa scholar Charlotte Manye Maxeke, for example, studied at Wilberforce University in Ohio with W. E. B. DuBois, becoming the first black African woman graduate in 1901, and returning to South Africa to advocate for women's rights in the New African Movement. A powerful critic of colonial and Christian processes of colonization, her modernist speeches and prose writings, according to the headnote introduction by Ntongela Masilela, "enabled the connections with black culture across the Atlantic that made the construction of South African modernity possible" (195). Maxeke, like her younger activist sisters Lilian Ngoyi, Phyllis Ntantala, and Ellen K. Kuzwayo, belonged to a class of black intellectuals speaking publicly and writing in the 1920s, 30s, and 40s, who wove Christian, Africanist, feminist, and modernist discourses into their insightful analyses of class, gender, and race relations in South Africa.

Women Writing Africa attests to the many black assertions of selfhood in relation to white domination, none more dramatic than the South African protests against the pass laws that were extended to women in the 1950s, provoking a period of renewed politicization and intense activism. Arguing that men had accepted the pass laws too readily, women refused to conform.

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over 50,000 women of all races, in cities and remote areas, participated in active defiance that lasted for more than eighteen months. With the support of the unions, the Communist Party, and the ANC, women organized petitions (158), published a Women's Charter (236–40), set up a number of militant women's organizations, regularly burned their passes, and demonstrated their opposition throughout the "banned" areas across the country. Led by the first woman to be elected to the National Executive of the ANC, union organizer Lilian Ngoyi, 20,000 women staged a silent thirty-minute protest in 1956. Her Presidential Address to the ANC's Women's League of the same year (241–44) stands as a testament to freedom, and a stirring tribute to South African women's passionate defiance of the evils of apartheid. Although the movement ultimately failed, as the tentacles of apartheid surveillance, censorship, and Bantu education effectively silenced protests within the country for more than four decades, the story presented here documents the politicization of women, their courage and resilience.

Women Writing Africa includes a number of writings "banned" under apartheid from many exiled writers, including Winnie Madikizela Mandela's story of detention, and an award-winning story of hope amidst the despair of the Soweto ghetto by Miriam Thali, the first black South African woman to publish a novel in English, which both aligns itself to and defies the dictates of a male-dominated Black Consciousness Movement. There were a number of important political narratives published in the 1980s by an older generation of well-educated blacks, like Ellen K. Kuzwayo's *Call Me Woman* (1985), a narrative that challenged the masculine rhetoric of Black Consciousness, and that found an international feminist readership. Kuzwayo is represented in an excerpt from her *African Wisdom* (1998), a text that juxtaposes the wisdom of African proverbs against the paucity of the Bantu education system, and proposes a return to traditional African proverbs as a restorative instrument against the prevailing urban violence. It is one of the few excerpts to address new issues confronting the post-apartheid state.

One of the disconcerting aspects of the book, and one perhaps inevitable due to the long gestation of the project, is the relative absence of contemporary voices addressing the social, political, economic, legal, educational, health, and other human rights issues that present new challenges and continue to limit women's freedoms and opportunities. One wonders what is happening to women in periods of post-independence? A few of the selections hint at some of the difficulties that may lie ahead. An excerpt from the Zimbabwean Women's Action Group tells the stories of three women, among some 6,316 arrested and imprisoned on specious charges of prostitution in 1983 (375–76), in a post-independence government "Clean Up" campaign

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Another selection, an "Open Letter" by the women of Botswana, protests against the government's decision to deny citizenship to children of foreign fathers (386–89), indicating the precarious nature of citizenship in nations still controlled by male-dominated legal and political systems. A number of stories tell of rape and physical abuse of women freedom fighters at the hands of their comrades in liberation struggles. Testimonies given to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission hearings in South Africa (Sheila Masote, 479–84), and accounts of atrocities witnessed by family members culled from interviews with women of Zimbabwe (Elizabeth Dube, 515–20), give witness to human rights violations of still grieving survivors who were largely silenced and remain in need of recognition. The contempt suffered by these women from their former comrades, the silencing of their stories, and the seething wounds awaiting redress, indicate the ongoing pain and the precarious position of women across the Southern African region today.

Women Writing Africa deserves a paramount place in African Studies and feminist scholarship. It not only fills in a considerable gap in the historical representation of women's politicization in the region, but it also offers contemporary feminists, biographical scholars, and cultural historians ample evidence of the ongoing critical contestations involved in restoring voice to a silenced historical past; what is at stake in the production, circulation, and reception of those voices; and how the stories impact on contemporary cultural debates not only about the Southern African region, but also about the restoration of women's agency around the globe at the present time.

NOTE

1. Driver, a professor of Southern African literature at the University of Capetown, and compiler of the annual survey of South African literary and critical writing in English for the *Journal of Commonwealth Literature,* mounts a powerful defense for the project, arguing that historically "Southern African women's cultural and political agency has been minimized since their voices have been insufficiently heard, their actions often sidelined, and their understandings of their own historical situations, and indeed of gender, largely ignored, and only when all this has been taken into account can Southern African political and cultural history start falling into place" (155).

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Kay Schaffer

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Antoinette Burton. *Dwelling in the Archive: Women Writing House, Home, and History in Late Colonial India.* New York: Oxford UP, 2003. x + 202 pp. ISBN: 0-19-514425-2, $21.95.

Dwelling in the Archive, which extends Antoinette Burton's previous explorations of some of the intersections between India and Britain in late Victorian culture to the waning days of the British empire in India, constitutes an attempt on her part to stretch the parameters of what professional historians would ordinarily construe as "history," and in particular, the "historical archive." Over the course of the last two decades, the study of history has been emboldened, howsoever insufficiently, by various theoretical trajectories such as poststructuralism and postcolonialism; at the same time, the notion of who constitute the proper subjects of history has been considerably expanded to include women, sexual and ethnic minorities, orphans, social "deviants," and many others previously consigned to the margins of history. These additive histories have had a remarkably long run, and show little signs of abatement, indeed, since they are embraced with unbounded enthusiasm by the innumerable adherents of identity politics, one can be certain that they will be around in the foreseeable future. By the late 1970s, the received notion of the "text" was also beginning to be thoroughly discarded, and the idea of the "text" was rendered malleable enough to include the private diaries of working-class women, folktales, comics, and even public statuary. *Dwelling in the Archive* stands, one might say, at the intersection of such developments.

Just how capacious Burton's conception of the archive is becomes evident enough in the central ethnographic chapters that focus on three South Asian women, but Burton initiates her inquiry into the politics of representing the archive with a broad historiographic sweep. The archives, too, must be represented, for to represent is also to endow with an identity. At one time the notion of archives brought to mind political history, state documents, property ownership deeds, and tax records, but Burton suggests that the archive can be rendered, if one may use a term that evokes its own sexual politics, infinitely more fecund as a site of other histories. It is commonly imagined that archives yield public and political histories, and that such archives have little room for private memories; but Burton's intent is to fragment the opposition of public and private, of history and memory, and in particular, of history as the site of masculinist thinking and grand narratives, and of memory as the site of feminine desire and domesticated ruminations. For Burton, such a political and hermeneutic exercise leads to questions that appear with insistent effect. What histories do domestic interiors yield? What are the architectural idioms of history? How can a home be the foundation of history? Why do the metaphors of home and house occupy such a prominent

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place in history and memory? What is the relationship of women to the archive? Why, when the study of gender has become so paramount, have we not understood the numerous ways in which archives are themselves repositories of a gendered politics? It follows, then, that Burton is working with a more expansive conception of who counts as an "historian" and what counts for "history," just as she seeks to give politics a reach that was always anticipated in feminist theory.

The women who form the centerpiece of Burton's attempted democratization of the archive embodied, in many respects, vastly divergent politics. As the daughter of W. C. Bonnerjee, the first president of the Indian National Congress, an organization of Indian elites that was transformed under Mohandas Gandhi into a mass organization agitating for freedom from British rule, Janaki Majumdar was privileged to be a witness to the emergence in India of institutionalized politics of the modern variety. Her narrative, called a "Family History," points however to the preoccupations which appeared to weigh most heavily in Majumdar's mind. A number of houses in Bengal, and later in Britain, where the Bonnerjees took up residence are recalled at considerable length, but Majumdar was particularly moved to recount the hardships endured by her mother, Hemangini. Indeed, the transiency of their lifestyles is contrasted with the endurance that the written text perforce implies, as well as with what might be described as the permanent sense of affliction that Hemangini experienced. Majumdar's "Family History," writes Burton, "foregrounds the contributions of one unsung heroine who made W. C. Bonnerjee's professional success possible by her private sacrifices" (59). Lest one should mistake this for the cliched observation that behind the success of every "great man" is a woman, which would turn women into the mere handmaidens of men, indeed of destiny, one might productively recall the nature of colonial knowledge production. Though the credit for the "discovery" of Indian texts and artifacts, and even of such innovations as fingerprinting, went to Europeans, we now know that "natives" played a considerable, often decisive, role in these enterprises. Burton's endeavor, in bringing Majumdar's "Family History" to light, is to point to the politics of knowledge which inheres in domestic as much as public arrangements. The domestic genealogies of Indian nationalism, Burton submits, have hitherto largely been obscured.

Though less of a diasporic woman than Janaki Majumdar, the Parsi Christian barrister Cornelia Sorabji was educated at Oxford from 1889–1892, and had occasion to lecture in Britain on a number of occasions later in life. As a Lady Assistant to the Court of Wards, Sorabji became renowned as an expert on the zenana, or the interior quarters of traditional as well as

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respectable households, which were preeminently the domain of women. Sorabji sought to preserve the "sacred" space of the zenana, and struggled to keep it free from the influence of nationalist politics. However feeble by modern feminist reckoning the attempts of Gandhi and other like-minded nationalists to make political participation more accessible to women might have been, Sorabji declared herself opposed to such "feminist" politics, and went so far as to say that "the woman question has always been, since organized, an anti-British (and now) Terrorist movement" (86). Sorabji was, to put it mildly, possessive of the zenana, valuing it "above all as an antinationalist model for the modern Indian woman" (67). While Burton is, of course, cognizant of the numerous and often conflicting meanings with which the zenana came to be invested in nationalist, modernist, and colonialist discourses, Sorabji interests her as someone who "turned the zenana into a museum, staked her claim as its authoritative tour guide, and transformed it from an archive into a souvenir for consumption by a variety of imperial and colonial publics" (69). Likening the zenana to virgin or unexplored territory, Sorabji didn't only construe herself as its gatekeeper; she was also its archivist. Burton notes that Sorabji's reports for the Court of Wards generated a large body of statistics (71); and statistics, we need not be reminded, are the work of the state and help to keep it afloat. The private and public spaces of politics may not be as far apart as we are accustomed to thinking.

Burton rounds up her ethnography, and her discussion of the various forms in which notions of home and house find expression, with a consideration of the work of the novelist Attia Hossain. The "compulsion to remember through home" is as palpably present in Hossain's work as it is in Majumdar's "family history": living through the partition, Hossain points to the near impossibility of "dwelling comfortably at home in the wake of the unspeakable violence of the past" (106). Fifty years after Hossain had settled down in Britain, she still looked to India as her home; as she confessed in an interview, she had been unable to put down roots in Britain. If anyone should be inclined to think that Hossain's feeling of homesickness seems particularly anomalous in a novelist who had fittingly made her home in England, Burton is there with a rejoinder: the novel had almost as long a history in India as in its putative home, Britain. (The novel, arising in large part through the "colonial encounter," was consolidated, Burton argues, "as an already hybrid form" (116)—perhaps not an altogether convincing argument, or with much analytical purchase, considering that a massive range of phenomena could be described as having originated through what has come to be known as the "colonial encounter." It appears that hybridity should now be taken as the bedrock of nearly any such argument.) Focusing on Hossain's *Sunlight*

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on a Broken Column, Burton weaves between the novel, Hossain's own story, and the larger canvas furnished by partition histories and narratives.

Burton all but concedes that, followed to its logical conclusion, her conception of the archive would turn us all into archivists (139). She detects, moreover, a resistance to this endeavor even among those scholars who have been critical of official histories, whether of the colonial or nationalist variety, and wonders whether the characterization of the archive as, in the language of Nicholas Dirks, a "discursive formation in the totalizing sense" that "reflects the categories and operations of the state itself" does not return us to the conception of the archive as a "panoptical institution" (140). How far one can follow Burton down the road she proposes depends, as well, on the readings that one is prepared to furnish of "memory" and "history." Though *Dwelling in the Archives* is doubtless an impassioned and elegant book, her readings of some of the theorists could perhaps have been more rigorous and nuanced. She argues, to take one instance, that in considering memory as "the raw material of history," Jacques le Goff subscribes to an evolutionary view the consequence of which must be to supplant memory (the primitive, the feminine) with history (the civilized, the masculine). No one familiar with le Goff's dissenting readings of medieval European history and modernity would so readily come to such a conclusion. Indeed, in Indian culture, one might say that the order of the raw and the cooked are reversed. Brahmins are easily contaminated by cooked food, but much less so by raw foods; holy fasts are broken with offerings of grains and fruits. Those who imbibe raw rather than cooked foods are viewed as more evolved. History, one might well argue, is but a fast; memory is a feast. What if nothing much was gained, and a good deal lost, in attempting to confer on memory the epistemological primacy that one mistakenly attributes to history?

Vinay Lal

The Fall 2003 issue of *Biography* (26.4: 755–57) contained a review by Lynn Domina of *Holy Boldness: Women Preachers' Autobiographies and the Sanctified Self,* by Susie C. Stanley (Knoxville: U of Tennessee P, 2002, 268 pp., ISBN 1-57233-310-3, $18.00). The following exchange explores issues raised in the review.

I appreciate the opportunity to interact with the reviewer regarding my book. This fulfills the goal stated in the preface in terms of my desire to be in conversation with theorists (xii). The thesis of the book is that the sanctified self which is socially constructed in a religious context replaces the socially constructed self imposed by society. However, the reviewer claims that I "implie[d] that the sanctified self is somehow more real than the socially

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constructed self" and that this "is simply incorrect." This critique is unfounded. The fact that the sanctified self is socially constructed is never in question. I clearly state throughout the book that the sanctified self is a socially constructed self. For example, "the Wesleyan/Holiness religious tradition offered an alternative construction of gender" (first sentence of fly leaf); "sanctification resulted in a new construction of the self" (85); and "Wesleyan/Holiness theology explicitly fostered the alternative construction of a confident self" (94). The reviewer relied on an undocumented assertion rather than the many statements I make in the book which speak of the sanctified self as a socially constructed self.

On the pages the reviewer does reference (95, 122), I am actually contrasting society's socially constructed self and the socially constructed sanctified self rather than claiming one is "more real" than the other. Page 88 discusses the autobiographers' viewpoint which I dispute.

In chapter four I wrestle with the notion of the self in autobiographical theory by examining the theology supporting the sanctified self, and how a religious community could foster a social construction of self that challenged the self constructed by the broader culture. The socially constructed sanctified self successfully replaced the earlier self constructed by society at large. The women themselves spoke of it as defying woman's sphere.

Also, contrary to the reviewer's contention, I did not "neglect" a discussion of Jesus in the book. She quoted from page 73: "Women did not always distinguish between the members of the Trinity. Palmer wrote of both God and the Holy Spirit as agents of sanctification." This statement reflects the function of two persons of the trinity in the experience of sanctification. When I discuss the experience of conversion, Jesus is the focus. Also, I specifically address Jesus' endorsement of an alternative construction of gender when he affirmed women speaking in public. On page 134, I summarize the autobiographers' justification for the socially constructed sanctified self. They refer to Jesus seven times.

I have been engaged in feminist analysis for thirty years as an activist, researcher, and writer. While I welcome dialogue and constructive reflection on my book, to state that my interpretations are "generally feminist" is likewise troubling. It would be helpful to know specifically which interpretations were not feminist.

Since the review was based on "implication" and a misreading of statements in the book as well as unstated generalizations, it did not accurately address the book's thesis. I appreciate the chance to set the record straight, and welcome ongoing dialogue.

Susie C. Stanley

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When I read exchanges between authors and reviewers, I tell myself that such is a game better not played, so I am responding to Susie C. Stanley against my better judgment. I regret that Dr. Stanley has felt so insulted by my review; I obviously was not critiquing her "thirty years as an activist, researcher, and writer," merely commenting on what I perceived as the strengths and weaknesses of one book.

In regard to her penultimate paragraph, I did not use the phrase "generally feminist" to mean "mostly (but not entirely) feminist," but rather that her analysis falls within the general category of feminist interpretation rather than being aligned with any particular school within feminist theory. This was description, not criticism.

The bulk of Stanley's response argues that I misread her thesis. In the book itself, she states, "Since my thesis is that sanctification has a positive impact on the self-understanding of Wesleyan/Holiness women, it is imperative to address this negative perspective" critiquing sanctification as destructive to women's autonomy (14–15). I believe I accurately paraphrased this thesis at the end of the first paragraph of my review—but this is not the thesis she describes in her response. Having looked again at *Holy Boldness*, I maintain that slippage consistently occurs when she is opposing a "socially constructed self," whether using that phrase itself, or the phrase "gendered self" or even "shackled self" (171), to another understanding of identity, and this is why I assert that Stanley's handling of the more theoretical material is awkward. Most often, she seems to define the "socially constructed self" as a person who accepts or believes she should accept socially prescribed gender roles. She states, for example, "Several women . . . highlighted the tension between the gendered self . . . and the sanctified self" (122). Or again, "The doctrine of sanctification played a major role in transforming Wesleyan/Holiness women's understanding of self, making it possible for them to transcend the constructions of self imposed on them by various forces in society" (5).

Nor do I believe that Stanley's claim that the "sanctified self" is constructed is as clear in the book as she would like. Let me quote the final sentence of the opening paragraph of the first chapter: "it is argued here that sanctification fosters a graced autonomous self that enabled women to act as public religious leaders in ways impossible prior to their experience of sanctification" (1). Despite the passive voice, I take this sentence to mean that Stanley herself argues for a "graced autonomous self" as a result of sanctification. Because Stanley describes herself (in the midst of the text, not the bio notes) as not only ordained in the Church of God but also as a feminist leader within that denomination (27), I interpret her use of theological terminolo-

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such as "graced" to be sincere, which again is not a criticism but does make difficult for me to believe that Stanley means such a self is socially conscrued.

But let us stop. Readers, you decide.

Lynn Domina

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LIFELINES

Call for Papers. "Mobilis in Mobile." International Conference on Studies in Travel Writing. University of Hong Kong. 11–13 July 2005. Conference organizers (the University of Hong Kong English Department and Nottingham Trent University Centre for Travel Writing Studies) seek proposals for panels and twenty-minute papers from scholars working in the area of travel writing within the disciplines of literary, historical, and cultural studies. Particularly welcome are papers that introduce underrepresented travel writers and regions, or that apply new critical and theoretical approaches to specific works, writers, periods, regions, or to the genre as a whole. Invited speakers include Peter Bishop, Mary Baine Campbell, Mary Fuller, Peter Hulme, and Tim Youngs. Please send 300 word abstracts to Paul Smethurst at mobile@hkusua.hku.hk. For more information, see www.hku.hk/english/mobile/mobile.htm. **Deadline:** 30 Dec. 2004.

Call for Papers. "Early Asian American Writing." Annual Meeting of the Circle for Asian American Literary Studies subdivision of the American Literature Association (see www.americanliterature.org). Boston. 26–29 2005. Papers are sought that feature innovative considerations of Asian American writing—or writings about Asians and Asian Americans—before World War I. Studies that interpret literary texts in conjunction with travelogues, ethnographic writing, legal cases, visual representations, films, and material culture are welcome. Please send a 1-page abstract and cv to Hsuan L. Hsu, Visiting Scholar, American Academy of Arts and Sciences; hhsu@post.harvard.edu. **Deadline:** 5 Jan. 2005.

Call for Papers. "Voices of Dissent, Voices of Hope." Oral History Association Annual Meeting. Providence, RI. 2–6 Nov. 2005. The Program Committee of the Oral History Association welcomes proposals for presentations on a variety of topics. However, in keeping with the historic role of the city of Providence in welcoming religious dissenters, the 2005 Annual Meeting will focus special attention on oral history work with persons who have sought freedom of expression, freedom from coercion, and freedom of conscience. Presentations may deal with religious freedom and the ways people have resisted oppression based on religious identity, or have dissented from the coercive intentions of powerful figures and institutions—religious and secular. We anticipate that the stories of political protesters, labor organizers, and reformers advocating various causes will be an important part of

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the meeting. The history of protest is often the history of hopefulness. Thus "voices of hope" will be important as well. Presentations based on interviews with persons who kept hope alive in the face of oppression and deprivation are welcome, as are presentations on other forms of hopefulness. Because oral history often relies on interviews with elderly persons, presentations on the relationship of aging and hope would be of particular interest. Regional historians and students of New England, Atlantic Coast, and especially Providence history are encouraged to submit proposals, as are those whose work concerns international topics. The committee also invites proposals for presentations that reflect on the process of oral history and the role of theory in its practice. A variety of formats and presentation methods will be welcome, including traditional panels with chair and discussant, workshops, poster sessions, and media and performance-oriented sessions. The committee particularly hopes to build the program around presentations in which the audience may hear recordings of the actual voices of dissent and hope on which research is based. Direct queries to the Program Cochairs: Pamela Dean, University of Maine, pamela_dean@umit.maine.edu; and David Stricklin, Lyon College, dstricklin@lyon.edu. Submit proposals by mail or fax—no e-mail attachments will be accepted—to Madelyn Campbell, Oral History Association, Dickinson College, P.O. Box 1773, Carlisle, PA 17013; fax: 717 245-1046 For courier service, add Holland Union Building, College and Louther Streets. Submit five copies of the proposal. For full sessions, submit a title, a session abstract of not more than two pages, and a one-page vita or resume for each participant. For individual proposals, submit a one-page abstract and a one-page vita or resume. Each submission must be accompanied by a cover sheet, which can be printed from the OHA Web site, www.dickinson.edu/oha. **Deadline:** 15 Jan. 2005.

Call for Papers. "Island Identities: Imagining History in Britain and Ireland, 1200–1700." Queen's University Belfast. 4–8 Aug. 2005. To celebrate the conclusion of the Arts and Humanities Research Board-funded "Imagining History" project at Queen's University Belfast (www.qub.ac.uk/imagininghistory) in September 2005, papers are invited on the relationships linking histories and ethnicities in Britain and Ireland between 1200 and 1700. Concerned with the cultural trajectories of the Middle English *Prose Brut*, the "Imagining History" project has aimed to redefine the parameters of the late medieval and early modern historical imagination. The "Island Identities" Conference hopes to open the field of late medieval and early modern historiographies to wider consideration, and is particularly interested in assessing the role of historically sensitive literatures in the construction of local,

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regional, metropolitan, and national identities in Britain and Ireland in this turbulent period. Contributors are invited to submit proposals responding to the following themes: histories and ethnicities: frontier cultures write back; remapping pre- and early modern identities; the "British project": medieval and early modern; province and metropole; nations and narrations; trade and territories: medieval and early modern books in transit; gender histories; literatures of belonging; the death of the Chronicle?; Brutus and Brennus: Europe in England and England in Europe; language politics and policies in multilingual settings; the historiographical reader; place and periodization. Send 500-word proposals for papers to Stephen Kelly at s.p.kelly@qub.ac.uk. **Deadline:** 30 Apr. 2005.

Call for Contributors. *African American National Biography Project.* Editors: Henry Louis Gates, Jr., and Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham. Contributors are sought to write biographical entries for the African American National Biography, a joint project of the W. E. B. Du Bois Institute at Harvard University and Oxford University Press. The largest African American Studies project ever undertaken, the African American National Biography will present history through a mosaic of the lives of over ten thousand individuals, illuminating the abiding influence of African Americans on the life of the United States. Entries will cover not only famous African Americans, but a selection of lives representative of the scope of African American experience. Articles are welcome on African Americans in all fields, from all periods of North American history, and from all stations of life: activists, writers and journalists, slaves, sharecroppers, domestic workers, laborers, musicians, politicians, government workers, judges, lawyers, ministers, preachers and other religious workers, educators, athletes, sports figures, actors, directors, filmmakers, doctors, nurses, artists, photographers, business people, entrepreneurs, military personnel, scientists, philanthropists, dancers, frontiersmen, cowboys, inventors, aviators, astronauts, explorers, legendary figures, and more. Entries will generally be 1,000 to 1,500 words in length, and will include a brief bibliography. Each entry will be signed by the author, and will carry an honorarium typically of $100 to $150. The first volume of the project, *African American Lives,* appeared from Oxford University Press this spring. For more information, contact John K. Bollard, Executive Editor, African American National Biography, W. E. B. Du Bois Institute for African and African American Research, Harvard University, 69 Dunster Street, Cambridge, MA 02138; aanb@fas.harvard.edu, or visit the website at fas.harvard.edu/~aanb.

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Call for Articles. "Letters and Life Writing." An *A/B: Auto/Biography Studies* Special Issue, Guest Editor: Margaretta Jolly.

Hewitt puts his love letters from Princess Diana up for auction; J. D. Salinger sues Ian Hamilton for quoting his archived letters in a literary biography; a circular e-mail petition about the oppression of Afghani women crashes its originator's university computer system; anthrax on envelopes adds fears of terrorism; a woman accused of setting Colorado's biggest wildfire says she was burning a letter from her estranged husband; the testimonial letters of Korean "comfort women" help to get women's rights included in human rights charters; rockstar Alanis Morrisette riffs on unsent letters to former lovers; Ruth Picardie's e-mails, with her magazine column about dying of cancer, are published posthumously by her husband. Most people still write letters—though common opinion is that the art is dead and they are very rarely published as literature. Letters persist as celebrity or literary artifacts, faxes, e-mail, fantasized archival and genealogical heritages, testimony, social communications, personal ads, and fan mail, as well as in more traditional forms of literary devices, historical resources, journalistic petitions, correspondence courses, and everyday communications.

Arguably letters, like autobiography and biography, have been energized by the age of information and global communication, confession and celebrity, testimony and trauma. Essays are accordingly invited that illuminate the practice and art of letter-writing in the late twentieth and twenty-first centuries, or that consider letters—or their study—from previous eras in the light of contemporary concerns. Examples of topics that essays may engage include truth, confession, witnessing, and the contemporary letter; persuasion in letters; postmodernity and rhetoric; letters, loss, and trauma; letters and the biography industry; e-mail, faxes, mobile phones, and the death/regeneration of letter writing; letters, historiography, and the return of (grand) narrative; publishing, archiving, and epistolary ethics; letter-writing, migration, and diasporic identities; visual letters: the letter in art and media; (virtual) genders, sexualities, epistolarities; literacy and letter-writing outside the academy; letter-writing, globalization, petitioning; the history of epistolary theory, letter-metaphors in critical theory; fragmentation, individuality, community, and the letter.

Send abstracts of 300–400 words to Margaretta Jolly at m.jolly@exeter.ac.uk; School of English, Queen's Building, University of Exeter, Exeter EX4 6DD, UK. **Deadline:** 1 Aug. 2005.

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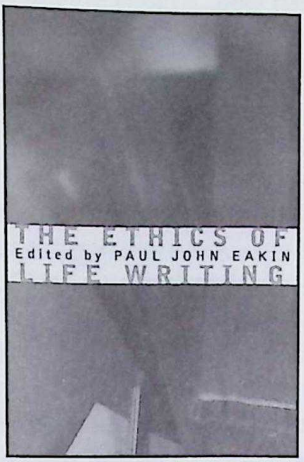

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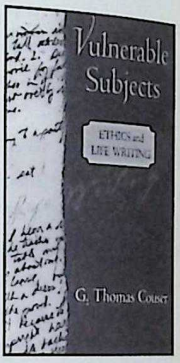

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Women and the Holocaust web site, and has published and researched extensively on literary responses to the Shoah, women's Holocaust experiences, anti-Semitism in German literature, teaching the Holocaust, and language use in the Third Reich. She is the co-author of *Nazi Deutsch/Nazi German: An English Lexicon of the Language of the Third Reich* (Greenwood, 2002).

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Distraction: Cinema of Excess in End-of-the-Century Mexico and Spain (SUNY P 2003), and *Danger Zones: Homosexuality, National Identity and American Culture* (U of Arizona P, 1996).

Schaffer is a recently retired Professor (now Adjunct) with a Personal Chair in the Gender and Labor Studies program, School of Social Sciences, The University of Adelaide. Her books include *Women and the Bush* (Cambridge UP, 1988), *In the Wake of First Contact: The Eliza Fraser Stories* (Cambridge UP, 1996), and with Sidonie Smith, *Human Rights and Narrated Lives: The Ethics of Recognition* (Palgrave, 2004). Her article with Smith, "Conjunctions: Life Narratives in the Field of Human Rights," appeared in *Biography* 27.1 (Winter 2004).

Kenneth Silverman, Professor Emeritus of English at New York University, the Pulitzer Prize-winning author of four biographies, the most recent being *Lightning Man: The Accursed Life of Samuel F. B. Morse* (Knopf, 2003).

Susie C. Stanley is Professor of Historical Theology at Messiah College, where she specializes in nineteenth and twentieth century American theology, women in ministry, social holiness, and the Wesleyan/Holiness tradition. In addition to *Holy Boldness,* she is the author of *Feminist Pillar of Fire: The Life of Alma White* (Pilgrim, 1993).

Cecilia Tidd works in the Department of French Studies at the University of Manchester. She has published extensively on Simone de Beauvoir's literature and philosophy. Her research interests are in the field of twentieth century French women's writing, thought, and Holocaust writing.

Shearer West is Professor of Art History at the University of Birmingham, UK. She is the author and editor of many books and articles on eighteenth-century art and theatre, including *Image of the Actor: Verbal and Visual Representation in the Age of Garrick and Kemble* (St. Martin's, 1991) and *Visual Arts in Germany, 1890–1937: Utopia and Despair* (Rutgers UP, 2001), and editor of *Italian Culture in Northern Europe in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge UP, 1999).

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"HAPPY, HAPPY EVER AFTER": THE TRANSFORMATION OF TRAUMA BETWEEN THE GENERATIONS IN ART SPIEGELMAN'S *MAUS: A SURVIVOR'S TALE*

VICTORIA A. ELMWOOD

They didn't want you to know the past. They were hoping in this way you could escape it.

—Carolyn Forché, "The Notebook of Uprising"

The central problem of identity in Art Spiegelman's *Maus: A Survivor's Tale* is the author's need to write himself into a family from whose founding trauma he was absent. We can look to *Maus*'s multitiered metanarrative structure for evidence of the productive, though not always cooperative, interaction taking place between father and son that allows for a relationship in which Art Spiegelman creates an identity for himself with respect to his parents' experience of the Holocaust. The illustrator's biography of his father's experiences in Auschwitz seeks to narrow the psychological rift between himself and each one of his family members, whether deceased or still alive. Spiegelman is most successful in creating a place for himself in the family by soliciting, shaping, and representing his father's story. In his mediation of Vladek's biographical narrative, Spiegelman develops a balance between his own voice and that of his father. Since the father and son have difficulty getting along in person, the comics medium provides a space in which both men have input in the eventual product. In addition, Spiegelman's role as narrative facilitator provides a means by which he narrates himself into the family legacy without appropriating the experience of the Holocaust as his own. The deceased, however, present a greater challenge to reconciliation via narrative endeavor. While Spiegelman presents a more detailed memory of his mother Anja than of his brother Richieu, who died before his birth, Anja is generally seen through Vladek's eyes, with the noteworthy exception of

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"Prisoner on the Hell Planet," which depicts the aftermath of his mother's suicide. Spiegelman himself is too traumatized by Anja's suicide to incorporate her voice into *Maus*. Surprisingly, Art contrives a normative model for a relationship with his ghost-brother, but the posthumous sibling rivalry puts Spiegelman in a no-win situation in which survival of the death camps is prized as the only validating experience available to Spiegelman family members. Of the family members absent at the time of *Maus*'s composition, the mother of whom he possesses knowledge proves more challenging to depict than the older brother whom he has never met. *Maus* successfully represents the non-memory of Richieu and Vladek's authentic account, but the two-volume graphic novel cannot make a satisfactory space for Anja, whose presence in the narrative is fragmentary and doubly mediated.

Though this transmission of familial memory might be characteristic of all cross-generational inheritance, the passing down of such personal histories becomes especially problematic and disruptive in the case of the children of traumatized individuals. The disruptions resulting from the Spiegelman family traumas take the forms of fetishes, silenced testimonials, and specters —memories of the dead that continue to influence the living. The relationships that Art has with his father, mother, and dead brother all bear signs of trauma, signs that show how gaps and absences created by extreme events can bleed into the next generation. I'd like to suggest "transformation" as a more appropriate descriptor for the narrative work done in *Maus* because it carries the implication of transmission as well as *change* in the process of that transmission. This change is key to a more practical conceptualization of the ways that trauma is transferred over generations; we should see our parents' biographies as factors that help determine the ways that we interact with the world. In his treatment of the Holocaust, Spiegelman struggles to articulate an identity within his own family tree while at the same time intervening in complex public debates on the ethics of visually representing the Holocaust. More specifically, he uses the graphic novel to demonstrate the benefits of using the medium in such a way that official, historical accounts of the Holocaust are brought into conversation with individual, private accounts of its survivors. As a result, the reciprocal limitations of history and memory as fields of knowledge are mitigated by the consideration of the two together in a single discursive space in which neither is given privileged status. By considering eyewitness accounts and documented historiography together, the reader is repeatedly made aware of both the shortcomings and the strengths of each, particularly in the context of historical traumas.

As the witnessing of events firsthand can have traumatic effects on the primary memory of an individual, so can the secondhand witnessing of

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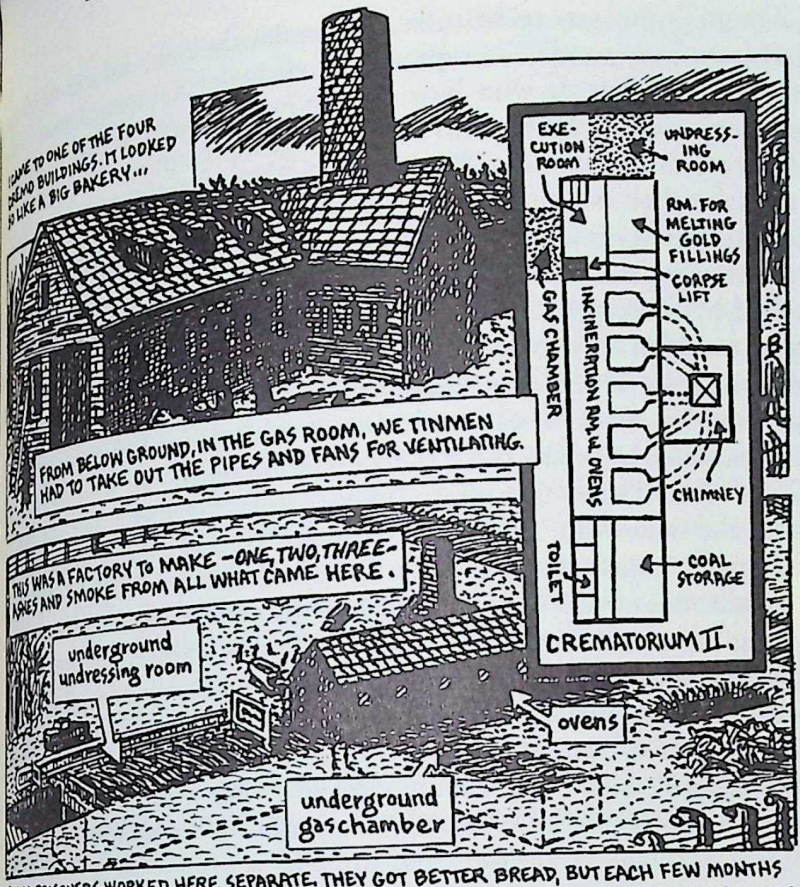

"I'm not telling rumors but only what I really saw": when eyewitness accounts meet documented historiography, readers see the shortcomings and strengths of each. (From *Maus, A Survivor's Tale II: And Here My Troubles Began* by Art Spiegelman, copyright © 1986, 1989, 1990, 1991 by Art Spiegelman. Used by permission of Pantheon Books, a division of Random House, Inc. Page 70.)

traumatic events. Shoshanna Felman has studied the effects of viewing Holocaust testimonials on her own students. After viewing videotaped first-person accounts from Yale's Fortunoff Archive, Felman's students experienced shock, displayed hyperbolic speech patterns (silence, stammering, and effusiveness), and felt distinct disorientation as a result of watching the testimonials, which suggests that the audience of such traumatic testimonies can bear their own severe marks of trauma (49–50).[1] Working from Dori Laub's assertion that narration of events can help to refigure a self whose integrity has been threatened, Felman's students attempted to abate their feelings of shock by writing their own testimonies about the witness experience (51–52).

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Trauma's capacity to be inflicted vicariously is the subject of Marianne Hirsch's project as well; she explores the effects of traumatic events on those who are born after or who have somehow otherwise avoided a particular trauma experienced by a relative or close group member. She uses the term *postmemory* to describe the relationship of survivors' children to the events that inhabit their parents' memories. These events are grasped only indirectly by the second generation, in a highly mediated but still very moving fashion. For example, children may be aware of their parents' ordeals from stories told by those parents or relatives. Alternatively, this second generation may be aware of their parents' experiences as those experiences have shaped their own lives. Due to this distancing mediation, the second generation's postmemories are sites of "projection, investment, and creation"—blank spots that serve as catchalls for the varieties of harm that humans can inflict on each other. The second generation's own memories take a back seat to or exist in the shadow of traumatic memories to which they have only limited and highly charged access ("Memory" 8). We might roughly think of this overshadowing of one's own experiences by those of one's parents as a preempting of consciousness by others' memories. Hirsch conceptualizes this difficult relationship as one that can be instrumental in coping constructively with the memories of those with whom one is implicated by "family or group relation" ("Memory" 9). She proposes Kaja Silverman's "heteropathic identification," defined as "feeling and suffering with another," as a model for the second generation that must seek resolution with respect to their parents' (or guardians') traumas. Such empathy is productive only if the experience and feeling of the other are not subsumed in an "appropriative identification" in which "the viewer can too easily become a surrogate victim" ("Memory" 17). Thus, the second generation is warned to exert caution in its struggle with the traumas of its figurative or literal parents—to negotiate a distance, a refusal to appropriate the experiences of others that still allows a critically distanced rapprochement that avoids unethical claiming or a prolonging of the first generation's witness of trauma. This endeavor produces what Hirsch defines as "a hybridized narrative" ("Memory" 16).

Maus's success, as a hybridized narrative and as therapy for Spiegelman, depends largely on his ability to claim the Holocaust *without* claiming to have experienced it. This essay investigates the specific ways that Spiegelman develops his own hybridized narrative in the autobiographical sections of *Maus*. Art, the character, becomes integrated into the Spiegelman family as esteemed chronicler, and also introduces elements of his *own* trauma—Anja's suicide—which establish an indirect link between Art, the Holocaust, and its aftereffects. From the fragments of the familial ties that remain, Art Spiegelman

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...ores together his own set of familial relationships, including the dead in... ...piecemeal family portrait that we glimpse throughout the two volumes... ...*Maus*.

CLAIMING THE HOLOCAUST'S AFTERSHOCKS

...*Maus* maintains roughly two levels of narrative time: a late 1930s/early 1940s ...time narrative, and a late 1970s/early1980s reconstruction of that narra... —the story of Vladek's experiences before, during, and just after WW II, ...d the story of Spiegelman's interviews with his father. There are some ...ances in which the author deviates from this dual chronology, and those ...ances are noteworthy. The initial occurrence takes place before Spiegel... ...even begins the story of the interviews. Importantly, the first images that ...e see in *Maus* represent events taking place in Rego Park in 1958. While ...ying with friends, Artie, the child avatar of the cartoonist, breaks his roller ...blade and is promptly abandoned by two other boys who race off to a near... ...park. As Artie walks back towards his house in tears, his father asks why ...he is crying. Upon hearing of the incident, Vladek responds to his young ...son, "Your friends? . . . If you lock them together in a room with no food for ...a week . . . THEN you could see what it is, friends!" (6). The preface inserts ...the reader into the narrative by opening with the perspective of Art as a ten... ...year-old, a perspective that we never look from again. Most of the narrative ...oscillates between Art's depiction of Vladek's wartime narrative and Art's ...depiction of his relationship with his father, but aside from the single pho... ...tograph of Art and his mother in "Prisoner on the Hell Planet," the comic ...depicting Anja's suicide that he reproduces in Volume 1, the preface is the ...only representation of Art as a child that we see. Our position as readers is ...first aligned with the young, confused Art, who grows up in the shadow of ...the Holocaust and for whom all experience withers in comparison to his ...father's wartime trials.

Further into Volume 1, *My Father Bleeds History,* it becomes plain that Art ...is a significant character in this Holocaust narrative, particularly if we con... ...sider the extent to which Art's conception of the project shapes its final draft. ...James E. Young points out that Art attempts to correct his father's story when ...Vladek begins not with Anja but with a previous girlfriend—that is, Art asks ...Vladek to start the story with his origins, rather than his father's childhood or ...with his parents' deportation (678–79). It is as impossible to have *Maus* with... ...out Art as it is to have it without Vladek; the extent of the project reaches well ...beyond Vladek's survival story. We might say that the survival story ends only ...with Vladek's death, and that Spiegelman has become part of a story that

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greatly influences his own, but also one in which he is only peripherally involved. The *Maus* project gives Spiegelman a central role in his father's survival story: familial scribe, he who is entrusted with the transmission of family history. But Spiegelman is no simple Dictaphone, no blank slate to be passively imprinted with his father's testimonial. As part of the sacred Jewish responsibility for passing on the family and community history, Spiegelman writes his own palimpsestic self-narrative as he refigures his father's narrative in the form of what Spiegelman designates as *commix*, which connotes the "commingling" of word and image in *Maus*'s particular representational medium (Young 672). The negotiations of these two different media parallel the endeavor of writing his story into Vladek's; the one (Art's) is dependent on the other (Vladek's) for the substance that it illuminates and clarifies.

The concept of commingling becomes even more emblematic of *Maus*'s project when we consider the seamless mixing of personal and public information that obtains within. At a further remove, we can see the implications of *Maus* not only for Spiegelman and other members of the second generation, but also for the much contested terrain of art and the representation of the Holocaust. In particular, photography and objective historical documentation serve as the two main headings under which Spiegelman provides compelling responses to complex problems created by the disciplinary separation of history and memory, and by the attribution of transparent authenticity to visual records of historical events. These issues, which I designate *public* in opposition to the intimate or *private* Spiegelman family story, are less obvious than the challenges that Art confronts with his dual chronological narrative frame. However, by discussing both the public and the private problematics of representation in *Maus*, we can come closer to collapsing the hierarchical divide between history and memory, while still acknowledging the epistemological limitations implied by each.

Spiegelman suggestively begins his two-volume narrative with a poignant illustration of secondary witnessing that suggests the kinds of psychological difficulties that result for the second generation from the stresses of realities that they have only experienced indirectly. This initial episode in Rego Park stands out as a paradigmatic second-generation episode in which the child's woes are discounted by the magnitude of his parents' traumas. Unable or unsure of how to comfort his son, Vladek disregards Artie's experience as trivial, contrasting a children's spat rather dramatically to his own survival of the Holocaust, suggesting the extent to which Artie grows up with the Holocaust as the main benchmark against which to measure his own life. In "Mauschwitz," Chapter I of *Maus II: And Here My Troubles Began*, we see Art relating childhood Holocaust fantasies to his wife, Françoise Mouly:

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I had have nightmares about S.S. men coming into my class and taking all us Jewish kids away. Don't get me wrong. I wasn't *obsessed* with this stuff. . . . It's just that sometimes I'd fantasize Zyklon B coming out of our shower instead of water. I know this is insane, but I somehow wish I had been in Auschwitz *with* my parents so I could really know what they lived through! . . . I guess it's *some* kind of guilt about having had an easier life than they did. Sigh. I feel so inadequate trying to reconstruct a reality that was worse than my darkest dreams. (2: 16)

Despite Art's denial of any obsession with Holocaust culture, it seems that he has been profoundly affected by his parents' past. His nightmares and childhood fantasies, while not necessarily symptoms of trauma *per se,* certainly reveal a child whose everyday imagination is haunted by events to which he has no direct connection. This lack of connection is compounded by Vladek's fragmentary processing of his own traumatic experiences.

The narrative of Vladek's time in Auschwitz is notably nonchronological. It consists of brief episodes, anecdotes, and character sketches. Attempting to account for the overall time his father spent in the camp, Spiegelman draws a line of his father's internment, but is unable to settle with his father a definite account of Vladek's whereabouts during a year in the camp. As he attempts to rehearse the duration of Vladek's tenure at the tin shop, as an English teacher for a barracks supervisor, and doing hard labor ("black work"), Vladek alters his story, saying that he went *back* to the tin shop after the black work. Art then protests that this adds two months to Vladek's original account, to which Vladek retorts "We didn't wear watches in Auschwitz" (2: 67–68). The incoherence of the Auschwitz leg of Vladek's story relative to the rest of his narrative and to the loss of his sense of time both suggest the kind of gaps in the record that are caused by traumatic experience. Not only does Art lack direct access to his father's experiences, but the fragmentary memory that Vladek possesses of those experiences makes for an even greater mediation of that access.

The extent of the mediation separating Vladek's experiences from his own narrative recollections and from Art's perception of them prompts Art to look towards more objectively grounded accounts of events in Poland and in Auschwitz. In addition to rendering illustrated versions of official relocation notices and personal papers bearing clearance stamps (1: 82, 86, 90), Spiegelman supplies the reader with a map of Poland detailing the dates of annexation and occupation for its different regions (1: 90), and a map of Auschwitz, complete with instructive labels for the different barracks giving the numbers that they accommodated (2: 51). Both maps appear on the back covers of the volumes in which they appear, and laid over these larger maps are smaller maps of Art's Rego Park neighborhood (Volume 1, complete with

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a drawing of the Spiegelman home), and a road map of the region of New York and New Jersey that includes the section of New York City where Rego Park is located (Volume 2). Together, these two back covers emphasize the disjunction (or in Vladek's case, the lack thereof), on both a local and regional scale, of the contemporary and the historical, the nightmarish and the quotidian. Indeed, the presence of a bar code and ISBN number on both covers is an eerie reminder of the kind of meticulous record-keeping and large-scale industrial production that facilitated the Nazi Hebricide. The layering of these images disrupts the reader's understanding of homelike spaces, encouraging us to think of Auschwitz as an everyday reality, just as we might think of Rego Park as an everyday reality. On the Rego Park map, a department store is labeled, and an arrow points in the direction of the nearest New York City airport, while the Auschwitz map is labeled meticulously with boxes that indicate the locations of crematoria, barracks, workshops, S.S. headquarters, and the camp's approximate capacity.

In their degree of magnification, these four different maps (two close-up and two regionally focused) foreground different experiential frames that correspond to the kinds of experience outlined by history and by memory: the general and the individual, respectively. By juxtaposing two different levels of resolution, Spiegelman encourages us to see the events of one as contiguous with the events of the other. By viewing a small road map of the Catskill Mountains on the same page as a much larger, local map of Auschwitz and Birkenau (Auschwitz II) and their train tracks, we are struck not only by the way the familiar inflects the alien, but also by how the experiences and ties existing in one local area persist in another regional area almost half a century later.

Spiegelman repeats this juxtaposition of the personal and the historical at other points in *Maus,* especially when Vladek's story seems vague or perspectivally limited. Perhaps the most outstanding instance of this occurs on page 54 of Volume 2, when Art asks his father about the orchestra reported to have played at the gate of Auschwitz. This half page consists of four frames, the left-hand pair of which takes up two-thirds of the allotted space. These two large frames on the left both depict prisoners marching out of the Auschwitz gates under armed guard, but only the first frame shows the orchestra, as Art announces it in the smaller frame to the right. In the frame below, we see only rows of striped uniforms marching out of the gate, but the tops of a cello, tuba, and conductor's wand are just barely visible above the heads of the internees. To the right of this panel, Art insists that the orchestra's presence at the gates is well documented, to which Vladek replies, "No. At the gate I heard only guards and shouting." Here Spiegelman is not merely forging a

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compromise between two conflicting accounts; he is creating a space in which both accounts seem valid. While evidence of the orchestra is present, relegated to the margins of the picture frame, which is dominated by rows of prisoners and an armed guard.

This panel is actually a visual composite that interlaces personal memory and historical accounts to explain and validate both stories to a relatively equal degree. Here, there are two conflicting truths, one backed by historical documentation, the other by eyewitness. While the inclusion of the orchestra allows for the representation of a disciplinarily verified phenomenon, its era-sure invalidates the experiential truth of Vladek's account, in which there is no orchestra amidst all the shouting and marching. Though this experiential truth may not be the *objective* truth, we can look back to the aforementioned panels in which Art argues with Vladek about the amount of time he spent at each job he was assigned to in Auschwitz. The period in dispute, towards the end of 1944 on the timeline, is covered over by a word bubble coming from Art's wife, who conveniently interrupts the dispute. Again the visual acts as a vehicle for the verbal dispute, as well as for its abrupt interruption and resulting impasse, deferring the question of objective chronological actu-ality and giving greater space to the experiential reality of the eyewitness. We see an equally interesting alignment of documentary accuracy and personal eyewitness when Vladek draws schematics of the various hiding places that the Zylberberg family and Vladek occupied before they were turned over to the Gestapo (1: 110, 112).

The appearance of different accounts together, made possible by the graphic novel form, suggests the extent to which *Maus* surpasses the photo-graphic medium in its capacity to create a nuanced representation of public and private Holocaust narratives and narratives of the children of survivors. Though photography is given a certain status for its ability to document objectively, the inclusion of different kinds of photographs in *Maus* inter-venes in complex ways in debates about the place of the photographic in the study of the Holocaust. Monica Bohm-Duchen identifies several ways that photography has been used in Holocaust art: documentary (as opposed to aesthetic), conceptual (questioning the privileged authenticity attributed to photography), and "the self-consciously artistic" (233). She adds a fourth category, which is characterized by the use of "contemporary photographic imagery of a highly personal, often autobiographical nature," which is "less concerned on making general statements about the significance [of photography and images] than on exploring one effect on one artist, one family now" (231). The autobiographical nature of its endeavor suggests that *Maus* under-takes a similar project, but I'd also like to consider Spiegelman's work as

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falling into this category in that it troubles the rather narrow, individual scope that Bohm-Duchen attributes to the autobiographical creative efforts of the second generation. Spiegelman is invested not only in drawing personal conclusions about his relationship to the Holocaust, but also in investigating the significance of the contrast between individual eyewitness memory and official historical documentation as two separate forms of knowledge. The different kinds of photographs included in *Maus*, however, present a more complex statement that I shall return to later in my essay.

Maus is occupied with interrogating the significance of the past for the present. It is especially important for Spiegelman to achieve access to the family legacy of Auschwitz because sharing in this legacy is the *sine qua non* of Spiegelman family membership. The immediacy of this legacy manifests itself in some surprising ways. Vladek's experience as a POW in Poland in 1939, for example, would much later influence the text that Art would read at his Bar Mitzvah. Captured by the Germans, Vladek is sent to work in POW camps where the conditions are, to say the least, less than salutary, and doubly so for Jewish POWs. During his internment, he has a dream in which his grandfather informs him that he will be set free on the day that the passage of Parshas Truma is to be read from the Torah. By consulting a rabbi, Vladek discovers that Parshas Truma is three months away; on the day that he is liberated, Spiegelman's father realizes that it is indeed the day of Parshas Truma. Though this release is far from the desired end of a safe return to his family in Sosnowiec, the Parshas Truma episode becomes a shorthand signifier of Vladek's escape from death in POW camps.

In the next few frames Vladek tells Art that Parshas Truma was also being read during the week of his marriage to Anja and the week of Art's own birth. It is thus, he continues, the portion of the Torah that Art recites for his Bar Mitzvah (1: 57–59). Art's coming into Hebraic manhood, then, is predicated on his father's dream prognosticating release from the POW camp. Parshas Truma comes to stand in for Vladek's brush with death—a brush that Spiegelman hints prepares Vladek in many ways for the ordeals he would suffer in and just after Auschwitz. The causality of the Parshas Truma dream becomes distorted. Instead of *predicting* the day of Vladek's release from the POW camp, the dream is conflated with the *guarantee* of survival in a broader context. In this sense, the Parshas Truma incident—the guarantee of survival—becomes a fetish,[2] popping up at key points in Vladek's life and banishing the threat of death and disappearance: in his marriage to Anja, his release, the birth of his son, and his son's attainment of Jewish male maturity. Art's identity, then, becomes a function of his father's biography in yet another way. The sacred texts he reads have significance that is familial, not personal. Implicit

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...e is a privileging of the father's legacy and a burdening of Art with the ...erative to measure up. That this crucial linkage refers back to a period that ...ficantly predates his father's camp experience foregrounds Art's prob-...atic status in the family as a non-survivor. It is this subsumption of Art's ... under the exigencies of Vladek's past that Spiegelman is trying to reverse, ...ich is why he begins *Maus* not with Vladek but with himself. While the ...dek's central interest is Vladek's survival story, the ways in which this story ...ces Art's self work to structure the narrative from without (the editing ... composition process) and from within (the interviewing process).

In relation to Vladek, Spiegelman's perseverance involves his discovery of ...ay to connect himself to Vladek's narrative—to implicate himself in what ...s become a familial ur-narrative. In a sense, Art becomes a member of the ...ily through his inscription of this narrative. Even more complexly, he ...otiates a position that allows him family membership without having ...ed a role in the Holocaust while still acknowledging that lack. Engaging ...h problems of postmemory in his narration of events that he himself has ... witnessed, Spiegelman must renegotiate his "relationship to *the memory* ...events," as Young puts it (670). In this, the cartoonist seems to suffer the ...e that Dominick LaCapra fears for members of the second generation: that ...ey will take the Holocaust as "a founding trauma and thus a paradoxical, ...haps impossible source of meaning and identity" (177). How can the ...locaust *not* be such a site for the postwar child of survivors? Despite ...Capra's concerns, however, Spiegelman *has* found meaning and identity ... his (indirect) relation to the Holocaust.

THE GHOST-BROTHER: SIBLING RIVALRY

The issue of Spiegelman's identity and his relation to his parents' experiences ...comes even more problematic when we consider his mother, Anja, and his ...d brother, Richieu. Though Anja is absent from the text, she is not the ...st *fabricated* member of the Spiegelman family in *Maus*. "Prisoner on the ...d Planet" is prefaced by the search for Anja's diaries, and followed by Vla-...k's narration of Richieu's death at the hands of his aunt Tosha, who poi-...s herself, Richieu, and his two cousins rather than be sent to the camps. ...chieu's absence, too, proves to be problematic for Spiegelman both in real ...e and in the text. If he has difficulties representing his mother, who raised ...m, his difficulties representing Richieu are not bound by the same feelings ...lack that we will see with Anja. How does one represent a boy that no one ...now, who had little chance even to exist? How can Spiegelman represent an ...alized brother of whom he feels that he is the negation? Not only are there

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almost no memorial remains of Richieu, in Vladek's narrative or otherwise, but what does remain bears little relation to the reality of what the little boy might actually have been like. Richieu appears in *Maus* as a site of investment for Art's anxieties about what he perceives to be his shortcomings in his parents' eyes.

Though Richieu's death occurs two-thirds of the way through Volume I (109), he appears at several later points during the narrative. In World War II story-time, we see Vladek and Anja learn the news while in hiding near the ghetto at Srodula—thirteen pages later. On the frontispiece of the second volume, we are greeted with a picture that we assume is Richieu. Above the picture, the caption reads "For Richieu," and below it, "And for Nadja." The implications of grouping together his dead brother and living daughter are striking, indeed. Given the feelings that Art has towards Richieu, one hopes that he is attempting to connect the two generations, invigorating the memory of the dead son with the hope that the living granddaughter represents. However, this hope threatens to turn into the same pressure that causes Art to frame himself as the anti-Richieu. This odd configuration of family inheritance and the eerie conflation of the not-so-recently dead with the familiar living leaves Art conspicuously on the margins. We might conclude optimistically that he is a second-order replacement for the real thing, a copy of the original; his existence is validated largely by virtue of his relationship to the original.

Talking to Françoise in the very beginning of Volume II, Art wonders how his childhood would have been had his brother lived. Though he says that his parents never discussed the boy and that he never thought about him as a kid, Richieu seems to have had an impact on young Art. "The photo never threw tantrums or got into any kind of trouble," he says to Françoise, "it was an ideal kid, and *I* was a pain in the ass. I couldn't compete. They didn't *talk* about Richieu, but that photo was a kind of reproach. *He'd* have become a *doctor,* and married a wealthy Jewish girl . . . the creep" (2: 15). Far from being a blank, Richieu's photo is a site of great investment for Spiegelman—it "blocks the work of forgetting" in Art's interaction with it as an undefeatable adversary. Unlike Anja, whom Art knew, there are no real memories for the photo to erase, and thus the photo acts as a site for memorial investment. But Art's attitude towards the photo is mediated by his father's direct connection with the boy that it represents. Richieu becomes, for Art, a function of Art's own troubled relationship with his parents. The idealized dead boy's phantom presence serves to exonerate Art from feelings of guilt resulting from his estrangement from his parents by shifting the cause for such alienation away from himself.

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The "sibling rivalry with a snapshot," as Spiegelman calls it, stands as a d illustration of what it means to be deeply affected by postmemory, by e effects of transgenerational distancing from significant events by which d ones have been intensely influenced. Artie transforms the memory of hieu into the specifications of his own psychological landscape, one in ch he feels like an outsider, estranged from parents with whom he does share a crucial bond. Sibling rivalry is a common everyday phenomenon wards away the frightening unreality of the Holocaust's horror, but the ling rival's status as ghost prohibits nonetheless any kind of escape from isolating estrangement that Art feels towards his parents. In Art's imagi- ion, Richieu is aligned with Anja and Vladek because of their common eriences, leaving Art firmly at the bottom of the family order.

This fabricated semblance of normative family life proves finally to be a le shield, and the imaginary sibling rivalry works to increase Art's feelings inadequacy as the descendent of survivors. In the end, the death of a fam- member prohibits Spiegelman again from engaging in the therapeutic nar- ive practices that serve him so well with Vladek. Such is the predicament the second-generation offspring of the traumatized and especially so with se from whom the trauma in question is also an historical event. They st find ways to include their parents' trauma within their own story in a y that neither appropriates nor subsumes the parents' experiences into their n. Not having lived through these experiences, the second generation can- t lay direct claim to these, but only to their aftereffects, having experienced se by virtue of prolonged intimate contact with the first generation.[3] rsch calls this transference effect "heteropathic identification": "feeling d suffering with another" ("Memory" 9). She stresses the need to maintain ritical distance to avoid "appropriative identification" in which "the view- r can too easily become a surrogate victim" ("Memory" 17).

Spiegelman's negotiation of this tricky terrain is of special note in "Pris- er on the Hell Planet." He is directly traumatized by Anja's suicide, but not ectly by her experiences in the camps, and does well to keep these two trau- as distinct, though they are undeniably linked. He resists making her trau- a his own, as he resists appropriating or identifying himself with Richieu's eath. Instead he sets himself up *in opposition* to Richieu as rival, not as sur- gate. Though Spiegelman himself constructs this binary, which gives him small amount of grief, Vladek collapses it with a word in the penultimate ne of the narrative when he says to Art, "I'm tired from talking, Richieu, d it's enough stories for now" (2: 136). The blurring of the living son with e dead one brings *Maus* to an end with a reminder of memory's *mal- ability*, in that Vladek can mistake Art for Richieu, but also a reminder of

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traumatic memory's *fixity*, in that the dead boy is still present to the grieving father. The distinction between the two boys, however, is compromised by Vladek's expectation that Art should somehow replace or otherwise fill Richieu's shoes. Here, again, the imaginary Richieu functions not to impute a fictional normativity to the family structure, but to foreground Spiegelman's own feelings of inadequacy next to an idealized sibling. Though this panel on the final page may be read optimistically as Vladek's long overdue recognition of his second son as part of the family, the indirectness of this inclusion nonetheless undercuts the "happy, happy ever after" bedtime story ending.

THE ABSENT MOTHER: GAPS IN THE TEXT

Art's most affectively significant connection with the Holocaust is through the trauma that he experiences upon his mother's suicide. *Maus*'s emphasis on the absence of Anja's personal diaries, which were burned by Vladek after her death, and Art's impulse to return repeatedly to his mother's death, imply that her absence paradoxically constitutes Art's connection to the Holocaust. Anja's noteworthy absence from *Maus* exposes Art's traumatization by her death. The only instances in which we see Anja through Art's eyes occur in "Prisoner on the Hell Planet," and these four pages reflect the cartoonist's inability to narrate or to represent his mother as a result of the gaps created by the trauma of her death and the guilt that wracks Art's conscience in its aftermath.

We might seek to make sense of Art's inability to narrate his own version of Anja by first considering the ways that the traumatized are impaired in their ability to narrate or represent. In her work on the narration of traumatic events, Cathy Caruth argues that trauma and history share a similar trope: both are founded on a problematic absence (12). She draws largely from Freud's theories about trauma in her conceptualization of the similar structures of history and trauma. Freud is interested in the way that manifestations of a trauma (say, heavy combat) repeat the events in question without those events having been integrated and given significance by the subconscious. Consciousness serves as a buffer zone that helps us anticipate and react to our environment, and the trauma penetrates or disrupts this buffer zone, constituting a breach of the self. Since it is through this self that we make sense of our bodies' experiences, the breach of self disables our ability to make sense of traumatic events. In a way, these experiences refer to death—the dissolution of the self and the subordination of the body to material forces that violate the structural integrity of the body. It is the consciousness's *survival* of death and its subsequent return as something different, however, that is of particular concern to Caruth. The traumatic neurosis is not about the brush with death, but a problem posed by survival in the face of

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fragmentarily recorded experiences. "What does it mean," Caruth asks, consciousness to survive?" (61).

Trauma is characterized by the subject's inability to assimilate fully an the event is not completely experienced by the subject as it happens. a latency period, the mind returns neurotically to the event itself, struc- the consciousness around the fact that the mind is ever preparing itself survive the traumatic experience all over again (Caruth 59–61). Accord- Freud, the mind's objective in obsessively repeating the record of the atic experience is to "master the stimulus retrospectively, by developing anxiety whose omission was the cause of the traumatic neurosis" (qtd. in uth 62).

History is built around a similar struggle with gaps. We make history out e residues of events that are no longer available to us except in the form efacts, documents, photographic records, and leftover accounts of eye- sses. As the traumatized subject returns repeatedly to the incompletely ed event, so is the historian necessarily drawn back to the historical It has taken place and is over with, gone except for the material traces bear witness to it. As with trauma, though, just because the event is over s not mean that its effects do not continue to resonate for some time uth 11–12). The impulse to return to the past, the fascination with ering the past in the many forms in which it persists, is a response to the e drive that motivates the traumatic neurosis. With memory, the particu- of the witnessing are foregrounded, and the historian must sift through e particulars to get to the generalizable events and details that can be n as history. *Maus*'s representation of Anja as a human in "Prisoner on Hell Planet," unmediated by Vladek's memory, shows signs of the trau- ic narrative gaps that Caruth and Freud mention. Anja's appearances in s strongly suggest that her suicide is Art's central trauma, in that he s considerably less resolution with regard to her suicide than he does Vladek's alienating wartime experiences.

Though Anja appears via her husband's narrative as a character through- both volumes of *Maus*, we are only shown a single interaction between and Art. This interaction is one step removed from either time frame of narrative, and it depicts Art's last conversation with his mother. After a e exchange with Vladek in his Rego Park garage, Art asks his stepmother, a, whether Vladek is angry with him. She responds that the reason for father's mood might be related to an old comic of Spiegelman's that Vla- had recently found. To Art's dismay, the comic in question is the afore- tioned "Prisoner on the Hell Planet," a four-page narrative about Anja's cide and its aftermath that Spiegelman had published a decade earlier. In

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this small comic passage, we can see that the problems surrounding Spiegelman's relationship with his mother are at least as complex as those surrounding his relationship with his father.

This section (1: 100–103) comes just a few pages after a passage in which we see Art looking through Vladek's belongings in an attempt to find his mother's diary of the Holocaust, written after the fact with the intention that Art should see it later (1: 92–93). Aside from featuring human characters, "Prisoner on the Hell Planet" is most obviously different from the rest of *Maus* because of its graphic style, but perhaps more significant is that it represents past events that Spiegelman himself has actually witnessed. In a family replete with trauma, this is Art's direct and unmediated experience of it. No longer in a position outside of the main series of narrative events, Spiegelman has a much more difficult time finding a viable position for himself as a character/narrator. His own involvement in the episode of his mother's death causes a crisis of self-representation that hinders Spiegelman from reaching any kind of narrative or psychological integration of this series of events within his own life narrative.

The comic is set in 1968, and opens with a picture of Anja dressed in a swimsuit with little Artie to her right (we assume), kneeling with her hand resting on his head. This is the first of three real photographs that are reproduced over the course of *Maus,* and it is no coincidence that the other two are of Richieu (2: frontispiece) and of Vladek (2: 134). Much has been made recently of the status of photography in Holocaust art and representation. In addition to Marianne Hirsch's foundational work, Ernst van Alphen, Barbie Zelizer, and Dora Apel, among others, have all contributed to thinking about photography's status and the different uses to which it has been put. Van Alphen, for example, considers the photograph to be the metaphorical emblem of the individual survivor's experience, arguing that the photograph loses meaning in its imperviousness to change, its immutability. He compares the eternally static photograph to the traumatic memory that must be reiterated and endured unchangingly—"the visual equivalent of a broken record" (101).

The photograph of Anja in "Prisoner on the Hell Planet" is just such a broken record for Spiegelman. Perhaps the most striking thing about the picture is how *little* it gives us. The reader is left with a feeling of emptiness; the two figures are too small to have distinct features, and though the caption under it reads "Trojan Lake, N.Y. 1958," there is only flat brushland and sky in the background. Though we may, I argue, safely assume that the two people in the photo are Art and Anja, no such notation is included on the margin of the photo. The barrenness of the photo suggests the tenor of Art's feelings—or rather, the monotony of them. While the photo resists the

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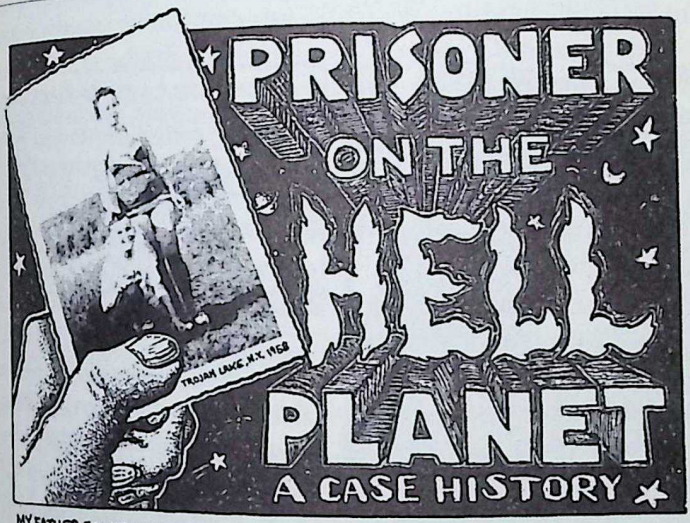
ation of Anja, it also refuses to display any emotional dimension to r figure. The affective illegibility of this photo creates an impression of ty or stasis, suggesting that the Spiegelman who includes the photo "Prisoner on the Hell Planet") is no closer to effectively mourning his her's death and rendering it narratively than the Spiegelman who drew the first place (van Alphen 110).

Following Barthes, Hirsch argues that photographs simultaneously con-resence and absence: "Life is the presence of the object before the cam-... death is the 'having-been-there' of the object—the radical break, the y introduced by the past tense" ("Family" 6). The photo's inclusion in oner on the Hell Planet" frames it as a site of lost plenitude, a fore-ding of the past tense-ness of the photo's *topos.* We feel a keener lack hat the picture excludes about Anja Spiegelman than what it includes of the photo is a residue of a former plenitude. In "Prisoner on the Hell ," there is something about narrative and the representation (or approx-n) of Anja's speech that is more vivid than her photograph. The pic-is a corpse, a void, a reminder of our current position of lack, of which photo is a mocking and empty reminder.



ography as broken record: placed in the opening panel of "Prisoner on the Hell Planet," hoto creates an impression of emotional barrenness, suggesting a lost plenitude and a effective mourning. (From *Maus, A Survivor's Tale I: My Father Bleeds History* by Art lman, copyright © 1986, 1989, 1990, 1991 by Art Spiegelman. Used by permission of Pan-n Books, a division of Random House, Inc. Page 162.)

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This may be due in part to the context in which we view the picture. Compare the placement of Anja's photo to that of Vladek's toward the very end of the second volume. Vladek sends this photo, in which he's dressed rather eerily in a clean camp uniform, to Anja as evidence of his survival. The picture is taken as a testament to life and material presence, and is used in that way both in real life and within the narrative of *Maus*. While the picture is undeniably a testament to things past, the context that frames it foregrounds photography's potential for preservation. Nevertheless, the mother's photo corroborates Barthes's claim that "Not only is the photograph never in essence a memory, but it blocks memory, quickly becomes a counter-memory" (91). Anja's photo is positioned as a memorial, as a reminder of that which no longer exists. The insufficiency of the photo to recall the mother is reinforced by the narrative gap that is left by the absence of her diaries, as well as by her failure to leave a suicide note to explain her action. I suggest that Spiegelman chooses not to recreate his mother outside of Vladek's narrative, with the exception of "Prisoner on the Hell Planet," because his memory of her is disabled by the trauma of her suicide. This disabling of memory is only advanced by the reliance on photographs as the repositories of some essential truth of the lost person.

Vladek's photograph: a testament to survival and material presence—in life and in *Maus*. (From *Maus, A Survivor's Tale II: And Here My Troubles Began* by Art Spiegelman, copyright © 1986, 1989, 1990, 1991 by Art Spiegelman. Used by permission of Pantheon Books, a division of Random House, Inc. Page 132.)

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In her refreshingly original work on the photographs of women survivors, witnesses, and perpetrators that were published in the months after the liberation, Barbie Zelizer highlights the ways that pictures of these women were used either to reinforce gender norms or to ignore gender-specific experience completely in the context of historical atrocity. Due to the unfortunate invisibility of Anja's narrative, this is also true of Spiegelman's *Maus.* We see Anja through her identity as mother of the artist, but remain unable to view her freed from the lens of gender. Whether she appears as a mouse or a photo, her identity is always a function of her relationship to the Spiegelman men. Both Vladek and Art are unable to present her outside of the framework of traditional gender roles, much like the women who appeared in the post-liberation photographs that pervaded the newspapers and journals of 1945. Spiegelman is unable even to supply a working version of his mother Anja that differs notably from the somewhat infantilized, frail invalid that Vladek depicts.

It is important to note that nowhere else in *Maus* do we see Anja through Art's eyes; he includes no childhood memories, vignettes, or even small details that would suggest anything about his own relationship with Anja. As Dori Laub and Shoshana Felman notes, "Experience that has not been processed cannot be narrated, constituting trauma, not memory" (56). We only see Anja as an effect of Vladek's memory, in which she is painted as weak, frail, and naive, but also eloquent and charming.[4] Even while in the work camps, according to Vladek, he must take steps to ensure her survival. For example, he notes her lack of physical strength as shown by her tendency to spill the soup tureen, and her success at smuggling extra provisions to her through a mutual contact (2: 1). We hear no examples of her capacity for survival or psychological endurance, or even a first-person account of her own frailty. Seen through Vladek's loving eyes, she is his charge, vaguely helpless, dangerously weak, and in constant need of his care and protection. Art can only include her in the narrative by reproducing an already published account of her death in which the younger Art is only capable of narrating his last interaction with her. Even then, the rendering of her that we do see is determined by her identity as Art's mother, as she begs him for validation while he turns away to deny the maternal tie that he is being asked to vindicate. The narration of her last words to Art defines her more by the codified gendered behavior that she displays than by her personal traits: "Artie . . . you . . . still . . . love . . . me . . . don't . . . you?" The woman who had the strength and hope to transmit her experiences after the fact for her son to pass on remains mute, and Spiegelman seems no closer to being able to process and narrate his experience of her suicide and her life as he saw it while growing up. She is relegated to

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a brief flashback towards the end of "Prisoner on the Hell Planet," dead even in the first frame of the brief comic.

In "Prisoner on the Hell Planet," the twenty-year-old Spiegelman comes home late from a weekend spent with his girlfriend. Upon discovering a crowd outside of the house in Rego Park, he is led away from the scene by a relative and taken to a doctor's office, where he is informed of his mother's suicide (1: 100–101). Art is expected to support emotionally his distraught father, but the funeral proves to be too much for Art to take. Sitting in an anteroom, he is reproached by a family friend for not being a better son. At this point, Spiegelman writes, "I felt nauseous . . . . the guilt was overwhelming!" (102). It is at this moment in the narrative that the image style shifts, suggesting that the aporias and gaps that are characteristic of trauma narratives translate curiously when they appear in a visual medium. Though the whole comic uses deliberately skewed perspective and hyperbolic proportioning, the expressionistic quality of the images becomes even more exaggerated in the two frames beneath these words. In one frame, the awning and front sign of the funeral home, as well as the Stars of David on the awning, are cubistically layered and repeated in the frame as Art slumps out of the building, hiding his face in shame. This deliberate exaggeration of incorrect perspective and object size occurs at one other point in the strip, at the moment in which the doctor informs Art of his mother's suicide. Spiegelman's own notation of his debilitated psychological condition concurrent with this change in graphic style suggests the distortion of experience that Caruth and others have associated with trauma. With this second instance of graphic distortion, the narrative collapses, and we are left with another whole page during which Art unsuccessfully seeks for a way to come to terms with Anja's suicide.

It is noteworthy that Spiegelman's narrative breaks down after he leaves the funeral home. He briefly mentions visits from Vladek's friends (whom he believes hold him guilty for Anja's death), but is unable to formally end his narrative. "For the most part, I was left alone with my thoughts," Spiegelman writes, under which we see a crowded frame with four tiny pictures and four captions integrated into the pictures themselves: "menopausal depression," "Hitler did it!," "Mommy!," and "bitch." The pictures, from top to bottom, show a representation of Anja's nude corpse in the bathtub, a pile of bodies with a swastika on a camp wall in the background, a miniature of Anja reading to Artie at bedtime (with the child in a camp uniform), and Anja's forearms as she slits her own wrists with a razor. In the lower right hand corner of the same frame, the adult Art leans with his hand over his forehead. The artist runs the gamut of explanations for her death and emotions in reaction

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in a single, very cramped 2" x 3" square, suggesting the cramped, stifling "space" in which this emotional struggle takes place.

The middle of the page shows a representation of his last interaction her. The graphic style here is disconcertingly *un*distorted, especially for flashback. We might think of this odd normality, the straightforward visuale, and narrative progression as an attempt to fake a normative narrative ory of an event that Spiegelman cannot transfer into what van Alphen psychologist Pierre Janet) refers to as *narrative memory*: "mental conwhich people use to make sense out of experience" (102). A closer look these frames reveals the weakness of the narrative artifice here. Anja is like a ghost in these four frames. As she comes into his room late at night, body is in the exact same pose for each frame, and her eyes are hollowed with dark circles beneath. Even the wavy "flashback" lines of these four frames separate them from the rest of the graphic passage, in which picture frames are formed in the standard straight-line style. Her halting represents her in greater depth than does her photograph on the first but the reader is still struck by the iconic nature of her appearance here. enters, asks a question, and is banished by the young artist. In the fourth Anja closes Art's bedroom door, and we see a close-up of his guilt-ridden face—perhaps an insertion of postmortem filial remorse that Spiegelwishfully rewrites. The image of her nude corpse (which appears twice four pages), as well as the three or four frames that draw out her last interwith Art in a relatively normal perspectival style, are both direct evidence of the young artist's traumatic return to the psychological site of his mother's death. The impact of this event on Art might be further gauged by considering that these four pages are *republished and reread* by Art, whose animated hand appears holding the first reproduced page.

Spiegelman's inclusion of "Prisoner on the Hell Planet" reveals his own emotional paralysis, with the strip acting as a placeholder or, we might say, a dummy that seeks to imitate the appearance of a successful processing of a traumatic memory into a narrative indicating closure or resolution. It is the section in *Maus* that appears as black print on black pages, standing out even when the book itself is closed, a black hole of memory—somedeniably *still there* in its very absence. La Capra writes of this section:

> There is a sense in which Artie seeks a memorial to the missing mother, a necessarily inadequate gift of mourning that tries to compensate both for her suffering in life and for her untimely, unjustified death. . . . Anja seems to become a phantasmic archive that Artie hopes will provide him with a point of entry into the elusive, seemingly redemptive past that he tries to recapture. Indeed, at times she seems to be her lost papers, and when they are destroyed, she almost shares their fate. (172)

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The limitation of Anja's tragedy to this brief space in the narrative suggests that *Maus* is (perhaps by necessity) a patrilineal text. At no other point does Spiegelman progress beyond the groping muddle of conflicted emotions about his mother's fate (as well as the fate of her diaries). All other representations of Anja are the effects of Vladek's narrative and not of Art's own memories of his mother. Never do we glimpse Anja through, say, young Artie's eyes. We learn more about Vladek as a person by the way he depicts Anja than we do about Anja's consciousness and perspective. Her relative invisibility stands out as a marker, creating a tension by foregrounding the obvious absence of a considerable part of the story. The last page's fairytale "happy, happy ever after" ending provides a formulaic close to a narrative in which the characters demonstrably do *not* live happily ever after. The impossibility of a happy ending to this story gestures towards Anja's death, but it is a cursory gesture, despite its telling position at the very end of the narrative. The obvious insufficiency of this stock narrative gesture underscores the widely acknowledged assertion that the traumas of the Holocaust resist narrative structuring. While we can observe the tangible marks of trauma and the limits of the narrative form, we are no closer to imagining what Anja's own story might have looked like, and it is her absence that is the most significant in *Maus.*

Spiegelman is less successful in his attempt to negotiate a place for his dead mother within the main narrative of *Maus,* and thus less successful in working through his grief. Instead, he seems to be merely reenacting the event. LaCapra opposes the act of working through (mourning) to that or reenacting or repeating (melancholia). The former entails a distancing of oneself from a trauma, while the latter entails an identification of oneself as victim, bringing about a retraumatization, and retarding the profession of any healing (Hirsch, "Family" 16). Perhaps Spiegelman is confined to melancholia because he is *within* the story in "Prisoner on the Hell Planet"—within it as a flawed son and as a scapegoat, unable to reconcile guilt and anger, and more importantly, crippled by the lack of a text from which to draw, whether oral or written ("She left no note!"). In the case of Spiegelman's relationship to Vladek's story, the act of narration (interviewing, editing, compiling, sketching) enables him to build an important place for himself in the record of family memory from which he is initially excluded. By contrast, his experience of and implication in his mother's suicide, and the lack of any verbal record of her life, prohibit him from positioning himself as impartial compiler and archivist, which is where he finds validation in his work with Vladek's story.

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Text—even an oral text—allows Spiegelman to maintain some narrative ntrol, an objective position of knowledge from which to assert and impli- himself in the narrative. This is not the case with "Prisoner on the Hell ot," which suggests that he has less success in coming to terms with his trauma than he does with that of his father. Textual evidence serves to nd him as an interested, observing party writing a sensitive and careful- handled representation of his father's survival story. Spiegelman's own sur- l story proves to be more difficult for him to handle, leaving us uncer- as to how the trauma of Anja's suicide will be met by young Nadja, the ghter of Art and Françoise. How will it complicate her relationship to her ther, and her own awareness of the presence of feminine voice in her fam- one half of which has been directly or indirectly traumatized or silenced the Holocaust, and one half of which has not?

HISTORY AND MEMORY

e photos that appear in *Maus* serve the same function as the diagrams, s, and schematics: they acknowledge the significance of personal mem- in the context of large-scale historical events. The three photos are dis- tive not for what they reveal, but for what they hold back. Unlike those nicling the liberation and its aftermath, Spiegelman's personal family tos are significant because of what they do *not* show. While the piles of ies recorded by photographers during the liberation to document the city of the Shoah confer anonymity upon their subjects, the photos of , Richieu, and Vladek are contextualized to emphasize the tragedy of r deaths as individuals. These photos are meaningful to the reader because egelman has conveyed in part the individual life stories, without which photos would mean little or nothing to the viewer. That we must know stories of Art's family to view and to understand properly their likenesses the significance of their inclusion in *Maus* also foregrounds the lack of lar information in non-personal, post-liberation Holocaust photogra- Our readings of those pictures are also framed by the text that they mpany, but we seldom if ever find out any details about the individuals appear in the photos that surpass the immediate textual occasion that supplement. Here, again, Spiegelman makes a subtle and important dis- ion about different kinds of photography and the ways each contributes torical or personal documents. The personal photo is much more dif- t to interpret because the outside viewer must rely on insider (in this family) knowledge to be able to attribute significance to the photo. The r's need for intimacy while looking a personal photos ironically is best

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exemplified by a passage towards the end of the second volume in which Vladek presents Art with a shoebox full of Anja's old family photos that had been saved from destruction by a neighbor of the Zylberbergs.

Though this episode does not depict the only instance of actual photos reproduced by Spiegelman as illustrated photographs of tiny mice-people, it speaks clearly to our questions regarding the status of photography in *Maus*. As Art rifles eagerly through the box of old photos, Vladek narrates the story behind each person who appears in them. Because of Vladek's ability to inform Art (and us) about them as distinct individuals, and to narrate Anja's family tree through them, these *illustrated* photos are more poignant than the unyielding *actual* photos included in *Maus*. The only place we see photographic Holocaust imagery is in the picture of Vladek in a camp uniform taken in a photo shop after the liberation, which calls into question the authenticity attributed to documentary Holocaust photography. We are reminded that there is no way to know whether these images have been staged, altered, or contextualized by the verbal content with which they are conjoined (Zelizer 248). Here, actual photos gesture towards the private lives of families and friends that are not accessible without a guide to narrate and tell the viewer about the photos. In hearing the life stories of aunts, uncles, cousins, and nephews, we are reminded of the importance of personal memory as opposed to mere photographic documentation, and the fact that the stories of the living bodies and their families give something to us that photos of mass graves cannot. They remind us that the historical and personal are intertwined, and that although they may be isolated for the sake of certain disciplinary concerns, these two types of knowledge both serve to enrich, support, and challenge our understanding of the lived past and our own relation to it.

Finally, Spiegelman addresses the tendency of official historical documentation to flatten out variety and overlook complexities in its attempts to establish a clear picture of a historical object. Primo Levi cautions against the danger of representing the Holocaust in ways that tend "toward simplification and stereotype" (Apel 11), and in her essay "Surviving Images," Marianne Hirsch argues in favor of the need for a more diverse array of documentary images to promote a more complex understanding of the Holocaust. Echoing this concern, Dora Apel argues that overly sentimentalized treatments of the Holocaust risk "reducing the horror of mass murder to an over-literalized and fetishized image that can only be regarded as kitsch" (19). She notes the extent to which artists who address the Holocaust avoid the easy resolution of a redemptive or heroic narrative, and their resistance to exploiting (and thus exhausting) the power of images such as smokestacks, barbed wire, trains, and mass graves (20).

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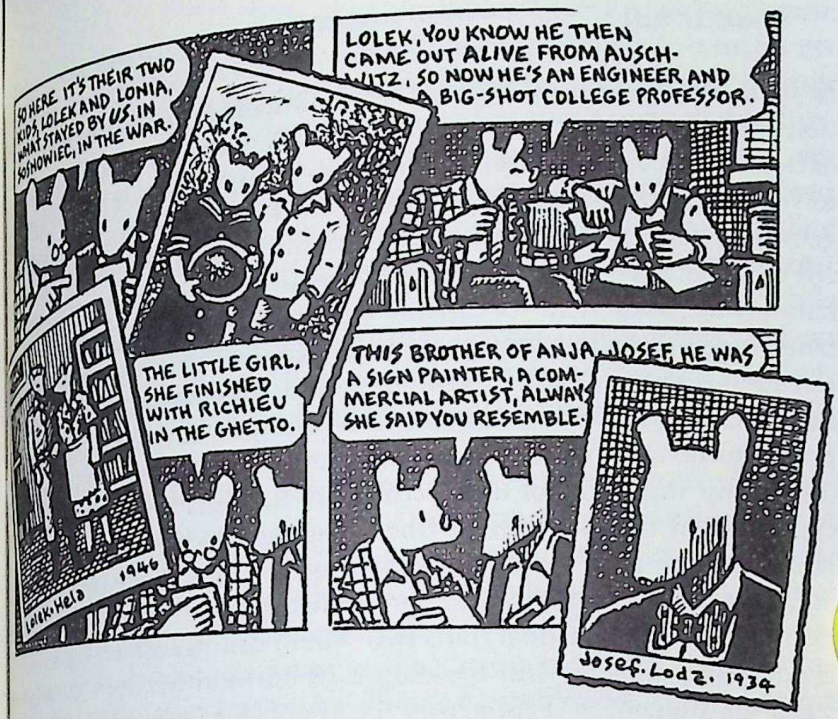

e intertwining of historical and personal: by adding personal memory to documentary, ck's illustrated photos support and challenge our understanding of, and relationship to, the . From *Maus, A Survivor's Tale II: And Here My Troubles Began* by Art Spiegelman, copy- © 1986, 1989, 1990, 1991 by Art Spiegelman. Used by permission of Pantheon Books, a ion of Random House, Inc. Page 114.)

Though it is impossible to avoid reproducing these images in an illus- ed biographical narrative of an Auschwitz survivor, Spiegelman handles h iconic imagery in a way that resists their tendency to become "stock s" (Zelizer 248). In his depiction of smokestacks, barbed wire, wooden ks, and trains, Spiegelman often calls attention to their iconicity through phic means, by blatantly repeating the exact same image over and over. example, identical smokestacks, bunks, and railcars appear throughout e two. Alternately, he includes the personal remembrance or witness identified source, calling attention to specific context and personal sig- ance. For example, just before Spiegelman's illustration of a crematorium k comments, "You heard about the gas, but I'm not telling rumors but what really I saw." The next page contains a detailed set of blueprints illustrations of the different parts of death camp crematoria, and it is ly the only page in *Maus* with no people/mice (2: 69–71).

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CONCLUSION

In *Maus,* Art Spiegelman negotiates the difficulties of heteropathic identification with varying degrees of success. Vladek proves to be the easiest for him to deal with in terms of working through (LaCaprian "mourning") as opposed to reenacting the trauma (LaCaprian "melancholy") visited upon the Spiegelman family. Through the composition of *Maus,* Spiegelman insets himself as a character in the text in an effort to make a place for himself in the family with relation to its experiences during the Holocaust. Art becomes family scribe and a transmitter of family history. Within this role, Spiegelman can use his status as editor, compiler, and animator to achieve a degree of narrative control and dominance over who gets to tell which stories. Anja proves to be more difficult for Spiegelman to integrate into the narrative, because his witnessing of the aftermath of her suicide constitutes a firsthand experience of trauma for him. She is the most problematic member of the family for him to come to terms with, as least here in the commix medium, and Vladek's portrait of her foregrounds her hyper-femininity to the exclusion of individual personal traits that would distinguish her regardless of her gender. Art's struggle with the trauma of his mother's death is not a wasted endeavor, though, as "Prisoner on the Hell Planet" provides evidence for the graphic or visual manifestation of trauma, which is often considered only with respect to the written word. The inclusion of her photo underscores the illustrator's emotional impasse in how little it actually tells us about her, mimicking Spiegelman's inability to access productively the events surrounding his mother's suicide. The dead son Richieu poses a relatively less daunting task of familial narrative construction for Spiegelman. His characterization of Richieu as rival sibling at least hints at the shadow of a normative family structure, and serves to reassert Art's own distinctness. Art's disobedience as both child and adult, however, negatively distinguishes him from his dead brother. Because Richieu is less central to the family structure, his importance, compared to that of Vladek or Anja, is fairly minor.

LaCapra distinguishes history from memory, emphasizing that each should be thought of as informing and challenging the other. History is something that transcends the boundaries of the single viewpoint, including in its scope "elements that are not exhausted by memory, such as demographic, ecological, and economic factors" (20). Memory, on the other hand, is the result of a first-person witnessing of a set of events that is characterized by the witness's personal feelings and experiences, the circumstances that adhere to the particular (20–21). Several of *Maus*'s visual devices serve to highlight the connections and conflicts between history and memory: the

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...y book-like diagrams that Spiegelman includes, Vladek's crude schemat-
...drawn on notebook paper, actual family photographs that resist inter-
...tation, illustrated family photographs that are given considerable depth
...Vladek's commentary, and the appearance of iconic images within inti-
...e personal passages. In visually juxtaposing memorial and historical ele-
...ts, Spiegelman creates a dual perspective that includes the combined
...ounts of father and son. The abstract narratives of the historical discipline
...stitute a processing of large sets of related events into an orderly format
...enables us to create a narrative trajectory of which we are a part. While
...se narratives certainly inform the historical record, they are also impor-
...in the extent to which they differ from it in content and scale, remind-
...us of the roles that individuals play in large-scale historical trends or
...ts.

As readers, our attention is called not only to certain events that hap-
...ed to one man victimized in the Holocaust, but also to his son's struggle
...derstand the ongoing effects of those events on his father and himself.
...e memory informs history in that Art's and Vladek's interaction bears
...marks of ongoing trauma. Though there are relatively few artifacts left to
...gathered, the Holocaust continues to affect its survivors and their descen-
...s with the weight of its legacy. Anja's suicide and Vladek's estrangement
...m his second son reveal the ways in which the events of the Holocaust
...created an echo that still affects survivors and their families. Indeed, this
...le effect poses the question of the extent to which any major historical
...nt reaches into the future, prompting us to wonder about the lines that
...draw in our thinking about such large-scale events—geopolitical, gener-
...al, and economic. These lines must be drawn to articulate a boundary
...an object of study. But what is left out in this study, and how might we
...ure towards it in other, overlapping disciplines? History and memory can
...in reciprocal relation; memory works in ways that extend the effects of
...torical events. While memory can serve as historical evidence, it serves
...to fill in the gaps of absent events with the material particulars of those
...speak their (primary) memories in mediated forms to others (secondary
...mory). The witnessing of historical events can charge us with very per-
...al investments, and those investments can reproduce themselves in the
...ces of life action that they endorse. We are not, as Fitzgerald suggests,
...e ceaselessly back into the past, but the past bears us inexorably towards
...future through memory.

Many of the questions I pose here are also concerned with the therapeu-
...and ethics of collaborative biography. To begin to answer the need for an
...s of narrative in the special case of postmemory, we might look to the

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concept of heteropathic identification, in which survivors' children find a way to claim the event itself that acknowledges their distance from the traumatic events in question. It is a matter of finding a way not just to acknowledge the distance between themselves and their parents' traumatic experiences, but to make that distance central somehow to the process of plotting an identity. Thus a refusal to identify with or to *claim* the witnesses' traumatic events themselves is paramount to the ethical handling of postmemory—its definition as such necessitates this care. The danger of trivializing the effects of trauma is the primary concern here. If the line between the traumatized and those affected by their traumas is blurred, we risk reducing the significance of the truly life- and mind-threatening borderline experiences that we designate as "traumatic." Quite significantly, Spiegelman uses the visual terrain of *Maus* to envision the graphic depiction of mediation itself, encouraging a more complete understanding of the phenomenon of postmemory and of the blind areas created by broad historical narratives.

The therapeutic potential that I suggest for postmemorial narratives is in line with the ethical treatment of those narratives. The second generation's heteropathic identification with parental survivors' traumas upholds the therapeutic demand that trauma be worked through (mourning) and not reinflicted (melancholia). We might say that the ethics of postmemory prefigure its therapeutics. The trauma will be reinflicted if the second generation identifies excessively with trauma that affects them indirectly. While this alignment of ethics and therapeutics may seem more than a little too perfect, I merely suggest this as a starting point for further inquiry. Indeed, perhaps it is to the potential sites of conflict between ethics and therapeutics that we should look. For example, Benjamin Wilkomirski, the Swiss clarinet-maker and author of *Fragments,* who claims to have survived the Nazi camps as a child despite all evidence to the contrary, presents one well-known test case. Michael Bernard-Donals claims that though Wilkomirski most probably did *not* live through the camps, his identification as a survivor serves some therapeutic purpose with regard to a different trauma from his early life in a Swiss orphanage, complicating our notion of what constitutes the phenomenon of witnessing (1312–14). Though the uses of identity and narrations of the self may seem innocuous in some cases, stories like Wilkomirski's show the potential for unethical claiming that the territories of identity and self-narration present.

Memory has been used as historical evidence, but it extends well beyond the boundaries of the historical knowledge that it informs, just as history similarly offers reassurances of accuracy, and a scope that is absent from individual accounts. Different from physical artifacts or documents, however,

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ories of real events transform witnesses in unforeseeable ways. While s of those historical events may fade, the effects of certain events on wit- es can have lasting impact to the extent that the repercussions of those ories do not necessarily come under the same statute of limitations. ther those witnesses attempt to integrate, eradicate, or reincarnate certain s in their memories, those memories continue to affect witnesses and loved ones long after the material evidence of major events becomes . Memories can be dealt with in such ways that wounds are reopened, ed by those who are not direct witnesses, or worked through and even grated into an account of individual or group identity. It behooves us to ware that memories are not inert, static quantities, but are fluid and sub- to change. We must continue to ask ourselves how best to harness mem- 's potential to act as an agent of change, both historical and personal.

NOTES

The question remains as to the exact relationship between the viewers' traumas and the narrators' traumas. A deeper inquiry into this subject would investigate the extent to which the old or original trauma was transferred to the audience, as well as the ques- tion of whether these symptoms of trauma are signs of a new trauma, created by the act of witnessing these survivors' narratives.

For more on fetishes, see Freud 19–21. I use fetish here to signify a metonymy in which the signifying link is ruptured and the thing itself is focused on, rather than that which it represents. This magnification and distancing of the representative part functions to disavow or bypass the whole that it represents and paradoxically comes to bring pleas- ure in and of itself, detached from meaning or significance.

This theory whereby a second generation experiences the aftershocks of a trauma as a result of proximity to its parents of course presupposes the familiar bourgeois nuclear family model of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries that most psychoanalytic theory takes as a given. The limitations of this approach are myriad, but apply in enough cases to be relevant.

In narrating their courtship, Vladek mentions his concern over the variety of pharma- ceuticals he discovers while snooping in her medicine cabinet (1: 19), notes her debil- itation after Richieu's birth (1: 31), and belittles as foolish her decision to hide com- munist literature for a friend (1: 28). In contrast, however, he speaks highly of her intelligence and talent as a writer (1: 17).

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REPLACING THE SELF IN CARDINAL NEWMAN'S *APOLOGIA*

FRÉDÉRIC REGARD

Although Newman's memoir is only one of many Victorian autobiographies, a "genre" that has received much critical attention (Amigoni, *Victorian*; Gaskey and Shaw), one should remember the specific intellectual, even meta-physical, context in which the *Apologia* was published. In the January 1864 issue of *Macmillan's Magazine*, the reformer novelist Charles Kingsley, Regius Professor of Modern History at Cambridge since 1860, wrote a review of the seventh and eighth volumes of J. A. Froude's *History of England* (published in twelve volumes, between 1858 and 1870), in which he referred to "Father Newman" as a typical Roman Catholic much given to deceit and cunning. The ensuing pamphlet war (FitzPatrick) showed that Newman was in fact suspected of having joined the Roman camp long before his official conversion—even perhaps while he was still the vicar of Saint Mary's in Oxford, which Kingsley suggested by founding his attacks on a sermon by Newman (Number XX of "Subjects of the Day") to be found in a volume entitled *Wisdom and Innocence* published as early as 1844. In accusing Newman of "concealed Romanism," Kingsley was implying that Newman was not in his place while in Oxford, that he had never been in his true place among Anglicans, and therefore that his proper place had always been in the Roman Church, the home of all hypocrisies and compromises. Summarizing his adversary's position, Newman himself insisted on this particular aspect, noting that Kingsley "desires to impress upon the public mind the conviction that I am a crafty, scheming man, simply untrustworthy; that in becoming a Catholic, I have just found my right place (I: 3).[1]

Nothing could be worse for the author of the *Apologia*. Not only can one not, in religious terms, belong to two churches at the same time (see VI: 148), but also, in ethical terms, the integrity of the self is supposed to be entirely described by the clarity of self-positioning. The "I" does not exist if it is split;

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and no "I" is even conceivable except as based upon a strong, privileged location, which is the place of Truth. There can only be a self centered on a single point, the source of all legitimacy, the very place that signifies divine election—here, either Canterbury *or* Rome, but certainly not the two at one and the same time. An appropriate response to Kingsley's attack would therefore be faced with the difficult task of "impressing upon the public mind" that Newman's life story had always been a quest for the "right place":

> I wanted to bring out in a substantive form, a living Church of England in a position proper to herself, and founded on distinct principles . . . a living church, made of flesh and blood, with voice, complexion, and motion and action, and a will of its own. I believe I had no private motive, and no personal aim. (IV: 85)

It is evident from this passage that the self's integrity depends on the manifestation of apostolic truth, with the subject construing himself as its incarnation. It is the "I" that promises the Church her own true position ("*I* wanted to bring out"), and in the same motion, it is the "I" that is thoroughly depersonalized to the benefit of the Institution ("no private motive, and no personal aim"), so that the Church becomes clothed in all the attributes of a human persona, with flesh, blood, skin color, a voice, desires, and even a pronominal gender ("herself"). In this way, the specific "I" writing the *Apologia* figures itself as a sacramental site: the subject is built up as a Church, staging the principal founders of its own faith. This architectural self conceives of itself as the edification and preservation of the Real Presence; in other words, as a metaphor of Revealed Truth.

Written and published over seven weeks (one chapter per issue, from 21 April to 2 June 1864), the *Apologia* responds in all urgency to a prophetic mission—to sculpt and consecrate the subject's central location in his calling. This, I want to argue, could only be achieved through a specific narrativization of time and place, what Bakhtin would have called a "chronotope" (Holquist 110 *seq.*), a notion which David Amigoni also uses in his study of Victorian autobiography to signify the way "authors fashion self-images according to new conceptions of time and experiences of 'private space'" (*Victorian* 126–27). My own reading of Newman's memoir, however, will try to establish how this text manages to articulate nineteenth-century "new conceptions of time" through a *canonical* conception of prophetism, and also how the question of "private space" is, so to speak, *nationalized* by Newman's narrativization of his own spiritual development. The main point I want to defend is made in relation to the great deal of work being done on the dialectics of location and self, on the relationship between life narrative and geographical setting (see, for instance, Fuchs, or Lang). Newman's story of

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placement, I argue, is only superficially concerned with geography, secretly constructing itself as an eminently metaphorical process, which of course makes for the unique literariness of the *Apologia*.

The first step of Newman's strategy consists in challenging Kingsley's hermeneutic assumptions. Newman wants to show that Kingsley's attack rests on an illusion of the "Cratylic" type, according to which each object is thought to have received a "just denomination" that comes naturally suited to it (Genette 11; my translation). Like Hermogenes in the famous Socratic dialogue, the autobiographer reminds his reader that simply naming a place is not the same as speaking its truth, that the equation of words with things is often a matter of agreement, or of convention. Every act of naming, then, like religious denomination, can be contradicted by a reality both complex and obstinately resistant to cadastral fixities. It is in this very analogy between toponymy and eponymy that Newman first finds the essential element of his argument. Inspired by the urban geography of Oxford and its immediate environs, he argues that any topographical enterprise is bound to fail as long as the toponymy itself is not clearly established:

> For instance: in 1844 I lived at Littlemore; two or three miles distant from Oxford; and Littlemore lies in three, perhaps four, distinct parishes, so that of particular houses it is difficult to say whether they are in St. Mary's, Oxford, or in Cowley, or in Iffley, on in Sandford, the line of demarcation running even through them. Now, supposing I were to say in 1864, that "twenty years ago I did not live in Oxford, because I lived out at Littlemore, in the parish of Cowley"; and if upon this there were letters of mine produced dated Littlemore, 1844, in one of which I said that "I lived, not in Cowley, but at Littlemore, in St. Mary's parish," how would that prove that I contradicted myself, and that therefore after all I must be supposed to have been living in Oxford in 1844? The utmost that would be proved by the discrepancy, such as it was, would be, that there was some confusion either in me, or in the state of the fact as to the limits of the parishes. There would be no confusion about the place or spot of my residence. (II: 19)

Newman maintains therefore that the site of a residence precedes official classifications, that neither name nor denomination is enough in itself to signify "homeness." Unlike Hermogenes, though, Newman does not *believe* in sheer convention, and he continues to believe in the possibility of the rightness of names; like Socrates rather (see Genette 29), he demands that the name target not empty appearances but the very essence—the metaphysical dimension of "homeness." That is why he specifies that a place's truth should be approached not through signifiers whose illegitimacy he has just underscored, but through a *feeling* of belonging.

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The true location of the self, Newman contends, is to be found in this feeling of an immediate affinity between the speaking "I" and the place that both shelters and founds its speech. Thus, at Oriel College, the *Apologia* tells us, the young Newman experienced a sense of strangeness: "I was not at home there" (III: 40), and only in the years immediately preceding 1841, at which date it became clear that the vicar of St. Mary's had turned toward Catholicism, did Oxford finally procure for him a feeling of belonging: "So I went on for years, up to 1841. It was, in a human point of view, the happiest time of my life. I was truly at home" (IV: 88). As a classical grammarian, Newman recalls the primacy of ideas over words (see Marin 9); as a converted Roman, he hurries in the same breath to reaffirm the metaphysics of presence (see Marin 60). He consequently postulates the permanence of a location irreducible to the modern grammar of places, a location he calls "home," a visible sign of consecration—but to which he only has access via spontaneous feeling, the only gauge of the perfect coalescence between sign and referent, and therefore of the indivisibility of the residence established in this way. Official denomination is denounced as a simple game of signifiers, from which it ensues that every expression of geography with hegemonic claims, defining margins and borders from the viewpoint of a fixed and immutable Center, finds itself disqualified. This is not to say that the notion of Center is abolished in the *Apologia*; it is, rather, to say that the Center can also be displaced, and inevitably re-placed or relocated. And this is, Newman implies, what Kingsley failed to grasp.

To understand fully Newman's line of thought here, we should remember that Newman felt at home at Oriel only after having met John Keble, whose authority Newman is careful to state was felt only at a distance, and in invisible fashion:

> The true and primary author of it [the Tractarian Movement], however, as is usual with great motive-powers, was out of sight. Having carried off as a mere boy the highest honours of the university, he had turned from the admiration which haunted his steps, and sought for a better and holier satisfaction in pastoral work in the country. (III: 41)

Keble is here portrayed as some kind of prophet in the desert. Voicing a haughty indifference toward all authority, recognizing no central influence, making himself invisible, Keble opens up undefined spaces (the "country") that are nonetheless intensified by the reiteration of the revelation (the "pastoral work"). The prophet in the desert is not a pure nomad erring through limitless expanses without ever reaching a privileged location. His speech links him permanently to an invisible Source; that is, to the God who

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elaborizes the Word's repetition and displacement. Keble displaces the Word by opening up a geographical space, but we are made to understand that this space is paradoxically that of genuinely pious speeches, of truly inspired speeches. It was the presence of such speeches that eventually turned Oriel into Newman's "home." And Keble is not the only secondary character introduced in this way. Pusey himself, the principal theorist of the Eucharist in the Oxford Movement, is evoked through similar modalities: "the head and centre of the zealous people in every part of the country, who were adopting the new opinions" (IV: 77). Pusey, whom Newman notes never became a Roman (IV: 78), functions here as a marginal character who nevertheless allowed a diffuse feeling to find, fleetingly but throughout the land, a possible expression. Pusey may therefore be a digression in the main narrative of the self's formation, but the *Apologia* very subtly turns him into a *central* digression: "I am not writing the history of either Dr Pusey or of the Movement; but it is a pleasure to me to have been able to introduce reminiscences of the place which he held in it, which have so direct a bearing on myself, that they are no digression from my narrative" (IV: 78).

For the very same reasons, Newman is very reluctant to confuse the Oxford Movement with the geographical place where it emerged, the town of Oxford. Quoting from one of his own writings, published two years before "Tract 90," he writes:

> It was not so much a movement as a "spirit afloat"; it was within us, rising up in hearts where it was least suspected, and working itself, though not in secret, yet so subtly and impalpably, as hardly to admit of precaution or encounter on any ordinary human rules of opposition. "It is," I continued, "an adversary in the air, a something one and entire, a whole wherever it is, unapproachable and incapable of being grasped, as being the result of causes far deeper than political or other visible agencies, the spiritual awakening of spiritual wants."
>
> To make this clear, I proceed to refer to the chief preachers of the revived doctrines at that moment, and to draw attention to the variety of their respective antecedents. ... What march of opinions can be traced from mind to mind among preachers such as these? They are one and all in their degree the organs of one Sentiment, which has risen up simultaneously in many places very mysteriously. (V: 105–106)

It appears from this that the founding Center is invisible, impalpable, mysteriously disseminated in places and in persons that nothing other than this "Sentiment" of a single indivisible Truth brings together. For wherever it is revealed, and whatever may be the degree of de-centering to which it is subjected, the Truth revealed intensifies the surface it inhabits only inasmuch as it is a fragment or a piece of the revelation is given, but its whole: "something

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one and entire, a whole wherever it is." Each of the places of residence invested by the preachers of the Movement is therefore a figure of the Whole, of which the particular place is only the visible structuring. This seems to be the fundamental rhetoric at work in the *Apologia*. The narrating "I" always opposes to the synecdochic relationship implied in the rapport between the hegemonic Center and its satellites, a relationship of *substitutive* parts. The Center is therefore not in Oxford, the geographical place, but everywhere the spirit of the Oxford Movement is manifested and structured. Each location may then be conceived as a consecrated site, a borrowed home, a "metaphor" for the true revelation. That is why the dominant trope informing Newman's system of thought is probably that of resurgence. The "I" finds its way as soon as it reaches the site of the emergence of a source, which having no fixed point of origin, can flow outside the bounds of any cadaster, across place- and personal names, and across geographic zones. The founding Center is therefore no more in Canterbury than in Rome. If Newman plays perpetually with the possible meanings of the word "Rome" (V: 124 *seq.*), it is precisely because the geographical place is too often perceived as the central and unchangeable residence of a transcendent power, while the Newmanian self doesn't need to commence a geographic voyage to ensure his legitimacy.

This is made possible because Newman's metaphysics of space is articulated on a metaphysics of History. As in Augustine's *Confessions*, conversion is not conceived in terms of a chronological rupture. Neither accidental displacement nor catastrophic distance, neither brusque return nor painful reorientation, Newman's Catholicism thinks itself rather in terms of reconciliation. For the convert, it is a matter of linking himself with an apostolic continuity that here again precedes all spatial locations, and disqualifies in a single blow all assignations of the Truth to a geographic place fixed by the vicissitudes of political history. That is why, fundamentally, for Newman History should never be confused with geopolitics. The 1841 turmoil about the bishopric of Jerusalem, which closes Book V of his memoir and thereby takes on as much importance as the publication of "Tract 90," illuminates in exemplary fashion this distinction (V: 141–46). During his 1833 stay in Rome, rumor reached Newman's ears that Prussia and England were on the verge of setting up a Protestant representation in Jerusalem, as part of a more global political strategy designed principally to counter the Russian and French influence. These power plays offer Newman striking proof of an original imposture, and he does not hesitate to affirm that such geopolitical strategies disqualify Anglicanism as a Church: "such acts as were in progress led me to the gravest suspicion, not that it would soon cease to be a church, but that it had never been a church all along" (143). This argument also permits

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Newman to accuse those who accused him of displacement as being in fact the very ones who, from the beginning, had led the Church of England astray, into the troubled games of political history, subordinating theological reflection to earthly strategic considerations. The history of the Church is therefore not written according to religious principles.

A coherent philosophy of religious History, with the concept of "development" at its core, apparently supports this indictment of geopolitical maneuvers. Strangely, this notion is advanced at the same time that the concept struggles with the classical problem of the role and place of the Virgin Mary:

> I am not sure that another consideration did not also weigh with me then. The idea of the Blessed Virgin was as it were magnified in the Church of Rome, as time went on—but so were all the Christian ideas; as that of the Blessed Eucharist. The whole scene of pale, faint, distant Apostolic Christianity is seen in Rome, as through a telescope or magnifier. The harmony of the whole, however, is of course what it was. It is unfair then to take one Roman idea, that of the Blessed Virgin, out of what may be called its context.
>
> Thus I am brought to the principle of development of doctrine in the Christian Church, to which I gave my mind at the end of 1842. . . . I saw that the principle of development not only accounted for certain facts, but was in itself a remarkable philosophical phenomenon, giving a character to the whole course of Christian thought. It was discernible from the first years of the Roman teaching up to the present day, and gave to that teaching a unity and individuality. It served as a sort of test, which the Anglican could not exhibit, that modern Rome was in truth ancient Antioch, Alexandria, and Constantinople, just as a mathematical curve has its own law and expression. (VI: 184–85)

Because we know Newman cannot possibly share the basic philosophical assumptions of evolutionary theory, the concept of "development" as it appears in the *Apologia* proves to be of formidable complexity, all the more so as it seeks to combine classical theology (possibly Gregory of Naziance and Saint Augustine), mathematical modeling, and of course nineteenth-century theories of biological evolution. Such theories, we should remember, did not become popular in England before the 1850s—Spencer's "Development Hypothesis" was circulated between 1852 and 1854 (see Gillespie), ten years after Newman had officially "given his mind" to it, and seven after he had published his *Essay on the Development of the Christian Doctrine* (1845). But the extensive literature on the pervading presence of biological metaphors in Victorian literature (Beer, Levine) suggests that Newman did write within a general environment of ideas, even before the *Apologia* offered itself as an

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ideal opportunity to rewrite a Roman Catholic's theological history at a time when Darwin's *Origin of Species* (1859), or Spencer's *First Principles* (1862), were being widely discussed. Newman's copious eulogy of the Reverend Thomas Scott, presented as a "a true Englishman" to whom the convert "owe[s] [his] soul," thanks notably to Scott's doctrine according to which "Growth is the only evidence of life" (III: 32), should be replaced within this very same context. An intellectual *tour de force,* Newman's contribution to a general accommodation of the "Development Hypothesis" is also much more "modern" than we may think. Anticipating our contemporary "logique du vivant" by more than a century, outdoing Darwin and Spencer themselves through his power of connection from one field of study to another—namely from biology and anthropology to psychology and theology—Newman refutes the law of the fixity of religious species and chooses to consider primitive Rome as a complex encoded structure, representing its hereditary formulae—what biologists today call a "genotype"—and modern Rome as an ensemble of somatic characters testifying to the interaction between genetic material and its phenomenal milieu—what biologists call a "phenotype" (Jacob 226). From this perspective, the modern Anglican Church can be apprehended as the product of the historical avatars of apostolic Rome.

Geographical environment (Canterbury or Rome) is therefore thought of, not as a place of essential characteristics, but as a sort of biotope, which determines the adaptation of the Church to a certain "milieu." History is thus "spatialized," determining specific agencies in accordance with the rules of these "milieus." As concerns the worship of the Virgin, Newman then notes:

> Such devotional manifestations in honor of our Lady had been my great crux as regards Catholicism. . . . They may be fully explained and defended; but sentiment and taste do not run with logic: they are suitable for Italy, but they are not suitable for England. (VI: 183)

Surprising though this collusion with the theory of evolution may seem, Newman here reveals himself loyal to the testamentary tradition of parabolic illustration. Addressing a "Victorian" public, he borrows "Victorian" images, whose presuppositions he obviously does not share (the law of Nature does not, for him, take primacy over the law of God). What Newman retains from the theory of "development" is the idea of a universal and eternal law, and of the permanence of hereditary traits, which he deduces both as a scientific support of his own theory of apostolic continuity and as an injunction to initiate the narrative of "adaptations" with which religious history is fed. In short, he issues an injunction to begin a narrative that goes back in History in such a manner as to, if not cancel, at least correct its "developments."

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This philosophy of history also explains why, fundamentally, Newman autobiographical writer can never contradict himself within the *Apologia*: "Anglican" texts cannot be opposed to his "Catholic" writings, for the sides of his intellectual and theological life simply illuminate each other, other through anticipation or retrospection, as is illustrated by this passage: have found notes written in March 1839, which anticipate my article in *British Critic* of October 1840, in which I contended that the Churches Rome and England were both one, and also the one true Church" (V: 5). Each letter, each article, each sermon, and each published book in the *logia* is implicitly thought of as a metonymy waiting for wholeness, each be proleptically or analeptically sealing within itself the possibility of its metaphorical re-reading. The intellectual memoir ensures that one text eventually substituted for another, counted for another, the dissemblances being explained as functions of historical contingencies, and the resemblances being witness to a superior Law that dictates itself in spite of the "developments" of such or such doctrinal aspect. The story of Newmanian writings, they Anglican or Roman, thus finds in the autobiographical return a continuity proper to great theological treatises: just as religious history proclaims survival of the apostolic message, the Newmanian bibliography brings, engraved in itself, the same message of a return to the primitive Church. The Anglican Church and the Roman Church are thus declared to have single ancestor in common, whose ghost finds in the *Apologia* the utopian of its return. The metaphysics of places, when conjugated through this physics of History, thereby structures the narrative according to what I like to call, following in the footsteps of Derrida's commentary on *Hamlet*, "a logic of revenance" (16). I find this phrase useful here because it both the storied nature of Newman's conversion—the final illumination is not a sudden spiritual revelation, but the outcome of a development and the rather "uncanny" atmosphere characterizing the convert's metamorphosis. It remains true, however, that Newman's conception of history entirely congruent with the exegetical tradition of figural interpretation, its emphasis on foreshadowing and fulfillment of real and historical or characters. It should therefore come as no surprise that just as modRome is, in reality, the unveiled or fulfilled figure of Antioch, Alexandria, Constantinople, the convert conceptualizes himself as an imitation—*figura imitativa*—of figures of antiquity. Auerbach's celebrated essay on "Figura" underscores this classic prophetic technique of transfiguration (436 *ff.*). But Newman's use of canonical semiotics is quite specific in that the chain of *demonstrationes* or foreshadowings seems to narrativize itself in a most idiosyncratic fashion. Newman is constantly giving the impression of seeking to

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reinscribe the transnational exegetical tradition of figural interpretation within a *national,* narrowly English tradition of folk and Gothic literature.

Let us focus on the key moment of the conversion. It appears that Newman's final illumination cannot in fact take place without the help of two spiritual revelations, two "illuminations" that submit the preacher to a veritable trial of uncanny substitutions. The reader is told that during the summer of 1839, when controversy was at a relatively calm point, Newman dived into the question of Monophysism—a Christian doctrine that denies Jesus Christ the distinction of two natures, divine and human. This task absorbed him from June to August:

> It was during this course of reading that for the first time a doubt came upon me of the tenableness of Anglicanism. . . . My stronghold was Antiquity; now here, in the middle of the fifth century, I found, as it seemed to me, Christendom of the sixteenth and the nineteenth centuries reflected. I saw my face in that mirror, and I was a Monophysite. . . . The principles and proceedings of heretics then, were those of Protestants now. I found it so, almost fearfully; there was an awful similitude. (V: 118–19)

A few lines further on, a second "illumination" forces Newman to undergo a second metamorphosis. In August 1839, a friend counseled him to involve himself henceforth in the question of the Donatists, who saw themselves as the sole heirs of the Apostles. Newman was told that Wiseman had made a remarkable comment in a *Dublin Review* article, highlighting the parallels with Anglicanism (V: 120). At first, Newman was not convinced, but a sentence of Augustine's, "*securus judicat orbis terrarum,*" taken up by Wiseman and underscored by the friend, set the phenomenon of the second "illumination" into motion:

> For a mere sentence, the words of St. Augustine struck me with a power which I never had felt from any words before. To take a familiar instance, they were like the "Turn again Whittington" of the chime; or, to take a more serious one, they were like the "Tolle, lege, Tolle, lege" of the child, which converted St. Augustine himself. "Securus judicat orbis terrarum!" By those great words of the ancient Father, the theory of the Via Media was absolutely pulverized. (V: 121)

All the way to his description of the key moment of conversion, we can see the autobiographical subject constructing his identity through the classic technique of transfiguration, restylized here as an uncanny chain of metaphorical substitutions. Newman construes himself no longer as an empty place, but rather as a theatre of shadows, or successive incarnations. The mirror stage, the stage of the first visual hallucination, lays the ground for the

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second stage of vocation and auditory hallucination—the stage in which Newman begins to identify with Augustine. In all cases, Newman does not stand for himself; rather, he is transformed into a shadow, an "awful similitude." He inhabits, and is inhabited by, various characters. And yet, such metamorphoses are precisely what enables Newman to be "re-placed"—to gain renewed access to the place of origins. He reincarnates, for example, as a Monophysite, through an operation of transferal that permits him to situate himself on another stage—the originary stage of first orders, and therefore a real, historical stage and not an allegorical one. That is why Newman hears the "*Securus judicat orbis terrarum*" in the same way Augustine heard the "*Tolle, lege.*"

Everything occurs then as if Newman could not come to existence, or arrive at his proper place, except by re-placing himself in Augustine's inaugural posture, reproducing the Augustinian experience and therefore hearing a decisive phrase—his own decisive phrase, whose meaning cannot be grasped except in metaphorical relation both to the "*Tolle, lege*" of the *Confessions* and to the "Turn again Whittington" of English folklore.[2] Conversion can thus only take place if it has been first lived, then retranscribed via Saint Augustine, whose *Confessions* serve the purpose of an ancient drama that should be replayed in all its authenticity. Newman then "re-produces," while transposing it, the famous scene of the garden in Milan (VIII: viii, xii); he adapts it to the context of the feverish debates raging through Oxford, and adopts a pose, playing the part of "Augustine," which he enlivens, "historicizes," and even "anglicizes" in choosing to hear the folkloric "Turn again Whittington" instead of the "*Tolle, lege*" of theological tradition, no doubt hoping that this substitution will magically bring about the union of the English people with the Roman Catholic religion. The *Apologia* thus precipitates a general movement of replacement by which the autobiographer is allowed to incarnate a Founding Father of the Church, lending him a voice and a location that replace him on English soil, in the process taking into account the necessities of historical development, finding a continuity in utterance despite apparent changes over time, and overriding contradiction by the force not so much of predestination as of foreshadowing. Time is not abolished; rather it is reenergized through a chain of metaphorical replacements which constitute the fabric of the *Apologia* as a *story,* a ghost story of self-formation.

Speaking of the storied nature of this spiritual memoir, one should recall that such commentators as Buckler (70–72) and Connolly have noted that the *Apologia* lives itself out like "a spiritual Odyssey," since it can be argued that the convert plays the part of a Ulysses who has returned to Ithaca at the end of a perilous voyage. There is indeed an abundance of maritime-navigation

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metaphors in Newman's memoir. Suffice it to recall the well-known comparison describing the moment of conversion: "it was like coming into port after a rough sea" (VII: 215). If we also recall that Ithaca is at once the place of origin and the place of destination, and that the *Odyssey*, contrary to ulterior intrigues when we don't know what will happen, is written with the constant certitude of accomplishment—everything is said in advance, and everything spoken will happen—in short, if we agree with Todorov's claim that the Homeric narrative is the archetype of all "narratives of predestination" (77), then the *Apologia* is indeed written along the lines of an *Odyssey*. But as I have already suggested, Newman's narrative is also riddled with revenants. It is primarily this "logic of revenance" that ensures Rome surfaces through Canterbury, the apostolic church through modern Rome, Christ's spirit through Italian "Mariolatry," Saint Augustine through Whittington, the Milanese garden through Oxford, and so on. The principle of metaphorical substitutability implies this essential "spectrality" of every scene. My contention, therefore, is that the narrative of predestination is here doubled with a ghost story—a strategy that, I want to argue, allows the life writer to constantly "reterritorialize" the hero's wandering into his first vocation, and again to "anglicize" his spiritual odyssey.

Although I am well aware that Newman was probably impressed by the Gothic revival of the 1850s and 1860s (see Amigoni, "Gothic"), the ghost story I have in mind was most probably inspired in Newman by Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. Newman's interest in Shakespeare, and more particularly in the plays' varying editions in relation to the inherent uncertainty of religious opinions, is not usually attested to before his comments on Falstaff's death in *An Essay in Aid of a Grammar of Assent* (1870), where Shakespeare's name is put alongside Homer's (276). And it seems only Stephen Finley has intuited the importance of *Hamlet* in the rhetorical apparatus of the *Apologia*, suggesting that Newman's metaphors of contamination may well have reminded his contemporaries of Hamlet's harsh examination of his mother in the closet scene (153). What I strongly suspect is that as early as 1864 an implicit mythic pattern was emerging through Newman's narrativization of the Church's history, and that this pattern demanded that the cleverness of the Greek sailor join forces with the spirituality of the Danish Prince. Indeed, in the same way that Whittington's folkloric legend indexes, even in somewhat degraded form, the permanence of a supernatural vocation, the slightest episode in Newman's intellectual life signals that the home port has always already been there, repeatingly *in view*. The son rejoins the Father at the end of his navigation, but this return to native soil is continually prefigured by the ghosts of the absent Father, which from the very beginning indicate to the

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many possible sites for his placement. The location of the Roman subject in the *Apologia* is therefore not given as the result of a spatial translation, but as a succession of intensive excavations that at regular intervals, and using an eminently Shakespearean mythos, call the son back to order. This spectral motif is inscribed all through the autobiography. Time in the *Apologia* is always "out of joint," and it is precisely the work of the spiritual memoir to "disjoint" and then to "re-joint" the two ends: to make the origin and the destination once more coincide, thanks notably to the play of proleptic or analeptic "similitudes" (see Derrida 16).

As early as 1833, when Newman tells his servant that a mission awaits him in England, the "I" seems to be less speaking than spoken. Newman is haunted by another voice, inhabited by a spirit whose purpose he does not grasp but which in some way abolishes death through loyalty to the Father: "'I shall not die, for I have not sinned against light, I have not sinned against light.' I have never been able to make out at all what I meant" (III: 55). Immediately following the second "illumination," in which Newman identifies with the Bishop of Hippo, the shape of revenance grows clearer: "I had seen the shadow of a hand upon the wall. . . . He who has seen a ghost, cannot be as if he had never seen it" (V: 121). Later still, during the summer of 1841, when Newman decides once again to leave aside controversy and dedicate himself to reading Saint Athanasius of Alexandria, whom he wants to translate, the "ghost" returns: "I had got a little way in my work, when my trouble returned to me. The ghost had come a second time" (V: 139). The revelation of returning to the Father is therefore not accomplished at the end of a trajectory, but *along the path,* as in *Hamlet.* Newman's autobiography is thus articulated through a specific "chronotope" whereby Ulysses's spatial translation is punctuated by Hamlet's pangs of memory. The story of the conversion, as it is put together by Newman in 1864, predestines the narrative's hero, a mixture of Ulysses and Hamlet, to hear the voice of the origin and relocate the site of a phantom Ithaca, which can emerge at any moment from the ocean in which the "I" navigates. This combination of two story lines within one particular chronotope is clearly perceptible from the very beginning of the memoir:

> I accepted it [a proposal to furnish a history of the principal Councils], and at once set to work on the Council of Nicaea. It was launching myself on an ocean with currents innumerable; and I was drifted back first to the anti-Nicene history, and then to the Church of Alexandria. . . . I do not know when I first learnt to consider that antiquity was the true exponent of the doctrines of Christianity and the basis of the Church of England. (III: 48)

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As Ricoeur points out in his analysis of the Augustinian *distensio animi* (*Confessions* XI: xxvi), plotting responds quite specifically to the enigma of any speculation about time (49). What this exploration of the *Apologia* has shown is that there is no story of the self for Newman, except across this quest for location thanks to which temporal discordance at last is met with concordance, as a sign of authenticity, legitimacy, and truth. And this, I have argued, can only be achieved rhetorically, by the sheer force not only of prefiguration, but of metaphorical substitutability, a process that both rein-scribes Newman's autobiography in the long history of theological semiotics, and replaces it within an English literary tradition. This metaphorical substitutability is therefore the true location of Newman's self: the spatio-temporal conjunction that produces him as an Eminent Victorian, the chronotope through which Newman manages to sculpt the monument of his own literary self.

When Newman decided in 1864 to entitle his autobiography *Apologia pro Vita Sua,* the choice of the Greek, then Latin term *apologia* announced from the outset that his narrative would not be concerned with anecdotal details of private life. Indeed, Newman's autobiography shapes itself not as a "confession" (think of Saint Augustine's petty thefts, his passion for the spectacular, his fleshly desires), but as an "apology": a defense, or a justification, of the spiritual choices of an author who, on October 9, 1845, left the Anglican Church to embrace the Roman Catholic faith. The life of the man, *vita sua,* is strictly limited to the detailed history of this religious quest, and the written "life," the published *Apologia,* is the genesis of this conversion. At first sight, Newman's spiritual choice takes the form of a displacement as much spiritual as geographical: strongly rooted in the landscape of Oxford, where he had been a student before taking up his role of vicar in the parish of Saint Mary in 1828, Newman gradually de-centered himself, left the orbit of "Canterbury," and finally joined "Rome." This conversion marked an intellectual endeavor that had no other choice but to materialize in space. Newman had to move to Littlemore, Saint Mary's younger twin, before leaving the Oxford region and founding in 1848 the Birmingham Oratory in Edgbaston: "On the morning of the 23rd I left the observatory. I have never seen Oxford since, excepting its spires, as they are seen from the railway" (VI: 214). But as we have seen, Newman's spatial displacement also obeyed a temporal logic, which eventually led him to define place not as a geographical Oxford nor Rome, but as a metaphysical, founding center which only metaphor could in fact produce. Indeed, when the *Apologia* ends with the geographical departure Newman's conversion has brought about, this leaving is conceived as a metaphorical return to the origins of the Church—to a time before the

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ism between Roman Catholicism and Anglicanism, a time before the geo-political Canterbury/Rome dichotomy. What I feel tempted to call New-man's fantasy of replacement ensures that the *Apologia* as a literary achieve-ment counters the disastrous effects of Newman's turn to Rome by reshaping a story of geographical displacement into one of metaphysical replacement.

NOTES

1. I am using the 1912 Dent and Sons edition; Roman numerals refer to chapters, Arabic numerals to pages cited.
2. Historically, Dick Whittington was a rich London merchant who even became Mayor of London. According to legend, this poor baker's boy from the turn of the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries fled his employer, getting all the way to the city gates, where sud-denly he heard in the chime of church bells the command "Turn again, Whittington, Lord mayor of London." Returning to London, he learned that he had become rich thanks to his cat, sold for a fortune to a Moor whose kingdom was infested with rats.

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"OBSCURE DIRECTIONS": INTERPRETING DENISE LEVERTOV'S AMBIVALENCE ABOUT EZRA POUND

DONNA KROLIK HOLLENBERG

In her poem "September, 1961," Denise Levertov records the painful silences of Ezra Pound, William Carlos Williams, and H.D. at the end of their lives, and she considers the effect of their absence upon herself as a member of a succeeding generation of poets. These three are "the old great ones" who have us alone on the road" that leads to "the sea" of generative power. Primarily a tribute, the poem expresses loss, but there is also a note of ambivalence in it. Levertov wonders what this legacy means: without "the light of their presence," the way is dark, the stars small, and the horizon "ringed with diffused urban light-haze." Her generation has "the words in our pockets," but they provide "obscure directions" (*Poems, 1960–1967* 81).

Of these three modernist precursors, Levertov was much closer to William Carlos Williams and H.D. than she was to Pound. Not long after emigrating from England to America in 1948, Levertov began a correspondence with Williams that soon led to an important friendship. Williams's prosody was a major influence as Levertov struggled to absorb the American idiom. She also admired the illumination of the ordinary in Williams's poetry, his sympathy with the poor and marginal, and his celebration of their persistence and ingenuity (*Poet* 254–66). Levertov was introduced to H.D. in 1960, when H.D. was in New York to receive the award in poetry from the American Academy of Arts and Letters, its first to a woman. The two corresponded until H.D.'s death, the event which inspired the poem above, as well as a moving essay in which Levertov praised especially "the play of sound" in H.D.'s long poems, and her special ability "to . . . *enter into mystery*" (*Poet* 244). Although she would later distance herself from H.D.'s high modernist aesthetic, particularly the mannered, self-reflexive style of her prose fiction, in the early sixties Levertov was "thrilled to be having a correspondence with such a legendary personage," in a period when there were still few women role models.[1]

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Levertov's connection with Pound was much more troubled. On the one hand, she allied herself with the Black Mountain Poets, practitioners of open-form composition in the style of Pound and Williams, who reacted against traditions of closure and compression associated with Eliot and the New Critics. Also, she cherished her personal connections with members of the Pound circle. On the other hand, Levertov was increasingly disturbed by Pound's fascism and anti-Semitism. Her reading of Pound dovetailed with her exploration of the Jewish side of her ethnic identity, after her father's death in 1954, and then with her involvement in the political activities of the New Left. (Born an Orthodox Jew, her father converted to Christianity in his mid-twenties.) During the mid-sixties, when she was rethinking the connections between poetry and politics and refashioning herself as a social poet, abhorrence of Pound's bigotry was increasingly in conflict with what she found liberating in his formal experimentation, particularly his use of historical and political referents in the *Cantos*. The process of working through her ambivalence about Pound informed Levertov's reconceptualization of herself as a "poet in the world" whose poetry nevertheless is the product of an inner dialogue (*Poet* 107).

Levertov's sense of having been provided with "obscure directions," particularly by Pound, devolves upon a biographer as well, especially with respect to interpreting her view of him. She expressed her thoughts and feelings about Pound in a variety of documents besides the poem mentioned above: a published essay, letters, a diary entry, and most intriguing, an angry aside written on the back of a letter and not initially intended for future readers.[2] Besides providing insights into Levertov's literary genealogy and creative process, these documents, which vary in tone as well as substance, invite one to consider the meaning of the gap between what Levertov intended for the public record during her lifetime and what was more private, untransmitted during her life but nevertheless deposited in her archive. This gap is particularly interesting in the context of the dichotomy between public and private in the consideration of women's lives, particularly when anger is involved, since anger was an emotion traditionally forbidden to women but fundamental to the desire for power and control over one's life (Heilbrun). In a classic feminist analysis, the suppression of anger contributes to an "anxiety of authorship" felt by women writers (Gilbert and Gubar 51). The gap also raises uncomfortable questions about the far from passive relationship of subject to biographer, particularly around issues of empathy and idealization. As Elisabeth Young-Bruehl has pointed out, female biographers have described themselves as "turning to their subjects, consciously or unconsciously, in search of an ideal—an ideal mother, an ideal friend or sister, a sexual ideal, an ideal of

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productivity, and of creativity, an ideal liver of life—and in some way, often more than one way, being disappointed" (45). The working through of this tension between idealization and disillusion to a realistic "acceptance of the subject for who she was," a person different from the biographer, is crucial to the balance of a biography (46).

I found Young-Bruehl's point particularly applicable since I knew and admired Levertov as her student and teaching assistant, and thus was prone to idealizing her. Also her ambivalence about Pound mirrored my own. Although my earlier work on H.D. had made contact with Pound's work and historical importance unavoidable, my own Jewish heritage often made me cringe privately at what I read, and I had avoided writing about Pound, partly out of fear of taking on a then predominantly male, Christian literary establishment, and partly because I felt my energy was more productively directed elsewhere. Was my interest in Levertov's anger at Pound in the service of presenting a portrait of her as my ideal spokeswoman, or was it an important part of her life? And if the latter, how was it important? In presenting it to readers, was I violating her privacy and distorting the biographical record? Since so much of a poet's inner life is expressed in her work, I turned to her poetry to help me answer these questions. I found there clues to a dynamic of self discovery in relation to others that I could both discern and emulate.

To understand Levertov's relationship to Pound, one must first know its history. When Levertov arrived in the United States, she had read only "a minimal amount of Pound (anthologized in a Faber anthology)," but she recognized his importance to her colleagues and mentors (Bertholf 83). Like her friends Robert Creeley and Robert Duncan, she valued Pound's literary criticism and the practical aspects of his poetics (Creeley 26). In a 1956 letter to William Carlos Williams, she mentions taking Pound's *ABC of Reading* and *Cantos* with her to Mexico (MacGowan 33–34). She was more comfortable with the former than the latter, however. Like Creeley, she appreciated the way in which Pound, in his literary criticism, gave the young writer practical advice. As Christopher Beach has pointed out, "much of the terminology Levertov evokes in her discussion of sound in poetry is drawn directly from Pound's critical vocabulary" (199). In a 1965 interview, she mentions the usefulness of Pound's concepts of "phanopoeia," "melopoeia," and "logopoiea" within the context of his definition of literature as "language charged with meaning," and she specifies Pound's influence upon her movement away from emphasizing the importance of visual imagery in a poem toward the idea that sound can best convey the poem's meaning and action. However, she qualifies these acknowledgments. In her words: "I

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think the visual image is terribly important, but it must be accompanied by the *melopoeia,* and *melopoeia* of a distinctly expressive kind, not just the musical over-and-aboveness that Pound speaks of. . . . Something closer to onomatopoeia, actually" (Sutton 14). In this interview, she also dissociates herself from Pound's poetry, indirectly expressing discomfort with Pound as a precursor. In response to the question "Do you like Pound's work?," she hedges and then becomes defensive: "Although I read it, I don't trace in myself any direct influence from his poetry." Parts "are marvelous," but "there is a great deal of the *Cantos* that I don't understand" (25).

Levertov's discomfort with Pound as a precursor was due not only to the difficulty of the *Cantos,* but also to his anti-Semitism, which must have rankled particularly during this period of heightened awareness of her Jewish roots. After her father's death in 1954, she began to explore the Jewish side of her identity, contacting Orthodox members of her father's family in New York, and reading about Chasidism in Martin Buber's *Tales of the Chasidim* and elsewhere. We see the results in several poems in *The Jacob's Ladder* (1961), where she draws upon this aspect of her heritage. In the epigraph to that book, the "ladder" between man and God confers ethical obligations upon the beholder: "even the ascent and descent of the angels depend on my deeds" (*Poems, 1960–1967* 2). We see one result of this renewed loyalty in a 1961 letter to Williams, in which she responds to his critique of the "staid iambic" sound pattern of the title poem by commenting that she can't always put "the American idiom" first because she grew up in a European atmosphere, not an American one (MacGowan 99–100). More specifically, in a 1977 interview in which she looks back at the development of her involvement in "the antiwar movement concerning Vietnam," she locates the beginning of her political consciousness in her family's efforts on behalf of Jewish refugees during World War II. She mentions her father's fidelity to his Jewish background despite his conversion to Christianity, and the effect it had on the identity formation of herself and her sister: "He and my mother, who was Welsh, certainly instilled in me and my sister a great deal of pride in being Jewish" (Estess 89).

Further, she says her first "really political poem" was "During the Eichmann trial," also published in *The Jacob's Ladder,* and she implies that the trial itself shattered her postwar apathy about political activism. A three-part sequence that concludes by imagining the "white sound" of terror during the brutality of "Crystal Night" from the point of view of the Jewish victims, the first two parts of this poem compel readers to see Eichmann not as a monster, but as a fellow human being not so different from themselves. His "Corpselike / obedience" to authority led to his brutality and indifference to

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ctims. Her attempt to imagine Eichmann's psychological state functions a cautionary tale to prevent a repetition of the Holocaust tragedy. Thus vertov implies a connection between her reawakening, during the trial, to each of the moral order by all those who permitted the Holocaust to hap- and her later protest against the war in Vietnam.

This connection between her family's earlier protest against the rise of sism in the thirties and Levertov's anti-Vietnam war activism is clearly blished in *The Sorrow Dance* (1967), where we find her first poems about war side by side with several elegies for her older sister Olga, who had in 1964. Her sister, whose troubled personal life is transfigured in the ga Poems," had earlier been in some respects a nightmare figure for Lev- and the nightmare was in part historical, as in this invocation to her in the third part of the poem: "Black One, incubus— / she appeared / ge anguish as Tartars ride mares." The simile connects Olga's emotional with her father's history as a Russian Jew who endured the violence of groms. Olga was not only a figure of suffering, however. She had also been ious worker for human rights in England; her death was a turning point Levertov's sense of herself as a social poet. She indicates this in her 1966 "A Note to Olga," in which her sister is a bridge between Levertov's ropean past and her American present. As she protests against the Viet- War in Times Square wearing a "reliquary" from her dead sister around neck, she imagines her sister's "high soprano" voice among those around who are "limp and ardent" as they are dragged to the paddy wagon.

It must have been difficult to reconcile Pound as a literary role model this awareness of her family's history, and there is evidence that Lever- was trying to put Pound's politics in context as early as 1961. In her diary that year, she mentions reading Charles Norman's biography of Pound, example. In his chapters on Pound's *Cantos* and his radio broadcasts, rman documents details of Pound's fascism and anti-Semitism, and also responses of various people to them, among them those of James Laugh- Levertov's publisher and an early follower of Pound. Norman quotes an pentant Pound in a 1957 interview with David Rattray, bragging that it "No [sic] Directions that suppressed that passage about the Rothschilds the *Pisan Cantos*. They wanted to leave the whole thing out without any ication of the omission, and I said 'Black Lines or nothing' and so in went black lines, so all my readers could see the censorship. I guess they were aid of losing the support of the New York banks, if they published the about international finances." Yet the biographer reports that when he Laughlin about this censorship, Laughlin had no recollection of it 57). Of course, the black bars to which Pound refers occurred in Canto

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LII, not in the *Pisan Cantos,* and this confusion may account for Laughlin's lack of response, or he may simply have thought discretion was the better course. In any case, we know now that Laughlin did object strongly to the anti-Semitism in the *Cantos.* He had written to Pound in 1939 that he thought "anti-Semitism contemptible and despicable," and wouldn't print anything "that can be fairly construed as an outright attack on the Jews" (Gordon, D. 109, 110). However, Levertov could not have known about this then unpublished letter, and she must have found Laughlin's position, as it was reported by Norman, unsettling.

Levertov's books were published by New Directions Press beginning in 1960, and she and Laughlin had become good friends. Although there is no mention of Charles Norman's biography in the letters between them, there is a reference to Pound that suggests that they had discussed aspects of his position. In 1964, Laughlin wrote Levertov that he was glad she wasn't "put off" by his introduction to *New Directions* 18, to which she had contributed seven poems. He writes that he doesn't like "to saddle contributors with his own rather naive ideas about what can be done to improve the world. At the same time it may be good for some of them to think a little about economics. Ezra was mixed up in a great many ways, but some of his perceptions in this area still seem to me very crucial."[3] Laughlin is referring to Pound's advocacy of Social Credit, an economic theory Laughlin also found worth considering. He describes it as "an economic technique aimed at diffusing purchasing power throughout the social pyramid without producing the regimentation and losses of freedom inherent in Socialism or worse" (ix). Like many members of the New Left, including Levertov, Laughlin was concerned about the growing dependency of the economy on the military-industrial complex, and the growing gap between the rich and the poor. He did not realize that Pound's "descent into the paranoia of conspiracy theory and anti-Semitism" was in part a consequence of his confusion about economic radicalism (Surette 5).

Clearly the question of Pound's anti-Semitism weighted heavily upon Levertov when she wrote her essay "Grass Seeds and Cherry Stones" for a Pound symposium in the mid-sixties. She distanced herself from his politics, writing "Racial and rightist views are abhorrent to me" (*Poet* 249). But she then excused them in Pound as "an aberration," and explained his Fascist affiliations as having been made originally "not in support of brute authoritarianism and cynical contempt of the individual, but because he mistakenly supposed the economic changes he correctly saw as necessary for a more decent human life would be made under Fascism" (250). What she valued most in Pound, she wrote, is the permission to be critical of received ideas; he

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ed her into "a sharper realization of her own sensibility" (251). Having disavowed Pound's politics, in this essay Levertov was able to respond fully to Pound's *Cantos.* Earlier she had only been able to appreciate the parts in them. Now she found the "mosaic of documentary material" al. She concluded with the comment that, through Pound, she had n "to apprehend the poetry of history, that flickers both in the olive s and in the voices speaking of trade; in the ant and the lynx, the sen- imagination and the dry implications of documents" (253).

Though not one who pulled her punches (one of the attractions of her is the directness of her voice), Levertov may have been making a spe- effort to be generous to Pound in this essay because of her respect for his ter Mary de Rachewiltz. Laughlin had arranged for de Rachewiltz to slate Levertov's poetry into Italian, and the two women had become ds. Responding to Levertov's concern that even this tempered criticism Pound might be offensive, de Rachewiltz wrote, "I must try to convince that I am NOT displeased with your essay. Quite the contrary . . . I agree ly with you that THE question must be brought up. I think we are all n minded enough to examine it and SEE the *different* angles."[4]

In an exchange of letters with Laughlin three years later, Levertov could longer deny her misgivings about Pound's anti-Semitism, however. The sion was the World Poetry Conference, held in Montreal in early Sep- ber 1967, in connection with Canada's centenary celebration. The adian poet Louis Dudek, who was on the planning committee, had ted Pound to make the opening remarks at the conference, and he had pted, despite his declining health. The invitation had proven very con- versial, however, and there were protests against it. As Dudek remembers, the day of [Pound's] coming approached, extravagant preparations mul- ied . . . and a general air of bitter Palm Sunday began to arise over the de of coming events" (145). This was the same year that the second b-Israeli war had triggered repressed grief and dormant memories of the locaust among Jews around the world, and Montreal was home to a large ber of survivors. Levertov, who was attending the conference, asked ghlin to clarify the basis for this hostile reception by local groups. ough she did not want to see Pound publicly humiliated, she was con- ed that she would be called upon to defend him if there were "inci- ts." Most of all, she wanted to know where Laughlin stood on the subject Pound's anti-Semitism. Clearly she considered him independent enough, ite his loyalty to Pound, to give her a candid answer. On August 29, 7, she wrote,

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> I doubt if anyone will attack Ezra at his age; do you really think so?—but in any case will be ready to give what help I can—tho' never having read his broadcasts I am not the best person to do so. . . . Did he ever make definitely anti-Jewish, pro-Hitler statements? I don't want to put myself in a false position.[5]

In the event, Pound cancelled, but nevertheless Laughlin's reply was cathartic for her. He wrote, "I pray there will be no incidents, but there is, I fear, some justification for an incident," and he summarized the anti-Semitic content of Pound's Rome broadcasts during the war, as well as the passages in the *Cantos* mentioned above. At least, he wrote, Pound did not attack individuals, and he even helped such Jewish poets and artists as Zukofsky and Henghes. He added, "What you get is pretty much what I suppose could be called the Shylock syndrome, that Jews practice usury and finance the selling of munitions to both sides in wars, that sort of thing." Pound's psychiatrists had explained this to Laughlin as a paranoid fantasy arising out of Pound's yearning "to create a better world through a proper ordering of economics . . . in other words, Evil and Idealism are curiously tangled in a disturbed mind." Although Pound is "full of remorse now about his life . . . you can never get him to state specifically that he was wrong about this." Then Laughlin stated his own position: although he understood Pound's anti-Semitism as part of his illness, he did not pardon it, and he had told Ezra so, "which is one reason why our relationship is so uneasy."[6] Nevertheless, he planned to come up to the conference for a day or two on the chance that he could "help out." Laughlin's reply was liberating for Levertov; it allowed her to vocalize her own anger. She wrote an exasperated response on the back of his letter that she did not send. It said, "He [Pound] should be preserved in alcohol for a museum. Who invited him??"

How should this angry aside be understood in an account of Levertov's life? When I examined Levertov's poetry I realized that it was more the validation by Laughlin than the anger itself that was instrumental. Knowing that Laughlin shared her feelings about Pound's anti-Semitism enabled Levertov to recast herself as a social poet with and against Pound, employing some of his poetic methods but rejecting others. Like other radical poets of the sixties, as Beach has pointed out, she was drawn "to the balance of lyric and didactic moments in Pound's epic—the 'interpenetration' of public and private worlds it represents" (201). In fact, her reappraisal of Pound's *Cantos* has been read by Beach and others as a key to her own methods in the writing of *To Stay Alive* (1971), her only volume devoted entirely to political subjects. In "Staying Alive," the long documentary poem at its center, Levertov mixes lyric passages with prose, incorporating letters, public documents, and diary entries in a "kinetic montage of inner/outer experience" (Smith 186). Like

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Cantos, Levertov's "Staying Alive" is, in Pound's definition of the epic, poem including history."

However, Levertov distrusted the impersonality of Pound's definition, by implication, of his poem. As she put it, Pound omits "the element of rative, the presence of a hero protagonist" (*Light* 115). With the excep- of the *Pisan Cantos*, he does not maintain, she implies, that "dialogue h himself concerning politics" that she considers essential to good politi- poetry (*Poet* 115). In contrast, in "Staying Alive," "Levertov's personal history is inseparable from and representative of the public events in ch she is immersed" (Smith 186). Any lapse into what appears to be the m of pure aestheticism becomes a source of guilt that destroys her imme- pleasure. Time-honored views of death and regeneration are disturbed the knowledge that evil exists which must be hated and fought on the d of action. Unlike Pound, who regarded history as a static panorama, for vertov history is an ongoing process. As Beach points out, "it is the process the individual taking 'political' action, even within the limited realm of personal solidarity" (205).

Perhaps the validation she received in her exchange with Laughlin con- uted also to the inward movement in "Staying Alive." As the sequence gresses, another conversation with a friend is part of her inner dialogue, coming a recurring motif that enables her to move forward. In Part I her ression of solidarity with the idealism of the revolutionary young in their test against the war in Vietnam is inhibited by her age and place of origin. has a previous knowledge of death they don't have: "time and the strad- d ocean, undo me, maroon me" (142). In Part II, recognizing the need to g down, / to re-examine," she comes to understand that time is not only ear but is shaped by difficult choices: "Time . . . is not a sequence, / . . . t radiates / out from a center" within the self (151). In Part III she unites r European past with her American present during a trip to Europe and gland, rediscovering the "well" of her own spiritual strength through mory work, shared with a childhood friend, Rebecca Mitchell, who recalls curring nightmare from World War Two:

Bet said:
There was a dream I dreamed always
over and over,

a tunnel
and I in it, distraught

and great dogs blocking
each end of it

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and I thought I must
always go on
dreaming that dream,
trapped there

The antidote for these feelings of fear and paralysis is ownership of them, and then poetic transformation:

but Mrs. Simon listened
and said

. . .

Make a place for yourself
in the darkness
and wait there. Be there.

The dogs
will not go away.
They must be transformed.

Even more than Laughlin did, this woman friend helps Levertov to access her deepest feelings. She tells her:

Get down into your well,

it's your well

go deep into it

into your own depth as into a poem. (*Poems, 1968–1972* 179)

In Parts IV and V, back in America, Levertov is able to participate in the peace protests with a greater sense of integrity, after having acknowledged the sorrow of the European past as her spiritual home. When a memory of her sister Olga on the streets of London recurs, she recognizes and claims her sister's suffering. Much more fully than Pound's, Levertov's poem includes autobiography as well as history. She uses the reflective nature of autobiography to impose a structure onto past events, giving them new meaning in the present (Jowett 79):

Those are the same lamps
of my dream of Olga—the eel or cockle stand,
she in the flare caught, a moment, her face
painted, clownishly, whorishly. Suffering.

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it's your own well.

Go down

Into its depth.' (182)

In fact, the experience of writing this poem may have led Levertov to a new understanding of the dynamics of Pound's racism. In a 1979 interview, she notes Pound's apparent ignorance "of his own unconscious," and regards his anti-Semitism as a projection. His writing, she says, is "always on the side of the intellectual, the rational. It suppresses the intuitive. It ignores it, in fact, and I think he did this in his own life. He ignored his own dark side and it ultimately overwhelmed him, because what you ignore in yourself comes up and bites you" (Zwicky 116). In allowing her to break through her own denial, Levertov's exchange with Laughlin helped prevent *her* from being overwhelmed. It was part of a process of self discovery that deepened and broadened her political consciousness in this period.

As for the unsent retort, the angry words about Pound that Levertov wrote on the back of Laughlin's letter to her, perhaps they *were* intended for her own eyes alone—at least so I thought when I had read only that side of the correspondence. Would I violate her privacy by bringing them to light? When I read Levertov's side of the correspondence, I found on her letter to him, scrawled at the top much later, the sentence "Have written erratically on backs of some of these papers." This seemed a clear directive not to suppress this information. I was reminded of Levertov's essay "Biography and the Poet," in which, while concerned about the invasiveness and sensationalism of some biographies today, she notes that three "'insidious temptations . . . assail' the biographer: "'to suppress, to invent, or to sit in judgement'" (*New* 184). When I reconsidered Levertov's anger at Pound in the context of her ownership of painful feelings and their transformation in her poetry, I realized that in writing her biography I was engaging in a parallel activity of self discovery. Her flash of anger had triggered my own, and with her help I could now put both her feelings and my own in better perspective.

Levertov was no stranger to the expression of anger. During the war in Vietnam and after, she spoke angrily from many public platforms. Her political consciousness, rooted in her family's protest against fascism in the thirties, eventually led her to become an activist as well as a poet. Her anger at Pound came from this source as well. To make her life story fit a feminist analysis of power relations in a male-dominated culture *would* be a distortion in the service of idealization, more my agenda than hers. In fact, while she acknowledged the history of women and the positive impact of the Women's

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Movement upon her life, Levertov did not like much of the poetry that emerged from the movement. She felt that "the Arts always have transcended and must transcend gender" (Zwicky 117). Also, she had been troubled by what she called "a certain kind of feminist self-pity," in which "women who see exclusively the oppression of women tend to forget other kinds of oppression," and she preferred a broader analysis of power relations (Gish 176). The latter point proved useful as I reconsidered my response to her view of Pound.

Unlike Levertov, for me a feminist analysis of women's oppression has been central. When I returned to graduate school in the seventies, although there were still few women professors, the Women's Movement had had a profound effect on the academy. The excitement about the new feminist scholarship was palpable, validating my desire to write about an ignored woman modernist and providing the tools. I remember, for example, my excitement at reading Adrienne Rich's groundbreaking 1975 essay "Vesuvius at Home," in which she analyzed Emily Dickinson's psychic extremity, emphasizing the eruption of her suppressed anger (157–81). That was one of many texts that demonstrated the inadequacy of established critical schools and methods to deal adequately with works written by women. Since then, by combining such categories as race, religion, and sex with gender analysis, feminist scholars have enlarged the implications of the term "woman," moving beyond any simply construed identity politics. One result has been a more sophisticated sense of the ways in which hyphenated identity, being a member of an ethnic minority as well as a woman, for example, affects both writers and literary interpretation.

My interpretation of Levertov's ambivalence about Pound is informed by my situation as a Canadian-born, Jewish woman. I have written elsewhere about growing up in western Canada after World War II in a stultifying atmosphere of silence around the subject of the Holocaust, and about the salutary effects of breaking that silence upon the community as well as upon individuals in it, not the least of which is more freedom of self-expression. As a Jewish-Christian, Anglo-American woman, Levertov, too, came from a multidetermined background. While the gap between her public and private views of Pound did not result primarily from anxiety as a woman writer, when seen from the perspective of her complicated ethnicity, this gap does foreground the dangers of difference. Jews in European history have been repositories of "Otherness." As Susan Gubar has pointed out, "they have been forced to dramatize for the entire world the deathly double bind of integration and separatism when played out within a hostile dominant culture, the stranglehold of anti-Semitic stereotyping that could not fail to produce hatred as well as self-hatred" (80). Levertov was not exempt from this problem and its

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tentially inhibiting effects any more than I am. It is not surprising that she ded Laughlin's validation of her concerns about Pound's anti-Semitism. I have come to realize that in interpreting Levertov's ambivalence about nd I am continuing to work out an issue that is important to me. In the aginative fantasy of identifying with aspects of her life, writing her biog- hy is providing me with "psychic food" (Rose 132). As Lyndall Gordon s written, "biography is a searching genre; it strives for infinite complexity, tant before obscurity of motive where the subject stands in shadow. We ch and pause, confronted with the mystery of another's life" (97). Yet we e no access to an event, either material or psychological, which is not ltered by our consciousness. Finally, perhaps the best gauge of the value the discrepancy I have described is the insight it provides into the impuls- that shaped such resonant, iconic images in Levertov's poetry as that of e well." As Young-Bruehl has noted, a "potentially distorting idealization the subject" is quite different from an appreciation of her achievement . The latter makes a fine emotional foundation for biographers because akes the emotional heat off the subject herself and promotes the realistic that there is no simple relation between the strengths and weaknesses of personality and the strengths and weaknesses of her work" (47). It also s the heat off the strengths and weaknesses of the biographer's personal- . The gap between what Levertov wrote for the public record and what she e in private invites a play of imaginative truth. Poet and biographer meet this ambiguous but fertile ground.

NOTES

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Levertov to Donna Hollenberg, 11 Aug. 1997, ms. Stanford U. Library.

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ANNUAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF WORKS ABOUT LIFE WRITING, 2003–2004

PHYLLIS E. WACHTER

It is true that everyone has a past of his or her own, it nonetheless happens that some, those who remember having lived fragments of their past with others, can sense they have shared at least this memory with them.

—Marc Augé

Identity—who we are, where we come from, what we are—is difficult to maintain. . . . [W]e are the "other," an opposite, a flaw in the geometry of resettlement, an exodus.

—Edward Said

I've walked through many lives,
some of them my own,
and I am not who I was,
though some principle of being
abides, from which I struggle
not to stray

—Stanley Kunitz

BOOKS

Kaur, Vijay. *Where I Come From.* Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier UP, 2003.

A memoir of an Indian woman professor's life illustrates the ways in which identity is reconstructed by recalling some labels that were applied to her at different stages of her thirty years in Canada as a "foreign student."

Alexander, Jeffrey C., Ron Eyerman, Bernhard Giesen, Neil J. Smelser, and Piotr Sztompka. *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity.* Berkeley: U of California P, 2004.

Has a strongly constructivist approach to trauma in which different social narratives vie for dominance; includes case studies of the Holocaust, US slavery, and 9/11.

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Armstrong, Mary. *Seven Eggs Today: The Diaries of Mary Armstrong, 1859 and 1869.* Ed. Jackson Webster Armstrong. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier UP, 2004.

Diaries of the wife of a butcher/farmer from north of Toronto, with an extensive introduction providing historical and generic context.

Augé, Marc. *In the Metro.* Trans. Tom Conley. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 2003.

Takes riders below Paris in a work that is both ethnography and personal narrative.

Barbour, John. *The Value of Solitude: The Ethics and Spirituality of Aloneness in Autobiography.* Charlottesville: U of Virginia P, 2004.

Explores how positive and negative experiences of solitude have been interpreted as religiously significant by Augustine, Petrarch, Montaigne, Gibbon, Rousseau, Thoreau, Merton, and Auster.

Bennett, John, and Susan Rowley. *Uralurait: An Oral History of Nunavut.* Montreal: McGill-Queen's UP, 2004.

Draws on over 300 oral histories of Inuit elders, from early exploration accounts to recent community-based projects, to present a history and ethnography of the Inuit.

Beverley, John. *Testimonio: On the Politics of Truth.* Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 2004.

Includes a new, substantive introduction to a collection of four of Beverley's most influential essays on *testimonio.*

Birkett, Dea. *Off the Beaten Track: Three Centuries of Women Travelers.* London: National Portrait Gallery, 2004.

Volume accompanying NPG exhibit: sixty portraits of women travelers, along with photographs and paintings made by the women, and photographs of their material archives.

Blew, Mary Clearman. *Writing Her Own Life: Imogene Welch, Western Rural Schoolteacher.* Norman: U of Oklahoma P, 2004.

A niece's attempt to piece together an aunt's life utilizing years of daily diary jottings raises issues relating to the inheritance of family stories and texts.

Booth, Alison. *How to Make It as a Woman: Collective Biographical History from Victoria to the Present.* Chicago: U of Chicago P, 2004.

In tracing the history of all-female prosopographies, decodes how these group biographies construct and attempt to guide female subjectivity.

Boulé, Jean Pierre. *HIV Stories: The Archaeology of AIDS Writing in France, 1985–1998.* Liverpool: Liverpool UP, 2002.

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...ing the social, political, national, and historical frameworks of AIDS discourse in France.

...ancaforté, Elio Christoph. *Visions of Persia: Mapping the Travels of Adam Olearius.* Cambridge: Harvard UP, 2004.

...plores the writings, maps, and engravings by a German who traveled in the 1630s through ...ssia to the Safavid court of Shah Safi in Isfahan.

...ndão, José António. *Nation Iriquoise: A Seventeenth-Century Ethnography of the Iroquois.* Trans. José António Brandão and K. Janet Ritch. Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 2004.

...holarly edition with translation of an unsigned and undated French manuscript detailing ...s among the Oneida Iroquois in the seventeenth century.

...ghby, Sarah. *Witnessing AIDS: Writing, Testimony, and the Work of Mourning.* Toronto: U of Toronto P, 2004.

...rough the work of Derek Jarman, Amy Hoffman, Eric Michael, and Jamaica Kincaid, ...ers a framework for reading AIDS testimonial writing.

...own, Kate. *A Biography of No Place: From Ethnic Borderland to Soviet Heartland.* Cambridge: Harvard UP, 2004.

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...s recently opened archives and oral histories to create an ethnography of the changes ...ween the 1920s and the 1950s in an ethnically mixed community on the Russian-Polish-...inian border.

...owning, Christopher R. *Collected Memories: Holocaust History and Postwar Testimony.* Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 2003.

...dresses how problematic sources like survivor and legal testimony can provide evidence ...writing Holocaust history.

...ux, Jane. *Clearing Land: Legacies of the American Farm.* New York: North Point, 2004.

...e fabric of a family's life is viewed in terms of the sites which have given the family mem-...s meaning.

...ner, Edward M. *Culture on Tour: Ethnographies of Travel.* Chicago: U of Chicago P, 2004.

...lyzes tourist performances, practices, productions, and narratives in Africa, Indonesia, ...d the US.

...rus, Virginia. *The Sex Lives of Saints: An Erotics of Ancient Hagiography.* Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 2003.

...gues that early saints lives are not anti-erotic, but offer a transgressive type of eroticism ...at resists the marital, procreative ethic found in other Christian traditions.

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Bush, Laura L. *Faithful Transgressions in the American West: Six Twentieth-Century Mormon Women's Autobiographical Acts.* Logan: Utah State UP, 2004.

Approaching as spiritual autobiographies six published memoirs by Mormon women contributes to rethinking the practice of women's and western life narrative.

Chakravarty, Gautam. *The Indian Mutiny and the British Imagination.* New York: Cambridge UP, 2004.

Uses diaries, autobiographies, and state papers to demonstrate how narratives of the rebellion were impacted by representations of imperial self-image.

Chambers, Ross. *Untimely Interventions: AIDS Writing, Testimonial, and the Rhetoric of Haunting.* Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 2004.

Relates testimonial writing and witnessing to the cultural situation of aftermath.

Codell, Julie F. *The Victorian Artist: Artists' Lifewritings in Britain, ca. 1870–1910.* New York: Cambridge UP, 2003.

Examines the origins, development, and proliferation of artists' life writing, and the variety of individual and collective identities ascribed to artists.

Cohen, Rachel. *A Chance Meeting: Intertwined Lives of American Writers and Artists, 1954–1967.* New York: Random House, 2004.

Includes a fascinating diagram that charts the meandering connections among writers, photographers, and artists during the years from 1854–1967.

Coombes, Annie E. *Visual Culture and Public Memory in a Democratic South Africa.* Durham: Duke UP, 2004.

Analyzes how post-apartheid South Africa's visual and material public culture represents the past while contributing to the process of social transformation.

Devine, Heather. *The People Who Own Themselves: Aboriginal Ethnogenesis in a Canadian Family, 1660–1900.* Calgary: U of Calgary P, 2004.

Explores Métis identity by reconstructing 250 years of the Desjarlais family history.

Dinnage, Rosemary. *Alone! Alone!: Lives of Some Outsider Women.* New York: New York Review of Books, 2004.

According to reviewer Barbara Sjoholm, "Dinnage pins her subjects to a baize board like so many chloroformed butterflies, the better to observe them minutely, each in her singular distressed beauty."

Dobbins, James C. *Letters of the Nun Eshinni: Images of Pure Land Buddhism in Medieval Japan.* Honolulu: U of Hawai'i P, 2004.

Using recently discovered letters by Eshinni, wife of Shinran, founder of Pure Land Buddhism, examines lives of medieval Japanese nuns and lay women.

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ne, Lisa M. *The Story of Reo Joe: Work, Kin, and Community in Autotown, U.S.A.* Philadelphia: Temple UP, 2004.

llective account of identity formation and historical memory over several generations of factory workers at the Reo Motor Car Company in Lansing, Michigan.

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Fish, Cheryl J. *Black and White Women's Travel Narratives: Antebellum Explorations.* Gainesville: U of Florida P, 2004.

Using archival material, their published works, and accounts of contemporaries, charts the journeys across nations and traditions of Mary Seacole, Nancy Prince, and Margaret Fuller.

Foster, Patricia. *Just Beneath My Skin: Autobiography and Self-Discovery.* Athens: U of Georgia P, 2004.

A southern white woman professor probes issues of class, race, and gender while chronicling her ongoing self-journey through several stages.

French, Scot. *The Rebellious Slave: Nat Turner in American Memory.* New York: Houghton Mifflin, 2004.

Tracks the changing images of Nat Turner in historical texts, oral traditions, fiction, and other media.

Friedlander, Eli. *J. J. Rousseau: An Afterlife of Words.* Cambridge: Harvard UP, 2004.

Reads Rousseau's autobiography *Reveries of the Solitary Walker* against Descartes's *Meditations* to offer an alternative to Rawls's and Derrida's interpretations.

Frisch, Andrea. *The Invention of the Eyewitness: Witnessing and Testimony in Early Modern France.* Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 2004.

Focuses on the tensions between ethical and epistemic witnessing in eyewitness travel writing from thirteenth through sixteenth century France.

Fuchs, Miriam. *The Text is Myself: Women's Life Writing and Catastrophe.* Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 2004.

Analyzes the impact of catastrophe on the lives and writings of Lili'uokalani, H.D., Anna Banti, Grete Weil, and Paula Allende, showing that "however much the past may be shaped into a discernible storyline, it is the uncertain present that preoccupies these writers."

Gilliland, C. Herbert. *Voyage to a Thousand Cares: Master's Mate Lawrence with the African Squadron, 1844–46.* Annapolis: Naval Institute P, 2004.

Places in historical context Lawrence's journal of his service on U.S.S. Yorktown, charged with suppressing the illegal transatlantic slave trade.

Gilsdorf, Sean. *Queenship and Sanctity: The Lives of Mathilda and the Epitaph of Adelheide.* Washington, D.C.: Catholic U of America P, 2004.

Translations of tenth century lives of two saints who were also queens, with an introduction placing the texts and their subjects in historical, political, and hagiographical contexts.

Glass, Loren. *Authors Inc.: Literary Celebrity in the Modern United States, 1880–1980.* New York: New York UP, 2004.

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focuses on how individual authors struggled with "the conditions of mass-cultural renown."

Bailey, Nawar Al-Hassan. *Reading Arab Women's Autobiographies: Shahrazad Tells Her Story.* Austin: U of Texas P, 2003.

Applies western critical theories like Marxism, feminism, colonial discourse, and narrative theory to demonstrate what these methodologies can reveal about Arab women's autobiographical writings.

Gordon, Eleanor, and Gwyneth Nari. *Public Lives: Women, Family, and Society in Victorian Britain.* New Haven: Yale UP, 2004.

Documents middle-class Glaswegian women's lives from letters, diaries, census reports, and similar public records.

Gordon, Hattie. *The Café after the Pub after the Funeral.* London: Continuum, 2003.

A sister's memoir about a brother's ongoing struggle with suicide represents multiple life stories in one.

Grace, Sherrill. *Inventing Tom Thomson: From Biographical Fictions to Fictional Autobiographies and Reproductions.* Montreal: McGill-Queens UP, 2004.

Examines how the figure of Canadian artist Thompson, who mysteriously drowned in 1917, has been reimagined and marketed as an iconic Canadian identity.

Grobbel, Michaela M. *Enacting Past and Present: The Memory Theaters of Djuna Barnes, Ingeborg Bachmann, and Marguerite Duras.* Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2003.

Applies the work of Freud, Benjamin, and cultural theorists to re-presentations of memory in the works of Barnes, Bachmann, and Duras.

Grubgeld, Elizabeth. *Anglo-Irish Autobiography: Class, Gender, and the Forms of Narrative.* Syracuse: Syracuse UP, 2004.

By focusing on place, patrimony, literary childhood, and depictions of mothers, places Irish autobiography into a discussion about identity and gender relations in Ireland.

Gullette, Margaret Morganroth. *Aged by Culture.* Chicago: U of Chicago P, 2004. (Reviewed in *Biography* 27.3.)

By analyzing fiction, drama, cartoons, newspaper, and media representations, provides a cultural critique of assumptions and stigmas about aging, arguing that a fuller understanding of the historical sources of age identities can contribute to richer autobiographies.

Halverson, Cathryn. *Maverick Autobiographies: Women Writers and the American West, 1900–1936.* Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 2004.

Highlighting life writing by women writers born in the West, offers an alternative history of

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American women's autobiography, and a new view of western women's literature opposing the frontier discourses associated with writers who moved to the west.

Hankins, Karen Hale. *Teaching through the Storm: A Journal of Hope.* New York: Teacher's College P, 2003.

Based on the "author's reflective teaching journal" about an emotionally profound teaching year with first graders, this book focuses on narrative as theory, data, and method.

Hart, Kathleen. *Revolution and Women's Autobiography in Nineteenth-Century France.* Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2004.

Places Flora Tristan's, George Sand's, and Louise Michel's life writing in the post-Revolution French autobiographical tradition.

Harvey, Elizabeth. *Women and the Nazi East: Agents and Witnesses of Germanization.* New Haven: Yale UP, 2004.

Using memoirs, oral testimonies, and newly opened archives, examines the role of women in establishing German culture and identity along the eastern border and in post-1939 Poland.

He Ming Fang. *A River Forever Flowing: Cross-Cultural Lives and Identities in the Multicultural Landscape.* Greenwich: IAP, 2003.

The specific stories of three Chinese women who are each able to hold onto a sense of self despite the uncertainty of cultural change become springboards for more generic issues of multiculturalism, racism, identity, and curricula.

Himmelfarb, Gertrude. *The New History and the Old: Critical Essays and Reappraisals.* Rev. ed. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 2004.

Updated edition features four new essays exploring the historiographical consequences of postmodernism, cosmopolitanism, revisionism, and "end of history" theories.

Hirsch, Joshua. *Afterimage: Film, Trauma, and the Holocaust.* Philadelphia: Temple UP, 2003.

Through documentary and fiction films, offers a theory of post-traumatic cinema that both represents traumatic historical events and attempts to reproduce or narrate the trauma for spectators.

Hoffman, Eva. *After Such Knowledge: Memory, History, and the Legacy of the Holocaust.* New York: Public Affairs, 2003. (Reviewed in this issue.)

Examines the transmission of personal and collective memory, and the responsibilities to memory of second-generation inheritors of a traumatic past.

Holroyd, Michael. *Mosaic: A Family Memoir Revisited.* New York: Norton, 2004.

A writer of numerous biographies grapples with his own family members with whom he shares a "strange interconnectedness."

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Hubbard, Mina Benson. *A Woman's Way through Unknown Labrador.* Ed. Sherrill Grace. Montreal: McGill-Queen's UP, 2004.
New edition of Hubbard's classic 1905 travel narrative, with an introduction situating the book in historical and generic context.

Hudson, Nicholas. *Samuel Johnson and the Making of Modern England.* New York: Cambridge UP, 2003.
Focusing on his approaches to class, gender, politics, and the public sphere, explores how Johnson became a model for English national identity.

Jimenez, Jean M. *Harriet Tubman: The Life and the Life Stories.* Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 2004. (Reviewed in this issue.)
Combines the first biography of Tubman since 1943, an analysis of her extensive practices as "the storyteller," and a collection of stories, sayings, and documents by and about her.

Junt, Celia. *Therapeutic Dimensions of Autobiography in Creative Writing.* London: Jessica Kingsley, 2003.
Exploring the therapeutic dimensions of autobiographical writing, focuses on the interplay of art, therapy, education, and research.

Kalin, Elizabeth. *State Repression and the Labors of Memory.* Trans. Judy Rein and Marcial Godoy-Anativia. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 2003.
Focusing on struggles over the consequences of historical injustice in Latin America, explores the relationship of historiography to memory, issues of truth in testimony and traumatic remembrance, and the appropriation of second-generation memory.

Kagan, Richard L. and Abigail Dyer. *Inquisitorial Inquiries: Brief Lives of Secret Jews and Other Heretics.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 2004.
Translation with commentary of six autobiographies coerced from inquisitorial prisoners as part of their interrogation.

Kaevak, Michael. *The Pretended Asian: George Psalmanazar's Eighteenth-Century Formosan Hoax.* Detroit: Wayne State UP, 2004.
This case of eighteenth-century identity theft was caused as much by ignorance on the part of the duped parties as by the one carrying out the ruse.

Kartzman, Mary Jo. *The Self-Fashioning of an Early Modern Englishwoman.* Burlington: Ashgate, 2004.
Contextualizes the autobiography of seventeenth century English actress, author, and criminal Mary Carleton, using letters, legal records, petitions, and trial reports.

Kazmann, Andreas. *Saved from Oblivion: Documenting the Daily from Diaries to Web Cams.* New York: Peter Lang, 2004.
Examines changing methods of self-documentation.

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Knopp, Guido. *Hitler's Women.* New York: Routledge, 2003.
Through portraits of Magda Goebbels, Eva Braun, Winifred Wagner, Leni Riefenstahl, Zarah Leander, and Marlene Dietrich, examines Nazi construction of German womanhood.

Knouff, Gregory T. *The Soldiers' Revolution: Pennsylvanians in Arms and the Forging of Early American Identity.* University Park: Penn State UP, 2004.
Through letters, diaries, pension applications, and similar material, explores the Revolutionary War experience among ordinary soldiers from Pennsylvania.

LaCapra, Dominick. *History in Transit: Experience, Identity, Critical Theory.* Ithaca: Cornell UP, 2004.
Uses psychoanalytic theories to develop a model of historiography that focuses on the relationship between historians and their material.

Landsberg, Alison. *Prosthetic Memory: The Transformation of American Remembrance in the Age of Mass Culture.* New York: Columbia UP, 2004.
Argues that technologies of mass culture make it possible for anyone to share collective memories, regardless of race, ethnicity, class, or gender, resulting in a new form of privately felt, public cultural memory.

Langellier, Kristin M., and Eric E. Peterson. *Storytelling in Daily Life: Performing Narrative.* Philadelphia: Temple UP, 2003.
Discusses the embodied contexts and material constraints involved in how people use stories to make sense of their lives.

Lelchuk, Alan. *Ziff: A Life?* New York: Carroll & Graf, 2003.
This novel about literary biography brings to mind the words of Virginia Woolf: "Let the biographer print fully, completely, accurately, the known facts without comment; then let him write the life as fiction."

Lidz, Franz. *Ghosty Men.* New York: Bloomsbury, 2003.
Described as "an urban historical," this novel documents "the strange but true story of the Collyer Brothers, New York's greatest hoarders."

Loftus, Ronald P. *Telling Lives: Women's Self-Writing in Modern Japan.* Honolulu: U of Hawai'i P, 2004.
Looks at the self-writing of five Japanese women from the 1920s and 1930s, probing how they have perceived themselves as well as describing how others perceive them.

Luciani, Frederick. *Literary Self-Fashioning in Sor Juana Ines de la Cruz.* Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell UP, 2004.
Explores self-promotional and self-protective functions of Sor Juana's textual self-fashioning.

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ovskaya, Nina. *The Diary of a Soviet Schoolgirl: 1932–1937.* Trans. Joanne Trunbull. Moscow: Glas, 2003.

diary ends two days before the NKVD searched Nina's family's apartment, seized her and later sentenced her to years of hard labor and exile as a "counterrevolutionary"; an unprecedented document of Soviet totalitarian rule."

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ographic and interview-based study of disabled women's work lives focuses on view- and strategies relating to self-identity.

Ginley, Duggan. *Acts of Faith, Acts of Love: Gay Catholic Autobiographies as Sacred Texts.* New York: Continuum, 2004.

lores the overlay of religious and sexual identities in autobiographies by gay current or mer Catholics.

er, Lucasta. *The Brontë Myth.* New York: Knopf, 2003.

ws how successive generations of biographers, including Stracheyan, Freudian, feminist, poststructural critics, remolded the Brontës to fit their own agendas.

stow, Joshua S. *At the House of Gathered Leaves: Shorter Biographical and Autobiographical Narratives from Japanese Court Literature.* Honolulu: U of Hawai'i P, 2004.

monstrates, with extended annotated translations, the political and social functions of men's diary literature from the Heian period (795–1185).

ou, Sherry J. *Gentlemen's Prescriptions for Women's Lives: A Thousand Years of Biographies of Chinese Women.* Armonk: Sharpe, 2003.

ws how in recording the achievements of Chinese women, dynastic historians created ctures for understanding that became prescriptive and restrictive rather than descriptive.

cholson, Ian A. M. *Inventing Personality: Gordon Allport and the Science of Selfhood.* Washington, D.C.: American Psychological Association, 2003.

amines Allport's development of personality categories and their use in 1920s and 1930s erican cultural politics.

ovak, Barbara. *The Margaret-Ghost.* New York: George Braziller, 2003.

fictionalized account investigates the life and death of nineteenth-century author Mar- et Fuller who died with her child and her (possible) husband at sea.

O'Brien, Sharon. *The Family Silver: A Memoir of Depression and Inheritance.* Chicago: U of Chicago P, 2004.

plies her skills as a literary biographer to recuperating her own family's story.

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Odo, Franklin. *No Sword to Bury: Japanese Americans in Hawai'i during World War II.* Philadelphia: Temple UP, 2003. (Reviewed in *Biography* 27.3.)

An account, based largely on oral histories, of the Varsity Victory Volunteers and the background and activities of Japanese Americans from Hawai'i during World War II.

Olsen, Victoria. *From Life: The Story of Julia Margaret Cameron and Victorian Photography.* New York: Palgrave, 2003. (Reviewed in *Biography* 27.3.)

Focuses on Cameron's emergence as the leading Victorian portrait photographer.

Págan, Victoria Emma. *Conspiracy Narratives in Roman History.* Austin: U of Texas P, 2004.

Examines strategies Sallust, Livy, Tacitus, Josephus, and Appian used in narrating the lives and conspiratorial histories of Catiline, Caligula, Julius Caesar, and others.

Pannapacker, William. *Revised Lives: Walt Whitman and Nineteenth-Century Authorship.* New York: Routledge, 2004.

Discusses Whitman's efforts at attempting to "self-fashon" his work and his persona.

Pérez-Mejía, Angela. *A Geography of Hard Times: Narratives about Travel to South America, 1780–1849.* Trans. Dick Cluster. Albany: SUNY P, 2004. (Reviewed in this issue.)

Study of the travel writings of Spanish botanist José Celestino Mutis, German geographer Alexander von Humboldt, British historian Maria Graham, and French activist Flora Tristán.

Phelan, James. *Living to Tell About It: A Rhetoric and Ethics of Character Narration.* Ithaca: Cornell UP, 2004.

Contrasts types of character narration in fictional and autobiographical narratives, focusing on the ethical positions of authors, narrators, characters, and audiences.

Pollard, A. J. *Imagining Robin Hood: The Late Medieval Stories in Historical Context.* London: Routledge, 2004.

Traces the development of the Robin Hood persona from late fifteenth and early sixteenth century texts.

Pred, Allan. *The Past Is Not Dead: Facts, Fictions, and Enduring Racial Stereotypes.* Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 2004.

Contrasts representations of Badin, an eighteenth-century Afro-Caribbean slave given to the Swedish royal court, to public displays of racialized stereotypes from the 1800s to the 1990s.

Prosser, Jay. *Light in the Dark Room: Photography and Loss.* Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 2004.

Studies photography as a form of memento mori and the realization of loss.

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...ero, Stephen. *American Jesus.* New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2003.
...ructs a history of American religion in terms of the multiform and changing manifes-
...ns and accounts of Jesus.

...-Williams, Barbara. *Twentieth-Century Autobiography: Writing Wales in English.* Cardiff: U of Wales P, 2004.
...ing on Gwyn Thomas, Rhys Davies, Lorna Sage, Ron Berry, B. L. Coombes, Margiad
..., and R. S. Thomas, explores the sources and varieties of modern Welsh autobiography.

..., Julie. *Negotiated Memory: Doukhobor Autobiographical Discourse.* Van-
...couver: U of British Columbia P, 2004.
...nstrates how the Doukhobors employed both traditional and alternative forms of
...biography to communicate their views on communal living, spiritual life, and activism.

..., Michael. *The Subject of Documentary.* Minneapolis: U of Minnesota
...P, 2004.
...des historical and theoretical contexts for depictions of subjectivity in documentary films.

..., Patrick. *Character and Conversion in Autobiography: Augustine, Mon-
...taigne, Descartes, Rousseau, and Sartre.* Charlottesville: U of Virginia P,
...2004.
...mines paradoxes of identity and changes in narrative form in work by authors who have
...ergone conversions that both motivate the narrative and suggest fragmented identity.

...hi, Christy. *From Girl to Woman: American Women's Coming-of-Age Nar-
...atives.* Albany: SUNY P, 2003.
...plorING the impact of coming-of-age narratives by women authors on the development
...merican feminism, cites C. S. Lewis' remark: "I never read an autobiography in which
...ges devoted to the earlier years were not far the most interesting."

...son, Kathryn. *Writing Wounds: The Inscription of Trauma in Post-1968
...French Women's Life Writing.* Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2004.
...xamines wound imagery and the application of trauma theory in works by Hélène Cixous,
...ce de Jurquet, Chantal Chawaf, Sarah Kofman, and Charlotte Delbo.

...nthal, Joel T. *Telling Tales: Sources and Narration in Late Medieval Eng-
...land.* College Park: Penn State UP, 2003.
...ugh letters, legal records, and knights' tales, addresses the creation of narration from
...mony and memory at a time when written records were becoming more widely used.

...d, Rochelle G. *The Jewish Women of Ravensbrück Concentration Camp.*
Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 2004.
...ructs collective and individual portraits using unpublished testimonies, documents,
...t archives, and interviews.

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Sartwell, Crispin. *Extreme Virtue: Truth and Leadership in Five Great American Lives.* Albany: SUNY P, 2003. (Reviewed in *Biography* 27.3.)

Presents Emma Goldman, Voltairine de Cleyre, Barry Goldwater, John Fire Lame Deer, and Malcolm X as distinctly American exemplars of truth in public life.

Schestokat, Karin U. *German Women in Cameroon: Travelogues from Colonial Times.* New York: Peter Lang, 2004.

Compares works by four women travelers to colonial Cameroon between 1884 and 1918.

Scott, David. *Semiologies of Travel from Gautier to Baudrillard: Travel Writing in Nineteenth and Twentieth-Century France.* New York: Cambridge UP, 2003.

Surveys French travel writing of the 1800s and 1900s, focusing on the role of signs.

Singer, Natalia Rachel. *Scraping By in the Big Eighties.* Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 2004.

Describes a decade-long sabbatical dedicated to soul-work which is offset by the happenings in the so-called outside world.

Söderqvist, Thomas. *Science as Autobiography: The Troubled Life of Niels Jerne.* New Haven: Yale UP, 2003.

Through telling the life of Jerne, explores ethical issues in the life writing of scientists.

Sparks, Randy J. *The Two Princes of Calabar: An Eighteenth-Century Atlantic Odyssey.* Cambridge: Harvard UP, 2004.

From correspondence and their own accounts, reconstructs the lives of two slave traders who themselves became slaves and were sent from the slave coast of Africa to Dominica, to Virginia, to England, where they sued for and won their freedom, and back to Old Calabar.

Stern, Steve J. *Remembering Pinochet's Chile: On the Eve of London 1998.* Durham: Duke UP, 2004.

Uses oral histories of life in Chile under Pinochet to explore the form and meaning of memories of state-sponsored violence.

Stewart, Victoria. *Women's Autobiography: War and Trauma.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004.

Offers narrative strategies based on trauma theory for reading women writers Vera Brittain, Virginia Woolf, Anne Frank, Charlotte Delbo, and Eva Hoffman, "who became caught up in different ways in the First and Second World Wars."

Strasser, Judith. *Black Eye: Escaping a Marriage, Writing a Life.* Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 2004.

"Two braided strands" of an abused woman's life story unwind: how her marriage ended, and how she came to be a poet.

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ek, Janina. *Photographing the Holocaust: Interpretations of the Evidence.* New York: I. B. Tauris/Palgrave Macmillan, 2004.

plores how different agendas shape the display of archival photography of the Holocaust.

mmers, Joanna. *Late-Medieval Prison Writing and the Politics of Autobiography.* New York: Oxford UP, 2004.

plores the presentation of imprisoned autobiographical identity by late medieval writers the Boethian tradition, including James I and Thomas Malory.

mboukou, Maria. *Women, Education, and the Self: A Foucauldian Perspective.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004.

plies Foucault's analysis of "technologies of the self" to autobiographical writings by eenth century women teachers.

dgell, Susan. *Understanding Our Selves: The Dangerous Art of Biography.* Bern: Peter Lang, 2004.

rogates the philosophical and practical bases of the genre of biography for what they l about narratives and selves.

, Sue. *Children Writing the Holocaust.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004.

gues that writing by and about child survivors and victims of the Holocaust constitutes a nct genre.

seca, David. *Hindsight and the Real: Subjectivity in Gay Hispanic Autobiography.* Oxford: Peter Lang, 2003.

ies "the representations of self and the discursive constitution of identity in the autobiphical wroks by several (mostly) gay-identified authors in modern Spanish, Catalan and American literatures."

g, Lingzhen. *Personal Matters: Women's Autobiographical Practice in Twentieth-Century China.* Stanford: Stanford UP, 2004.

ngs the relationships between the "traditional" study of autobiography and feminist, chanalytic, literary critical, political/social, and cross-cultural studies.

sberger, Barbara F. *Isabel Rules: Constructing Queenship, Wielding Power.* Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 2003. (Reviewed in this issue.)

lines the formation of Isabel I of Spain's image, as her own self-fashionings and conmporary accounts highlight the conflict between her gender and her political activities.

sman, Gary. *Fantasies of Witnessing: Postwar Efforts to Experience the Holocaust.* Ithaca: Cornell UP, 2004.

lines the pervading rhetorics of secondary memory and trauma as responses to an increasnce of the Holocaust's unreality.

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Williams, Cratis D. *Tales from Sacred Wind: Coming of Age in Appalachia.* Ed. David Cratis Williams and Patricia D. Beaver. Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2003.

"Personal memoirs, family stories, folktales, and commentaries on Appalachian culture, history, and folkways," drawn from the writings of Cratis D. Williams (1911–1985).

Winston-Allen, Anne. *Convent Chronicles: Women Writing about Women and Reform in the Late Middle Ages.* College Park: Penn State UP, 2004.

From late fifteenth and early sixteenth century autobiographical accounts, reinterprets the lives and agency of women in Dutch- and German-speaking orders.

EDITED VOLUMES, COLLECTIONS, SPECIAL ISSUES, AND BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARIES

African Identities 1.2 (Oct. 2003). Ed. Abebe Zegeye and Pal Ahluwalia.

This issue "details a variety of forms of cultural expression—especially that of the youth—as black South Africans" struggle "to find a new identity amidst a profoundly transformed post-apartheid society."

Albert, Susan Wittig, and Dayna Finet, eds. *With Courage and Common Sense: Memoirs from the Older Women's Legacy Circles.* Austin: U of Texas P, 2003.

During the first two years of the OWL Circle project (1998–2000), started by Wittig, nearly five hundred older women participated in memoir workshops. Some four thousand memoirs resulted from the various programs conducted by the Story Circle Network, the resulting national organization dedicated to helping women write about their lives.

Ambrosius, Lloyd E., ed. *Writing Biography: Historians and Their Craft.* Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 2004. (Reviewed in *Biography* 27.3.)

Six historian-biographers consider the writing of biography as a form of historical analysis.

Leckie, Shirley. "Biography Matters: Why Historians Need Well-Crafted Biographies More than Ever." 1–26.

Argues that biography deepens historical analysis if the biographer combines empathy and objectivity in a way that enables readers to transcend their personal experiences.

Schoppa, R. Keith. "Culture and Context in Biographical Studies: The Case of China." 27–52.

Stresses the influence of culture and context in understanding the relationship between individuals and communities.

Warnicke, Retha M. "Reshaping Tudor Biography: Anne Boleyn and Anne of Cleves." 53–78.

Points out the value for historians and biographers of reexamining their own and their subjects' cultural biases.

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ger, John Milton, Jr. "Conception, Conversation, and Comparision: My Experiences as a Biographer." 79–102.
ed on his work on Walter Hines Page, Theodore Roosevelt, and Woodrow Wilson, illus-
s a "participant-observer" relationship between biographer and subject.
ger, Nell Irvin. "*Ut Pictura Poesis*; or, The Sisterhood of the Verbal and Visual Arts." 103–131.
g her work on Sojourner Truth as an example, demonstrates the value of images as well
ritten documents in reconstructing a life.
ards, Robert J. "Did Friedrich Schelling Kill Auguste Böhmer and Does It Matter? The Necessity of Biography in the History of Philosophy." 133–53.
es for an essential role for biography in the history of philosophy, as it connects life-
ging experiences with shifts in thinking.

lood, Alan, ed. *Profiles in Leadership*. New York: Prentice Hall, 2003.
ference tool that takes fourteen categories and assesses a given leader in terms of several
ese classifications.

rd-Donals, Michael, and Richard Glejzer, eds. *Witnessing the Disaster: Essays on Representation and the Holocaust*. Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 2003.
s consider the ethical imperatives of Holocaust representation and the tension between
ory and memory.
rd-Donals, Michael, and Richard Glejzer. "Introduction: Representations of the Holocaust and the End of Memory." 3–19.
oduces issues of memory and ethics involved in representing the Holocaust.
ng, James E. "The Holocaust as Vicarious Past: Art Spiegelman's *Maus* and the Afterimages of History." 23–45.
lores the gaps and connections Spiegelman creates between his and his father's histories
oth foregrounding and effacing himself as a witness.
n, Alan, "'The Language of Dollars': Multilingualism and the Claims of English in Hasidic Tales of the Holocaust." 46–74.
ough Yaffa Eliach's work, considers the consequences of using different languages to
nform witness into testimony.
p, Janet. "A Pedagogy of Trauma (or a Crisis of Cynicism): Teaching, Writing, and the Holocaust." 75–89.
ctions the "working through" of trauma within the constraints of an undergraduate
ing course focusing on events and representations of the Shoah.
r, Sharon. "The 'Erotics of Auschwitz': Coming of Age in *The Painted Bird* and *Sophie's Choice*." 90–124.
gues that fiction allows for a more ethical presentation of the Holocaust than history.
ner, Richard. "*Maus* and the Epistemology of Witness." 125–37.
s how *Maus* uses breaks in representation to alienate readers by placing them in the
ion of witness and witnessed.

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Bernstein, Susan David. "Promiscuous Reading: The Problem of Identification and Anne Frank's Diary." 141–61.

Discusses multiple versions of the diary and responses to their proliferation in setting out the consequences of simplistic identification with the subject.

Bellamy, Elizabeth Jane. "*Humboldt's Gift* and Jewish American Self-Fashioning 'After Auschwitz.'" 162–82.

Argues that Saul Bellow uses avoidance to confront American memory of the Holocaust.

Hill, Reinhold. "Mormon Literature and the Irreducible Other: Writing the Unspeakable in Holocaust Literature." 183–95.

Explores the Mormon appropriation of Jewish identity and history through such acts as the posthumous conversion of Jews killed during the Holocaust.

Bernard-Donals, Michael. "Beyond the Question of Authenticity: Witness and Testimony in the *Fragments* Controversy." 196–217.

Presents *Fragments* as a text that indicates what memory cannot make whole, as forgetting inheres in memory and desubjectification in representation.

Hartman, Geoffrey. "Maurice Blanchot: Fighting Spirit." 221–30.

Reads Blanchot's silence about anti-Semitism, and his rejection of a Sartrean engagement for literature, as suggesting a Levinasian ethic.

Metzger, David. "Shoah and the Origins of Teaching." 231–44.

Suggests the basis for an ethical pedagogy of the Holocaust.

Bernard-Donals, Michael, and Richard Glejzer. "Teaching (after) Auschwitz: Pedagogy between Redemption and Sublimity." 245–61.

Argues that current theories of pedagogy cannot provide a basis for teaching the Holocaust, but by using theories of representation, teachers can address the limits of language in the face of trauma.

LaCapra, Dominick. "Approaching Limit Events: Siting Agamben." 262–304.

Addresses difficulties and questions of appropriateness in creating a post-Holocaust ethics.

Biography and Source Studies 8. Ed. Frederick R. Karl. Brooklyn: AMS, 2004.

Polizzotti, Mark. "Memories Maurice." 1–16.

Biographer, translator, and poet discusses recent work on Maurice Roche.

Orend, Karl. "Confessions of a Literary Biographer: Reflections on a Paradigm for Biography." 17–36.

Focuses on work about Henry Miller.

Ranson-Polizzotti, Sadi. "What About Lewis Carroll: Going Underground." 37–58.

Raises the issue of epilepsy in Carroll studies.

Meyers, Jeffrey. "In Search of Maugham." 59–73.

Prolific biographer Meyers considers his latest work on Somerset Maugham.

Rollyson, Carl. "The Biographer Who Came in from the Cold: Becoming Rebecca West's Authorized Biographer." 74–96.

Contrasts writing authorized and unauthorized biographies.

Munro, Doug. "Silences and Evasions: The Biographer Spurling and the Widow Orwell." 97–120.

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...es Hilary Spurling's biography of Sonia Orwell.

..., Gail. "Biography and the Visual Arts: The Problematic Interface of Images ...d Life." 121–37.

...issues in the writing of biographies of American visual artists.

...d, Sylvère. "Dickens Biography: Past, Present, and Future—An Outline of ...History." 139–61.

...ne of Dickens study surveys the field.

...*aphy: An Interdisciplinary Quarterly* 27.1 (Winter 2004). "Personal ...fects: The Testimonial Uses of Life Writing." Ed. Cynthia Franklin ...d Laura E. Lyons.

...lin, Cynthia, and Laura E. Lyons. "Bodies of Evidence and the Intricate ...Machines of Untruth." v–xxii.

...g on the art work of Claudia Bernardi and Stohlman and Aladin's *Live from Pales-* ...alyzes how the agency that witnesses to human rights abuses possess is circumscribed ...e institutions and ideologies and asserted in the face of state violence.

...er, Kay, and Sidonie Smith. "Conjunctions: Life Narratives in the Field of ...Human Rights." 1–24.

...ers the importance of personal narratives within an emerging and increasingly frac- ...human rights discourse.

..., Andrew S., and Michael J. Hoffman. "Memory, Authority, and Identity: ...Holocaust Studies in Light of the Wilkomirski Debate." 25–47.

...gh *Fragments,* challenges trauma theory's tendency to identify with victims by show- ...t the author's trauma can be authentic even when his testimony is not.

...dy, Rosanne. "The Affective Work of Stolen Generations Testimony: From ...e Archives to the Classroom." 48–77.

...es how Stolen Generations testimonies address audiences, and how listeners respond, ...her classroom as a particular site of reception.

..., Tikka. "Racism, Moral Community, and Australian Aboriginal Autobio- ...graphical Testimony." 78–103.

...s how Margaret Tucker's autobiography challenges assumptions of white moral ...nity while still calling white readers into moral community with Aboriginal speakers.

...d, Wendy S. "Documenting Violations: Rhetorical Witnessing and the Spec- ...le of Distant Suffering." 104–44.

...es the documentation of rape warfare and ethnic violence as human rights violations, ...e ethical challenges such representations pose for witnesses, scholars, and teachers.

..., Sandra. "Narrative and Healing in the Hearings of the South African Truth ...d Reconciliation Commission." 145–62.

...how TRC testimonial narrative structure, shaped by the language and rituals of the ..., psychotherapy, and nation-building, encourages forgetting as well as remembering.

..., Allen. "Memory Theatres, Virtual Witnessing, and the Trauma-Aesthet- ..." 163–202.

...s where violence is and is not positioned in the narrative of witness and the wit- ...g of narrative.

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Lyons, Laura E., and Cynthia Franklin. "'On the Cusp of the Personal and the Impersonal': An Interview with Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak." 203–221.
Spivak discusses citizenship, the public sphere, human rights, and teaching.

Franklin, Cynthia, and Laura E. Lyons. "Land, Leadership, and Nation: Haunani-Kay Trask on the Testimonial Uses of Life Writing in Hawai'i." 222–49.
An interview with Haunani-Kay Trask covering the uses of testmony and personal narratives in advancing sovereignty.

Biography: An Interdisciplinary Quarterly 27.3 (Summer 2004). "Life Writing by and about German-Speaking Women in the Long Eighteenth Century." Ed. Ruth Dawson.

Dawson, Ruth, with Waltraud Maierhofer. "German Rediscovery of Life Writing: Introduction to Essays on German-speaking Women as Rulers, Consorts, and Royal Mistresses in the Long Eighteenth Century." 483–94.
Explores the ongoing reevaluation of auto/biography by historians, Germanists, and other scholars in the humanities and social sciences.

Drier, Helke. "Memoirs as Dynastic Means of Legitimization: Duchess Sophie of Hannover." 495–516.
Argues that Duchess Sophie used her memoirs to foster the reputation of the Welfen Dynasty, and to secure her place and role within it.

Dawson, Ruth. "Perilous Royal Biography: Representations of Catherine II Immediately after Her Seizure of the Throne." 517–34.
From newspapers, official manifestos, unofficial pamphlets, and biographical accounts of Peter and the new Tsarina, shows the interplay among gender, sexuality, and dynasty.

Heipcke, Corinna. "Landgräfin Karoline of Hessen-Darmstadt: Epistolary Politics and the Problems of Consort Biography." 535–53.
Argues that writing the life of a royal or high aristocratic consort requires feminist historiography that takes the consort's correspondence seriously as a historical souce, and sees marriage politics as an important part of foreign policy.

Meise, Helga. "Posthumous Fame and Writing of the Self by the 'Great' Landgräfin Karoline of Hessen-Darmstadt." 554–74.
Discusses tensions between Karoline's desire to save her dynasty through marriage politics and to pursue self-enlightenment through writing and reading.

Maierhofer, Waltraud. "Wilhelmine Encke-Ritz-Lichtenau: Writing and Reading the Life of a Prussian Royal Mistress." 575–96.
Shows how representations of the "German Pompadour" from her own time to the present intertwine issues of female political power with discourses on gender and memory.

Booy, David, ed. *Autobiographical Writings by Early Quaker Women.* Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004.
Presents excerpts from life writing—including letters, testimonies, memoirs, and spiritual autobiographies—by Quaker women between about 1650 and 1710, with a historical and contextual introduction.

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, Paul, and Michael Zeitlin, eds. *Soldier Talk: The Vietnam War in Oral Narrative.* Bloomington: Indiana UP, 2004.

ses ways of reading and hearing narratives by Vietnam combat veterans.

, Michael, and Paul Budra. "Introduction: Talk the Talk." 1–25.

ces the genre of oral narrative as particularly valuable for exploring the Vietnam War.

nway, Jen. "Approaching a Truer Form of Truth: The Appropriation of the Oral Narrative Form in Vietnam War Literature." 26–51.

ers why oral history has been portrayed as able to convey the war experience more ly than traditional prose fiction.

, Paul. "Concatenation and History in *Nam.*" 52–61.

s that by using short oral narratives to illustrate general themes, Vietnam War oral his- have been accepted as more authentic and penetrating than conventional narratives.

k, Kevin. "'Disremembering, Dísmémbering': Poetics and the Oral Histories of the Vietnam War." 62–88.

exploration of oral history as involving ethnography, historiography, sociology, nar- y, and poetics in more complicated ways than standard prose.

s, Craig. "Talk, Write, Talk: Bobby Garwood, MIAs, and Conspiracy."

es the relationship between Robert Garwood's continually changing oral and writ- O.W narratives and the history of conspiracy literature about the Vietnam War.

chael, Thomas. "Resolutely Other: The Vietnam War, Oral History, and the bject of Revolutionary Socialism." 117–40.

es oral histories by revolutionary Vietnamese subjects.

en-Marshall, Van. "Oral History and Popular Memory in the Historiography of the Vietnam War." 141–66.

que narratives by US scholars and Vietnamese civilians, veterans, and expatriates.

n, Priscilla L. "Queering Vietnam: Katherine V. Forrest's Fictional Oral His- ry." 167–82.

s on the detective novel *Liberty Square* as a venue for recounting otherwise unspeak- narratives of gays and lesbians in Vietnam.

, William M. "*Bloods*: Teaching the Afroamerican Experience of the Vietnam Conflict." 183–96.

bes students' reactions to a course built around Wallace Terry's *Bloods: An Oral His- f the Vietnam War by Black Veterans.*

, Michael. "The Things They Saw: Trauma and Vision in *A Piece of My Heart: The Stories of Twenty-Six American Women Who Served in Vietnam.*" 197–217.

rauma theory to address the experiences of American military nurses as the war's ulti- witnesses.

, Helen M., and Judith Hudson Beattie, eds. *Undelivered Letters to Hud- ns Bay Men on the North West Coast of North America, 1830–1857.* Vancouver: U of British Columbia P, 2003.

s from the Hudsons Bay Company archive, with historical and contextual framing by iting scholar Buss and archivist Beattie.

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Calder, Angus. *Gods, Mongrels, and Demons: 101 Brief but Essential Lives.* New York: Bloomsbury, 2003.

Represents a kind of "dictionary" of unusual, eccentric, and odd people.

College English 66.1 (Sept. 2003). "The Personal in Academic Writing." Ed. Jane E. Hindman.

Hindman, Jane E. "Thoughts on Reading 'the Personal': Toward a Discursive Ethics of Professional Critical Literacy." 9–20.

Foregrounds teaching and writing as gendered practices that contain markers of identity that require revisiting and transforming the past.

Banks, William P. "Written through the Body: Disruptions and 'Personal' Writing." 21–40.

Calls for embodied rhetoric to counter hegemonic masculinist discourse.

Sullivan, Patricia A. "Composing Culture: A Place for the Personal." 41–54.

Presents the classroom as a place that should provide conditions for students to speak, allowing teachers to see student writings as ongoing cultural teachings.

Goldthwaite, Melissa A. "Confessionals." 55–73.

Points to the complexity of confession as suggesting how institutional forms shape selves, genres, and professional knowledge.

Robillard, Amy E. "It's Time for Class: Toward a More Complex Pedagogy of Narrative." 74–92.

Argues for the need to consider how class intersects with conceptions of time and narrative.

Coullie, Judith Lütge, and Johan Jacobs, eds. *a.k.a. Breyten Breytenbach: Critical Approaches to His Writings and Paintings.* Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2004.

Includes Coullie's "'From Dream to Waking and Back Again': An A-Z of Breytenbach's Critical Writing."

Coullie, Judith Lütge, ed. *The Closest of Strangers: South African Women's Life Writing.* Johannesburg: Witwatersrand UP, 2004.

Excerpts from fifty-two life writing texts written by well- and little-known South African women from 1895 to 2000.

De Guzman, Odine, ed. *From Saudi with Love: 100 Poems by OFWs.* Quezon City: U of the Philippines, 2003.

Auto/biographical poems by overseas Filipino workers based in Saudi Arabia, with an introduction focusing on the workers' ways of recuperating the self as they deal with the dislocations experienced abroad.

Discourse 25.1–2 (Winter 2003). "The Future of Testimony." Ed. Carl Good and Anne Cubilié.

Cubilié, Anne, and Carl Good. "Introduction: The Future of Testimony." 3–18.

Considers the future of testimony studies as a nexus for transdisciplinary work.

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ford, Domonic. "Numbering Pain: Testimony, Quantification, and Need." 19–35.
ights ethically appropriate responses to suffering in considering uses and abuses of tes-
ony.
h, Andrea. "The Ethics of Testimony: A Genealogical Perspective." 36–54.
ngates deconstructive models for testimony by stressing historical practices of court-
testimony, focusing on a medieval French courtroom.
ney, Megan. "Living to Read True Crime: Theorizations from Prison." 55–80.
ores testimonial dimensions of interviews and group discussions with women prisoners.
Susanna. "'These are our stories': Trauma, Form, and the Screen Phenomenon
Law and Order." 81–97.
s the modern tv crime drama as a form through which Americans deal with the trau-
Living in a violent society.
son, Brett. "Dictatorship and Overexposure: Does Latin America Testify to More than One Market?" 98–119.
s how Chilean neoliberalism positions itself as the only alternative to totalitarianism, this keeps the totalitarian past subtly visible.
rhead, Anne. "Telling Tales: Trauma and Testimony in Binjamin Wilkomirski's *Fragments*." 119–37.
s that Wilkimorski's fictional account points to an important collective dimension of Holocaust response: a persistent, troubling relationship of Switzerland to the Holocaust.
kins, Gillian. "Seduction by Law: Sexual Property and Testimonial Possession in *Thereafter Johnnie*." 138–65.
s how Carolivia Herron's novel intervenes in ongoing debates over trauma's relation-to subjective memory and historically distant trauma.
ndzic, Dragan. "Archigraphia: On the Future of Testimony and the Archive to Come." 166–88.
gh Derrida, considers the role of testimony in the context of mass atrocity in Bosnia.
n, Genevieve. "The Last Witness: Testimony and Desire in Zora Neale Hurston's 'Barracoon.'" 189–210.
gues that "Barracoon" represents Hurston's attempt to provide a testimonial voice for ded trauma of the Middle Passage.
riano, Felipe. "Fiction, Death and Testimony: Toward a Politics of the Limits of Thought." 211–30.
lers the relationship between death, fiction, and testimony, in death theory from to Agamben, and in Borges.
t, Claire. "The Inarticulate Affect: Lyotard and Psychoanalytic Testimony." 231–47.
gh Lyotard's reading of Freud's Emma, argues for the crucial importance of psycho-is for relating testimony and affect.
man, Alan. "Catastrophe, Memory, and Narrative: Teaching Japanese and wish Responses to Twentieth-Century Atrocity." 248–71.
es the roles of pedagogy, witnessing, and responsibility through a course for American

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students on Jewish responses to the Holocaust and Japanese responses to Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Ramadanovic, Petar. "When Bombs Fall: Becoming American During the NATO Bombing of Yugoslavia." 272–93.

Diary of his experiences as a Yugoslavian academic of Serbian ethnicity living in the US during the bombing of Belgrade, while reflecting on the paradoxes of witnessing through exile.

Eakin, Paul John, ed. *The Ethics of Life Writing*. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 2004.

Thirteen essays exploring life writing as a form of moral inquiry.

Eakin, Paul John. "Introduction: Mapping the Ethics of Life Writing." 1–16.

Introduces ethical concerns at the roots of issues of truth, privacy, and trust that arise in representing one's own life and the lives of others.

Lauritzen, Paul. "Arguing with Life Stories: The Case of Rigoberta Menchú." 19–39.

Argues that Menchú weakens her moral project by failing to maintain readers' trust in her credibility.

Middlebrook, Diane. "Misremembering Ted Hughes." 40–50.

Criticizes Emma Tennant's work on Hughes for disobeying the writer's moral imperative of an obligation to truth.

Parker, David. "Life Writing as Narrative of the Good: *Father and Son* and the Ethics of Authenticity." 53–72.

Reads Gosse through the work of moral philosopher Charles Taylor to address a traditional life-writing focus on examined and exemplary lives.

Barbour, John D. "Judging and Not Judging Parents." 73–98.

Drawing on Paul Auster's, Kim Chernin's, and John Edgar Wideman's intergenerational memoirs of their parents, shows how life writing can model lives as moral inquiries.

Mills, Claudia. "Friendship, Fiction, and Memoir: Trust and Betrayal in Writing from One's Own Life." 101–120.

Examines the inescapable costs, as well as benefits, of life writing within the family circle.

Freadman, Richard. "Decent and Indecent: Writing My Father's Life." 121–46.

By questioning his own proprieties in writing a memoir of his father, explores the place of trust in life writing.

Miller, Nancy K. "The Ethics of Betrayal: Diary of a Memoirist." 147–60.

Addresses possibilities of ethical betrayal and justifications for disclosure when considering using her ex-husband's letters to fill in the gaps of her memories of early married life.

Wexler, Alice. "Mapping Lives: 'Truth,' Life Writing, and DNA." 163–73.

Explains why a concern for the group of families with Huntington's disease took precedence over privacy concerns of her own family when writing her memoir *Mapping Fate*.

Frank, Arthur W. "Moral Non-fiction: Life Writing and Children's Disability." 174–94.

Through narratives by parents about their disabled children, illustrates the potential of life writing to provide a counterstory that restores moral status and social value to the children.

Couser, G. Thomas. "When Life Writing Becomes Death Writing: Disability and the Ethics of Parental Euthanography." 195–215.

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ing on narratives by parents of young men severely disabled in diving accidents, argues the ability of life writing to create scripts that provide value for lives that appear to be intable.

stad, Marianne. "Tales of Consent and Descent: Life Writing as a Fight against an Imposed Self-Image." 216–43.

s how brief autobiographical narratives by young people of color in Norway use resistrategies that assume the stereotypes that exclude them.

s, Craig. "Afterword." 244–64.

lights the intersecting legal, literary, political, psychological, and philosophical quesraised in the volume.

s on Canadian Writing 80 (Fall 2003). "Cultural Memory and Social Identity." Ed. Roxanne Rimstead.

stead, Roxanne. "Double Take: The Uses of Cultural Memory."

duces themes raised by the varied types of and approaches to public cultural memory.

Christine, Ric Knowles, and Belinda Leach. "How Might a Women's Monment Be Different."

ing on memorials to women murdered in Canada, asks how feminist memorializing uses the past as a spur to present activism, and what forms of writing academics can lp to support memorializing in the struggle against femicide.

, Tracy. "Feminist 'Memory Work' and the Production of REAL Womanhood."

ines the racial and sexual debates provoked by the eugenics commitments of the Famous prominent Canadian politicians memorialized by statues).

ood, Alan. "Performance and Memory in the Part: Dismembering the Workers' Theatre Movement."

ders questions of periodization, tactical discourse, and historically conditioned memn theatre historians' accounts of the Workers' Theatre Movement.

in, J. Keri. "Photographic Memory: Image, Identity, and the 'Imaginary Indian' in Three Recent Canadian Exhibitions."

mines three exhibitions of historical photographs of First Nations peoples taken by -Canadians.

Thy. "Photographic Memory, Undoing Documentary: *Obasan*'s Selective Sight and the Politics of Visibility."

s that Kogawa's exclusion of photos challenges the social effectiveness of such public figures as the "visible minority."

son, Catherine. "Shelley Niro, Haudenosaunee Nationalism, and the Continued Contestation of the Brant Monument."

a genealogy of the monument commemorating Joseph Brant (Thayendanegea) built ford in 1886 that shows its continuing polynational contestation.

el, Barbara. "The Wounds of Memory: Mavis Gallant's 'Baum, Gabriel (1935–),' National Trauma, and Post-War French Cinema."

onal unraveling of Gallant's intertwining of history and memory.

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Findlay, L. M. "Memory's Hegelian Estate: Class, 'Race,' Treaty, and the Canadas of Alexander Morris (1826–89)."

Reads portions of the life of Morris for notions of how race and class informed his treaties with First Nations Peoples.

Purdy, Anthony. "Memory Maps: Mnemotopic Motifs in Creates, Poulin, and Robin."

Examines memory maps in the work of visual artist Creates and novelists Robin and Poulin.

Harel, Simon. "Les mal-logés de l'écriture migrante: trauma et mémoire du lieu dans *Les raisons de la honte* d'Ata Pende."

Explores how Pende subverts the relationship between trauma and memory.

McCall, Sophie. "'What the Map Cuts Up, the Story Cuts Across': Translating Oral Traditions and Aboriginal Land Title."

Shows how reading oral traditions for evidence of territorial ownership obscures the reality of storytelling as an embodied performance.

Clarke, Joanna. "Struggling over Canada's Past: Cultural Memory and Redress."

Examines the uneven, conflicting, and contingent ways injustices are taken up in reiterative public remembrances.

Faber, Paul, ed. *Group Portrait South Africa.* Cape Town: Kwela, 2003.

According to Nelson Mandela, Faber's compilation "presents us with a handful of stories . . . of ordinary folk, their reconstructions of their own past and their memories. . . . It reveals the impact of major historical events . . . on individuals and their small circles."

Fairhead, James, Tim Geysbeek, Svend E. Holsoe, and Melissa Leach, eds. *African-American Exploration in West Africa.* Bloomington: Indiana UP, 2003.

Introduces the travel diaries of James L. Sims, George L. Seymour, and Benjamin J. K. Anderson, who explored what is now Liberia and Guinea between 1858 and 1874.

Frederiksen, John C., ed. *Biographical Dictionary of Modern World Leaders: 1900 to 1991.* New York: Facts on File, 2004.

Includes approximately four hundred narratives outlining histories and achievements of many of the most influential leaders of the twentieth century.

Gates, Henry Louis, Jr., and Hollis Robbins, eds. *In Search of Hannah Crafts: Critical Essays on The Bondswoman's Narrative.* New York: Basic, 2004.

Essays situating the recently discovered manuscript in historical, cultural, political, and generic contexts.

Gates, Henry Louis, Jr., and Hollis Robbins. "Hannah Crafts' *The Bondwoman's Narrative*: Introduction to the Critical Essay Collection." ix–xxii.

Introduces the manuscript's history, and issues of authorship, place, and reception.

Rohrbach, Augusta. "'A Silent Unobtrusive Way': Hannah Crafts and the Literary Marketplace." 3–15.

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ts that Crafts's uses of popular literary conventions, and formal elements like serial plot- show her familiarity with the literary marketplace.

Lawrence. "Bondwoman Unbound: Hannah Crafts's Art and Nineteenth-Century U.S. Literary Practice." 16–29.

ores Crafts's many and subtle references to antebellum and biblical literature.

ews, William. "Hannah Crafts's Sense of an Ending." 30–42.

ests that Crafts's work needs to be read as a hybrid of slave narrative and sentimental n's novel, as shown most clearly in its optimistic ending.

in, Ann. "Hannah Crafts, Novelist; or, How a Silent Observer Became a 'Dab-ster at Invention.'" 43–52.

s Crafts as an iconoclast who mixes personal experience and imagination in ways that the conventions of slave narratives.

ffer, John. "The Problem of Freedom in *The Bondwoman's Narrative.*" 53–68.

ts that Crafts combines conventions of slave narratives and gothic and sentimental to present freedom as complex and problematic.

kins, Hollis. "Blackening *Bleak House*: Hannah Crafts's *The Bondwoman's Narrative.*" 71–86.

ts that Crafts critiques traditional writing about the poor and oppressed by transform- borrowings from *Bleak House* and *Rob Roy.*

er, Catherine. "Jane Eyre, Bondwoman: Hannah Crafts's Rethinking of Char-lotte Brontë." 87–105.

pares Crafts's and Brontë's ideologies, presenting Crafts as a mirror that critiques e's use of race and bondage as tropes.

n, Jean Fagan. "*The Bondwoman's Narrative* and *Uncle Tom's Cabin.*" 106–116.

gests that Crafts drew upon generic expectations created by Stowe's work.

lin, Shelley Fisher. "The Bondwoman's Escape: Hannah Crafts Rewrites the First Play Published by an African American." 117–26.

mines parallels between Crafts's narrative and William Wells Brown's play.

e, Dickson D., Jr. "Mrs. Henry's 'Solemn Promise' in Historical Perspective." 129–44.

lights Crafts's use of contemporary arguments about legal institutions and practices.

son, William. "'I Dwell in a Neat Little Cottage': Architecture, Race, and Desire in *The Bondwoman's Narrative.*" 145–74.

ws how Crafts's interweaving of architectural description and tropes of freedom links and architectural ideology.

che, Bryan. "Godly Rebellion in *The Bondwoman's Narrative.*" 175–91.

mines how Crafts's wilderness passages present her as a recipient of God's favor.

ronovo, Russ. "The Art of Ghost-Writing: Memory, Materiality, and Slave Aesthetics." 195–212.

gests that Crafts uses ghostly themes to represent and recuperate victims of slavery.

ll, Priscilla. "Hannah crafts." 213–30.

ores how Crafts confounds readers' expectations about the representation of African rican women by using and resisting the ghost story genre.

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Castiglia, Christopher. "'I found a life of freedom all my fancy had pictured it to be': Hannah Crafts's Visual Speculation and the Inner Life of Slavery." 231–53.
Considers how Crafts's desire for the absent mother reverses the position of seer and seen, creating an ambivalence toward black womanhood.

Sánchez-Eppler, Karen. "Gothic Liberties and Fugitive Novels: *The Bondwoman's Narrative* and the Fiction of Race." 254–75.
Shows how Crafts disrupts essentialist assumptions about race and genre.

Levine, Robert S. "Trappe(d): Race and Genealogical Haunting in *The Bondwoman's Narrative*." 276–94.
Posits Crafts's work as an example of "interracial literature" which challenges biological notions of racial identity.

Trodd, Zoe. "'Don't speak dearest, it will make you worse': *The Bondwoman's Narrative*, the Afro-American Literary Tradition, and the Trope of the Lying Book." 295–312.
Argues that by challenging the language and limits of the slave narrative genre, Crafts reverses the signifier/signified relationship, and points to more modern works.

Baym, Nina. "The Case for Hannah Vincent." 315–31.
Assesses the qualities needed to write *The Bondwoman's Narrative*, and suggests the author may have been a New Jersey schoolteacher, Hannah Vincent.

Byrd, Rudolph P. "The Outsider Within: The Acquisition and Application of Forms of Oppositional Knowledge in Hannah Crafts's *The Bondwoman's Narrative*." 332–53.
Reads the narrative as providing good evidence that Crafts was a mulatto and former slave.

Parramore, Thomas C. "The Bondwoman and the Bureaucrat." 354–70.
Considers whether Crafts was owned by the Virginia-based bureaucrat John Hill Wheeler.

Flynn, Katherine E. "Jane Johnson, Found! But Is She 'Hannah Crafts'? The Search for the Author of *The Bondwoman's Narrative*." 371–405.
Suggests that Johnson, who escaped from Wheeler in 1855, should be considered as a candidate for Hannah Crafts's true identity.

Nickell, Joe. "Searching for Hannah Crafts." 406–416.
Reviews different opinions about Crafts's identity in light of technical manuscript evidence.

Bay, Mia. "*The Bondwoman's Narrative*: An 1850s Account of Slave Life." 419–21.
12 May 2002 *New York Times* review.

Mantel, Hilary. "The Shape of Absence." 422–30.
8 Aug. 2002 *London Review of Books* review.

Bloom, John. "Literary Blackface." 431–38.
26 July 2002 *National Review* review.

Berlin, Ira. "Desperate Measures." 439–41.
23 June 2002 *Washington Post* review.

Goy-Blanquet, Dominique, ed. *Joan of Arc, A Saint for All Reasons: Studies in Myth and Politics*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003.
Follows the transformations of Joan in Arc in the Western imagination.

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Blanquet, Dominique. "Shakespeare and Voltaire Set Fire to History." 1–38.
Shakespeare's sources in French and English traditions, and their later reworkings by
re, Southey, Coleridge, Shaw, and others.
aud-Fréjaville, François. "Person vs. Personage: Joan of Arc in Seventeenth
Century France." 39–58.
ares seventeenth-century French accounts of Joan.
olis, Nadia. "Rewriting the Right: High Priests, Heroes and Hooligans in the
Portrayal of Joan of Arc (1824–1945)." 59–104.
es Joan's use as a political symbol from early nineteenth century writings of Jules
let to mid-twentieth century portrayals by royalists and rightists.
s, Jacques. "A Myth on Trial." 105–122.
s the development of Joan as an icon of patriotism from the nineteenth to the mid-
eth centuries.
al, Claude. "The American Maid." 123–41.
es various transformations of Joan into an acceptably American national hero, from
st appearance in a 1798 play to post-World War II versions.
, Robin. "Joan of Arc and the Cinema." 143–74.
es the history of Joan of Arc films from 1895 to 1999; with filmography.

nberg, Judith, ed. *Trauma at Home: After 9/11.* Lincoln: U of Nebraska
P, 2003. (Reviewed in *Biography* 27.3.)
on loss, and resulting changes in perceptions, relations with others, and sense of home.
rison, Toni. "The Dead of September 11." 1–2.
nt of Morrison's poems
man, Geoffrey. "On That Day." 5–10.
ting on various conceptions of history, notes that the passage of time does not ensure
ess or the alleviation of violence.
dman, Richard. "September 11: Between Memory and History." 11–20.
Benjamin to recast history as "ground zero," and historical space as a lieux de mémoire.
nberg, Judith. "Wounded New York." 21–35.
sses the impact of the missing and the role of distance in responding to trauma.
r, Nancy K. "Reporting the Disaster." 39–47.
the *New York Times* "Portraits of Grief" section, studies narratives about the victims.
s, Peter. "If You Have Tears." 48–51.
sses the political narrative of the Bush administration.
er, James. "There's No Backhand to This." 52–59.
ders how acts of naming form around and reflect processes of mourning.
kovich, Ann "Trauma Ongoing." 60–66.
s on queer theory for narratives enabling emotional complexity and political activism.
ch, Marianne. "I Took Pictures: September 2001 and Beyond."
sses the need and discomfort involved in taking pictures, and the uses of photography
municate trauma.

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Novak, Lorie. "Photographs." 87–94.
Photo essay.

Kaplan, E. Ann. "A Camera and a Catastrophe: Reflections on Trauma and the Twin Towers." 95–103.
Explores her own relationship to the sites of mourning, and the need to address events without overtheorizing.

Kahane, Claire. "Uncanny Sights: The Anticipation of the Abomination." 107–116.
Analyzes the common response, "it's just like a movie," and how primal fears uncannily became history.

Radstone, Susannah. "The War of the Fathers: Trauma, Fantasy, and September 11." 117–23.
Considers the role of fantasy in our responses, and of the unconscious in constructing meanings of 9/11.

Lubin, Orly. "Masked Power: An Encounter with the Social Body in the Flesh." 124–31.
Critiques the creation of traumatized victims, and the burden of accountability of communities of power that must work to get rid of power by shifting identity.

Bennett, Jill. "The Limits of Empathy and the Global Politics of Belonging." 132–38.
Focuses on the global dimensions of trauma and the problematic creation of Americans as a victim class, thereby making trauma coextensive with nation.

Hammad, Suheir. "first writing since." 139–43.
Poem by an Arab New Yorker.

Rothberg, Michael. "'There Is No Poetry in This': Writing, Trauma, and Home." 147–57.
Uses Caruth's analysis of the structure of trauma as a mode of reception to bridge different experiences.

Baer, Elizabeth. "Fallout of Various Kinds." 158–67.
Address the unsettled sense of home.

Kacandes, Irene. "9/11/01=1/27/01: The Changed Posttraumatic Self." 168–83.
Focuses on lasting damage to survivors.

Yaeger, Patricia. "Rubble as Archive, or 9/11 as Dust, Debris, and Bodily Vanishing." 187–94.
Discusses possible responses to the mingling of bodies and rubble.

Bassin, Donna. "A Not So Temporary Occupation inside Ground Zero." 195–203.
Suggests that mourning offers generative possibilities, as the past is used in the service of transformation.

Laub, Dori. "September 11, 2001—An Event without a Voice." 204–15.
Describes how trauma creates a struggle between the urge to know and the need to deny, often resulting in silence and the lack of an internal dialogue that can inform action.

Young, James. "Remember Life with Life: The New World Trade Center." 216–22.
Considers the relationship between mourning and memorial, in proposing a new, regenerative center, rather than one that paralyzes with memory.

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ich, Robert D., ed. *Lives Out of Letters: Essays on American Literary Biography and Documentation, in Honor of Robert N. Hudspeth.* Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickison UP, 2004.

ich, Robert D. "Introduction." 13–24.

oduces the genre of Anglo-American literary biography.

ent, Mark L. "'The Best of Histories': The Letters in William Bradford's *Of Plymouth Plantation.*" 25–64.

sing on its often excised letters, recasts *Of Plymouth Plantation* as an epistolary memoir.

ounian-Stodola, Kathryn Zabelle. "The Captive as Celebrity." 65–92.

ates the protagonists of captivity narratives in terms of the relationship between biography and celebrity.

son, Larry. "The Inner Life of Fruitlands." 93–113.

n letters and diaries, recreates life in the Harvard Fruitlands community in 1842–1843.

mba, Henry. "Frank Webb's *The Garies* and Their Friends Contextualized within African American Slave Narratives." 114–42.

s the indebtedness of Webb's novel to slave narratives to his status as an antebellum an American professional writer.

son, Rochelle. "'Patchwork Labors': Susan Fenimore Cooper's Correspondence and the Emergence of Her Independent Literary Career." 143–68.

s on Cooper's letters to track her self-construction as a writer out of the shadow of her er.

ier, Sandra. "'Paris Wasn't Like That': Kay Boyle and the Last of the Lost Generation." 169–88.

s Boyle's correspondence with Malcolm Cowley and others to complicate received views e Lost Generation expatriates.

er, James D. "Conversion in Germany; The Redirection of Thomas Wolfe's Late Fiction." 189–204.

ects Wolfe's late fiction to letter and diary accounts of his experiences in Germany in 1930s.

, Phyllis. "'Conversation that Makes the Soul': Writing the Biography of Mary Moody Emerson." 205–224.

g parallels between her own professional life and Mary Moody Emerson's, discusses the ionship between biographer and subject.

kenberry, Charles. "Chesnutt's Forgotten Story." 225–35.

s his discovery of an unpublished Chesnutt novel to Chesnutt's struggle to find pub-

nhorst, Gary. "The Resurrection of the Author: Why Biography Stills Matters." 236–52.

ing the literary biographer as an archaeologist, argues for the continuing value of al work.

ardson, Robert D. "The Perils of Writing Biography." 253–60.

ders the values and challenges of the genre.

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Harris, Frances, and Michael Hunter, eds. *John Evelyn and His Milieu*. London: British Library, 2003.

Essays use the British Library's collection of the seventeenth-century diarist's books, manuscripts, and papers to explore the range of his activities and influence.

Hunter, Michael, and Frances Harris. "Introduction." 1–19.

Introduces issues of Evelyn's reputation and significance.

Chambers, Douglas. "'Excuse these Impertinences': Evelyn in his Letterbooks." 21–36.

Discusses the folio volumes in which Evelyn copied his correspondence and unsent letters.

Chaney, Edward. "Evelyn, Inigo Jones, and the Collector Earl of Arundel." 37–60.

Focuses on the Diary's account of Evelyn's trip to northern Italy with the Earl of Arundel and Inigo Jones.

Foot, Mirjam. "John Evelyn's Bindings." 61–70.

Connects Evelyn's love for fine bindings to his years in Paris and to his father-in-law, Sir Richard Browne.

Mandelbrote, Giles. "John Evelyn and his Books." 71–94.

Shows how Evelyn's marginal markings reflect the range of his working knowledge, and early modern reading habits.

Griffiths, Antony. "John Evelyn and the Print." 95–113.

Evaluates Evelyn's role as a collector.

Laird, Mark. "Sayes Court Revisited." 115–44.

From surviving plans and descriptions, traces Evelyn's creation of Sayes Court, one of England's best-known gardens.

Spurr, John. "'A Sublime and Noble Service': Evelyn and the Church of England." 145–63.

Explores Evelyn's devotional manuscripts, the largest part of his archive.

Darley, Gillian. "'Action to the Purpose': Evelyn, Greenwich, and the Sick and Wounded Seamen." 165–84.

Presents Evelyn's lesser known work as the public servant responsible for sick and wounded seamen and prisoners of war.

Pincus, Steven. "John Evelyn: Revolutionary." 185–219.

Uses Evelyn's letters to argue that, contrary to the traditional view of him as politically conservative, he espoused a radical agenda for national reform.

Wright, Gillian. "Mary Evelyn and Devotional Practice." 221–32.

Studies the devotional manuscripts of Evelyn's eldest daughter Mary, who died at 19.

Gibson-Wood, Carol. "Susanna and her Elders: John Evelyn's Artistic Daughter." 233–54.

Recuperates Susanna Draper, the only one of Evelyn's children to survive him, as a significant amateur painter.

Whyman, Susan. "Advice to Letter-Writers: Evidence from Four Generations of Evelyns." 255–66.

Using letters from Evelyn, his children, and grandchildren, examines the role of letter writing in education and in forming family identity.

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ge, Edward. "Sir John Evelyn: His Grandfather's Heir." 267–79.
sses on the education of Evelyn's grandson, which was directed by his grandfather.
van, Isabel. "Their 'own Sweet Country': The Evelyns in Surrey." 281–93.
n deeds and manorial records, traces the history of different branches of the Evelyns.

ffner, Richard D. *A Conversational History of Modern America.* Ed. Marc Jaffe. New York: Carroll and Graf, 2003.
e 1956, Heffner engaged guests in the televised conversation program *The Open Mind,* ding an intellectually stimulating and extremely personal view of historical events.

ngren, Beth, ed. *The Russian Memoir: History and Literature.* Studies in Russian Literature and Theory. Evanston: Northwestern UP, 2004. (Reviewed in this issue.)
sses the history of Russian memoirs, especially from the Stalinist era and subsequently.
ngren, Beth. "Introduction." ix–xxxix.
s memoirs in the context of Russian literary and cultural history, and Russian memoirs e context of life writing.
is, Jane Gary. "Lidiia Ginzburg: Images of the Intelligentsia." 5–34.
ds Ginzburg's complex and clandestine textual responses to Stalinist oppression.
, Sarah. "The Stuffed Shirt Unstuffed: Zabolotsky's 'Early Years' and the Complexity of Soviet Culture." 35–52.
mines the compromises evident in the treatment of subjects like religious beliefs in lai Zabolotsky's post-Stalinist memoir.
ilo, Helena. "The Italics Are Hers: Matrophobia and the Family Romance in Elena Bonner's *Mothers and Daughters.*" 53–69.
s how Bonner's reliance on generalized dissident role models restricts her from indi-lized accounts of personal relationships.
horov, Alexander. "Accommodating Consumers' Desires: El'dar Riazanov's Memoirs in Soviet and Post-Soviet Russia." 70–89.
ugh Riazonov's works, considers the memoir boom in 1980s and 1990s Russia.
marberg, Gitta. "The Canonization of Dolgorukaia." 93–127.
s the varied poetic and prose appropriations of Natal'ia Borisovna Dolgorukaia's eigh-h century memoir.
ch, Jehanne, and Beth Holmgren. "Art and Prostokvasha: Avdot'ia Panaeva's Work." 128–44.
s how Panaeva's early fiction culminates in a late memoir.
hevska, Natasha. "The Art of Memory: Cultural Reverence as Political Cri-ique in Evgeniia Ginzburg's Writing of the Gulag." 145–66.
es Ginzburg's use of pre-Revolutionary literature, and genres like melodrama, to cle her experiences in Stalinist prisons.
nt, Galya. "English as Sanctuary: Nabokov's and Brodsky's Autobiographical Writings." 167–85.
s that writing in English let Nabokov and Brodsky exploit authorial detachment.

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Balina, Marina. "The Tale of Bygone Years: Reconstructing the Past in the Contemporary Russian Memoir." 186–209.

Explains the reluctance of contemporary writers to classify their works as memoirs, because it allows them greater freedom to manipulate the standard features of political memoirs.

Hooper, Glenn, and Tim Youngs, eds. *Perspectives on Travel Writing.* Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004.

Explores themes of transition and construction of the European self and its Others.

Borm, Jan. "Defining Travel: On the Travel Book, Travel Writing, and Terminology." 13–26.

In arguing for its hybridity and against its status as a genre, interrogates the terms used to describe travel literature.

Quadflieg, Helga. "'As mannerly and civill as any of Europe': Early Modern Travel Writing and the Exploration of the English Self." 27–40.

Describes the process of Othering which bases subject construction in early modern travel accounts.

Hagglund, Betty. "'Not absolutely a native, nor entirely a stranger': The Journeys of Anne Grant." 41–53.

Unpacks Grant's ethnographic reactions to her experiences in colonial America and the Scottish Highlands.

Hooper, Glenn. "The Saxon in Ireland: Jon Hervey Ashworth on the Emigrant Trail." 55–70.

Places Ashworth's travel narrative in the context of British settlement of post-famine Ireland.

Le Disez, Jean-Yves. "Animals as Figures of Otherness in Travel Narratives of Brittany, 1840–1895." 71–84.

Through the animal imagery in Victorian narratives of travel in Brittany, highlights the ideological relationship to the social and colonial Other.

Hulme, Peter. "'The Silent Language of the Face': The Perception of Indigenous Difference in Travel Writing about the Caribbean." 85–98.

Contrasts perceptions of Indigenous difference in late nineteenth century, 1940s, and late twentieth century texts.

White, Erdmute Wenzel. "Night Train to Belo Horizonte: South American Travels." 99–120.

Outlines the impact of sixteenth-century travel, missionary, ethnographic, and political accounts of Brazil.

Polezzi, Loredana. "Between Gender and Genre: The Travels of Estella Canziani." 121–37.

Suggests that writing both autobiography and travel books allowed the early twentieth century English author to distinguish different personae.

Holland, Patrick, and Graham Huggan. "Varieties of Nostalgia in Contemporary Travel Writing." 139–51.

Argues that the pervasive nostalgia of twentieth-century travel writing can function critically as well as conservatively.

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ngia, Padmini. "Medieval Travel in Postcolonial Times: Amitav Ghosh's *In an Antique Land*." 153–65.
ers Ghosh's combination of history, travelogue, autobiography, and novel as a type of colonial travel writing.
ngs, Tim. "Where Are We Going? Cross-border Approaches to Travel Writing." 167–80.
dresses cultural contexts and narrative features that literary critics bring to and ignore in ying travel writing.

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Roos, J. P. "Context, Authenticity, Referentiality, Reflexivity: Back to Basics in Autobiography." 27–37.

Traces the rise and fall of poststructuralist approaches to autobiography.

Bertaux, Daniel. "The Usefulness of Life Stories for a Realist and Meaningful Sociology." 39–51.

Argues for a "neo-realist" approach that makes life stories, collected through interviews, central to sociological research.

Golofast, Valery. "Three Dimensions of Biographical Narratives." 53–67.

Suggests three dimensions for "post-Soviet" biographical research: "routine," concerning the structure of everyday social intercourse at the personal, family, and group level; "event," concerning sequencing in time and over the life course; and "hidden/covert," concerning subjects taboo during Soviet times.

Aarelaid-Tart, Aili. "Estonian-inclined Communists as Marginals." 71–99.

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Miller, Barbara. "Portrayals of Past and Present Selves in the Life Stories of Former Stasi Informers." 101–14.

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Andrle, Vladimir. "Czech Dissidents: A Classically Modern Community." 115–28.

Discusses the fragmented experience of dissidents who went from being political outcasts to positions of authority and then to private life in the post-socialist Czech Republic.

Tchouikina, Sofia. "Anti-Soviet Biographies: The Dissident Milieu and its Neighbouring Milieux." 129–39.

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Zdravomyslova, Elena. "The Café Saigon Tusovka: One Segment of the Informal-Public Sphere of Late-Soviet Society." 141–77.

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Jackson, John A. "Living the Life: Exile in the Experience of the Polish Intelligentsia." 181–90.

Considers the role an "imagined community" of exiles can play in nation building.

Breckner, Roswitha. "Biographical Continuities and Discontinuities in East-West Migration before and after 1989: Two Case Studies of Migration from Romania to West Germany." 191–209.

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Struck, Olaf. "Trajectories of Coping Strategies in Eastern Germany." 211–24.

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Kirch, Anna. "Shame, Promiscuity and Social Mobility in Russian Autobiographies from Poor Working-Class Milieux." 263–98.
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Kisich, Paula Rea. "Lovisa Ulrike of Sweden, Chardin and Enlightened Despotism." 46–63.
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ld, Jill H. "Commerce in the Boudoir." 91–114.
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Sheriff, Mary D. "The Cradle is Empty: Élisabeth Vigée-Lebrun, Marie-Antoinette, and the Problem of Intention." 164–87.

Analyzes the conflicted status of women suggested by Vigée-Lebrun's portrayal of Marie-Antoinette as mother of the children of France.

Roworth, Wendy Wassyng. "Ancient Matrons and Modern Patrons: Angelica Kauffman as a Classical History Painter." 188–210.

Discusses Kauffman's choice of Roman matrons as subjects, which established her artistic status without overtly challenging gender norms.

Rosenthal, Angela. "Angelica's Odyssey: Kauffman's Paintings of Penelope and the Weaving of Narrative." 211–36.

Addresses Kauffman's strategies for producing historical narratives, considered a male enterprise.

Vidal, Mary. "The 'Other Atelier': Jacques-Louis David's Female Students." 237–62.

Discusses attempts to prevent the training of women in David's Louvre studio, and his self-interest in supporting female students.

Schulz, Andrew. "Goya's Portraits of the Duchess of Osuna: Fashioning Identity in Enlightenment Spain." 263–83.

Notes how Goya highlighted Osuna's roles as mother and center of the family, and her fondness for French fashion, symbolic of French Enlightenment ideals.

Josselson, Ruthellen, Amia Lieblich, and Dan P. McAdams, eds. *Up Close and Personal: The Teaching and Learning of Narrative Research.* Washington, D.C.: American Psychological Association, 2003.

Second volume of the APA's "Narrative Study of Lives" series contains essays indicating the range and place of narrative research in the social sciences.

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Ouellette, Suzanne C. "Painting Lessons." 13–28.

Draws parallels between learning to paint and learning to do narrative research, with both involving recursive exploration resulting in a whole image.

Clinchy, Blythe McVicker. "An Epistemological Approach to the Teaching of Narrative Research." 29–48.

Describes creating a narrative research pedagogy course built around connective knowing

Rogers, Annie G. "Qualitative Research in Psychology: Teaching an Interpretive Process." 49–60.

Suggests ways to approach and evaluate qualitative research in considering how to teach it in traditional research environments.

Daiute, Colette, and Michelle Fine. "Researchers as Protagonists in Teaching and Learning Qualitative Research." 61–77.

Details how the authors use narrative theory to develop in students a critical epistemological position in their conduct of qualitative research.

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ose, Susan E. "Learning to Listen: Narrative Principles in a Qualitative Research Methods Course." 79–99.
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enspan, Henry. "Listening to Holocaust Survivors: Interpreting a Related Story." 101–111.
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ebberg, Richard. "Teaching Interpretation." 113–33.
scribes how to use the Thematic Apperception Test to teach students that meaning es from how a narrative is constructed, as well as its content.

enwald, George C. "Task, Process, and Discomfort in the Interpretation of Life Histories." 135–50.
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ultz, William Todd. "The Prototypical Scene: A Method for Generating Psychobiographical Hypotheses." 151–75.
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derson, James William. "A Psychological Perspective on the Relationship of William and Henry James." 177–97.
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, Margot. "Braiding Essence: Learning What I Thought I Already Knew about Teaching Qualitative Research." 215–38.
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Alcoff, Linda. "Against 'Post-Ethnic' Futures." 99–117.

Argues against the understanding of ethnicity as a matter of choice, and for a realist account of the complex set of relations among ethnic identities.

Gooding-Williams, Robert. "Politics, Racial Solidarity, Exodus!" 118–28.

Critiques identity-based views of racial politics, and challenges the adequacy of identity-expressive models of political solidarity.

Henry, Paget. "Between Hume and Cugoano: Race, Ethnicity and Philosophical Entrapment." 129–48.

Sociological account of ethnogenesis opposes postracial and postethnic futures, and analyzes the social reality of race.

Shimakawa, Karen. "The Things We Share: Ethnic Performativity and 'Whatever Being.'" 149–60.

Underscores the performative, fragile, and contingent aspect of collective identity.

Life Writing 1.2 (2004). "Life Writing and the Public Sphere." Ed: David McCooey.

Schaffer, Kay, and Sidonie Smith. "Venues of Storytelling: The Circulation of Testimony in Human Rights Campaigns." 3–26.

Considers how personal testimony is produced, distributed, and received in the field of human rights.

Raditlhalo, Sam. "Unzima lomthwalo—'this load is heavy': A Selection of South African Prison and Exile Life Writings." 27–54.

Illustrates the connection in South African life writing from the 1950s to the 1980s of identity formation and identity politics and the struggle for a free and democratic South Africa.

Jacklin, Michael. "Critical Injuries: Collaborative Indigenous Life Writing and the Ethics of Criticism." 55–83.

Argues that critical commentary on Indigenous/non-Indigenous collaborative life writing can be unethical when it does not include consultations with the Indigenous collaborator.

McLaren, John. "Alan Marshall—Trapped in His Own Image." 85–99.

Analyzes the image of the ordinary Australian and public advocacy in the work of Australian author Alan Marshall.

Ommundsen, Wenche. "Floating Lives: Cultural Citizenship and the Limits of Diaspora." 101–121.

Using works by Chinese Australian authors Clara Law, Liu Guande, and Huangfu Jun, suggests that diaspora literature should be read not as archetypical, but as unique cultural documents.

Podnieks, Elizabeth. "'Hit Sluts' and 'Page Pimps': Online Diarists and Their Quest for Cyber-Union." 123–50.

Argues that internet technology, while enhancing and increasing the means for self-expression, does not change the traditional motives for life writing.

McNeill, Laurie. "Generic Subjects: Reading Canadian Death Notices as Life Writing." 151–66.

Generic analysis considers the individual, collective, and national subjectivities reinforced by death notices as public life writing.

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Shirley Geok-lin. "Home and the World, the Secret Author and the Reader." 169–76.
gles discourses of memory, personhood, nation, and the desire to write.
olander, Maria. "Swampland: Signs and Visitations." 177–202.
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ow, Joanna R. "Essential Subversions: Reading Theory with Latin American Women's Testimonial Discourse." 47–62.
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Clennen, Sophia A. "Are Cultural Studies 'Against Literature'? Reading Testimonial and Film in the Latin American Canon." 63–80.
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ps Palacio's history, and notes variances in the 1925 and 1947 published editions.
g, Mimi Y. "Victoria Ocampo's Making of Self in Her *Autobiografía.*" 141–52.
s Ocampo's self-construction through her many books, essays, plays, and letters.
chester, Ana García. "The Dialectics of Desire and Rejection in Elena Poniatowska's *Hasta no verte, Jesús mío.*" 153–66.

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Addresses the collaboration of informant and transcriber in most published *testimonio*.

Cook, Alyce. "*Hay que sonreír* and *Cola de lagartija* by Luisa Valenzuela: Narrative as Testimonial Breakthrough." 167–78.

Examines the relationship between testimonial witnessing and allegorical literature, particularly in the context of Argentina between 1966 and 1983.

Palacio de Libarona, Agustina. "Infortunios de la matrona santiagueña doña Agustina Palacio de Libarona la Heroína del Bracho (1840–42)." 183–200.

Excerpt from the 1925 edition of Palacio's work.

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Excerpt from Strejilevich's *A Single Numberless Death* (U of Virginia P, 2002).

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History comes alive through the thirty-six individuals included in this guidebook.

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Applies Ricoeur's two hermeneutics to interpretive stances in narrative research, and considers the ethical consequences of each.

Freeman, Mark. "The Matter of the Text." 29–43.

Comments on Josselson, considering faithful and suspicious readings of texts.

Järvinen, Margaretha. "Life Histories and the Perspective of the Present." 45–68.

Sketches a theoretical framework for life history narratives based on Mead and Ricoeur and opposed to subjectivist and structuralist approaches.

Hänninen, Vilma. "A Model of Narrative Circulation." 69–85.

Presents a schema of "told," "inner," and "lived" modes of narrative meaning structures.

Shkedi, Asher. "Narrative Survey: A Methodology for Studying Multiple Populations." 87–111.

Suggests a narrative survey as a research strategy that follows the narrative constructivist approach and provides qualitative data for large survey populations.

Lapadat, Judith C. "Autobiographical Memories of Early Language and Literacy Development." 113–40.

Applies a narrative autobiographical approach to studying language and literacy acquisition.

Smorti, Andrea. "Narrative Strategies for Interpreting Stories with Incongruent Endings." 141–67.

Examines the narrative strategies early adolescents use to interpret social incongruence in their relationships.

May, Vanessa. "Narrative Identity and the Re-conceptualization of Lone Motherhood." 169–89.

Focuses on identity construction in the life stories of Finnish single mothers.

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Nashim: A Journal of Jewish Women's Studies and Gender Issues 7 (Spring 5764/2004). "Autobiography and Memoir." Ed. Gershon C. Bacon and Renée Levine Melammed.

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s Glikl's bas Leib's memoir as a primary source for understanding economic, social, and gious dimensions of daily Jewish life in German lands in the 1700s.

gus, Shulamit S. "Kol Ishah: Women and Pauline Wengeroff's Writing of an Age." 28–64.
s how Wengeroff's nineteenth-century memoir weaves personal, cultural, and anthrological description in narrating the transition to Jewish modernity.

lin, Judith Reesa. "Piety and Female Aspiration in the Memoirs of Pauline Epstein Wengeroff and Bella Rosenfeld Chagall." 65–96.
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man, Paula. "Discovering Puah Rakovsky." 97–115.
s how Rakovsky's memoir of women's activities, education, and lives in Russian Poland plicates traditional male-focused histories.

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k, Ruth. "'Not a Suffragist'? Rachel Yanait Ben-Zvi on Women and Gender." 128–50.
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lammed, Renée Levine. "The Memoirs of a Partisan from Salonika." 151–73.
usses the linguistic and cultural problems of recovering a lost original Ladino text: a locaust memoir by a survivor of a decimated community—Sephardi Jews in Salonika.

lic, Jasmina. "Eva Grlic: Between Silence and Speech." 174–89.
mines Grlic's strategies for representing multiple, relational personal and group identities.

it, Laura. "Intimate Engagements: A Holocaust Lesson." 190–205.
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Alkalay-Gut, Karen. "Getting Women to Talk about Themselves: My Role Models of the Previous Generation." 212–16.

In considering her mother's and mother-in-law's reluctance to discuss their pasts, considers the responsibility to tell life stories.

Margolis, Judith. "A Life in Art (1)." 217–28.

Sketches her development as an autobiographical artist.

Weisberg, Ruth. "A Life in Art (2)." 229–35.

Describes incorporating first-person narrative and autobiographical allusions in her art.

New German Critique 90.3 (Fall 2003). "Taboo, Trauma, Holocaust." Ed. David Bathrick.

Arad, Gulie Ne'eman. "Israel and the Shoah: A Tale of Multifarious Taboos." 5–26.

Outlines shifting understanding of the Shoah in Israel, and its trajectory as a multiform taboo that helped shape Israeli collective identity.

Novick, Peter. "The American National Narrative of the Holocaust: There Isn't Any." 27–35.

Challenges the narrative status of recent US representations and discourses of the Holocaust.

Diner, Dan. "Restitution and Memory: The Holocaust in Europe Political Cultures." 36–44.

Investigates specific conditions under which the Holocaust impacts current political discourse.

Probst, Lothar. "Founding Myths in Europe and the Role of the Holocaust." 45–58.

Examines attempts to make the Holocaust a founding myth for European union.

Dubiel, Helmut. "The Remembrance of the Holocaust as a Catalyst for a Transnational Ethic?" 59–70.

Reflects on the Holocaust's transformation from an historical occurrence to a political and moral criteria for distinguishing good and evil.

Koch, Gertrud, and Rachel Leah Magshamhrain. "Between Fear of Contact and Self-Preservation: Taboo and its Relation to the Dead." 71–83.

Explores the relationship between taboo, the fear of contact, and self-preservation.

Weigel, Sigrid, and Georgina Paul. "The Symptomatology of a Universalized Concept of Trauma: On the Failing of Freud's Reading of Tasso in the Trauma of History." 85–94.

Critiques Cathy Caruth's *Unclaimed Experience* and Freud's writing on trauma.

Grossmann, Atina. "Versions of Home: German Jewish Refugee Papers Out of the Closet and into the Archives." 95–122.

Considers the origins, construction, and preservation of post-1945 German-Jewish memory.

Assmann, Aleida. "Two Forms of Resentment: Jean Ámery, Martin Walser and German Memorial Culture." 123–33.

Uses work by Ámery and Walser to critique the changing German social and political environment.

Kansteiner, Wulf. "Entertaining Catastrophe: The Reinvention of the Holocaust in the Television of the Federal Republic of Germany." 135–62.

Considers the revival of the Nazi past as a topic of discussion in FRG political culture.

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s for a new post-utopian paradigm for thinking temporality and space.
nschler, Eric. "The Fascination of a Fake: *The Hitler Diaries.*" 177–92.
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times to the present.

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nic-Riha, Jelica. "Testimony and the Real: Testimony between the Impossibility and Obligation." 17–29.
ng Lyotard, considers the legacy of Auschwitz and the conditions under which it would
possible to bear witness.

nter, Tina. "The Picture of Abjection: Thomas Vinterberg's 'The Celebration.'" 30–39.
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ler-Roazen, Daniel. "Aglossostomography." 40–48.
cusses how in a literary work aglossostomography turns to asomastomography.

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siders traditional koans, one's responsibility for one's koan, and the sense of abandon-
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suppression of history.

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Pollock, Griselda. "Mary Kelly's Balllad of Kastriot Rexhpi: Virtual Trauma and Indexical Witness in the Age of Mediatric Spectacle." 100–112.

Analyzes Mary Kelly's exihbit, "The Ballad of Kastriot Rexhpi," as a medium that is both virtual and indexical.

White, Hayden. "Figural Realism in Witness Literature." 113–24.

Shows how theory envisions itself in a time of crisis, and considers the place of literary writing in historical and other kinds of scientific writing.

Prose Studies 26.1–2 (Apr.-Aug. 2003). "Women's Life Writing and Imagined Communities." Ed. Cynthia Huff. Revised and reprinted as a book by Routledge, 2004.

Essays explore how women's life writing resists, crosses, envisions, and draws community borders.

Huff, Cynthia. "Towards a Geography of Women's Life Writing and Imagined Communities: An Introductory Essay." 1–16.

Introduces the creation of imagined communities as central to the history and future of women's life writing.

Breyley, Gay. "Imagined Ancestral Communities of Displaced Australian Daughters: Evelyn Crawford's *Over My Tracks* and Lily Brett's *After the War* and *Unintended Consequences.*" 17–42.

Shows how an indigenous author and a child of Holocaust survivors resist the Anglo-Celtic, white, masculine Australian national imaginary.

Ames, Deborah Lee. "The Community of 'Camp Sisters': Bonds of Support, Bonds of Subversion." 43–58.

Uses Holocaust survivor testimony to demonstrate how language and religious communities can be subversive as well as oppressive.

Kurvet-Kaosar, Leena. "Imagining a Hospitable Community in the Deportation and Emigration Narratives of Baltic Women." 59–78.

Reconfigures the European imaginary community to include life narratives by women deported from Soviet-occupied Baltic states who then used traditional practices of hospitality to create new groupings.

Prescott, Jeryl. "Imagining 'Sweet Fellowship': Resisting Prejudice with Spiritual Transcendence in Jarena Lee's Imagined Community." 79–95.

Establishes how Lee confronts nineteenth-century American slave culture and the patriarchal black church by positioning herself as a spiritual leader.

Costantino, Manuela, and Susanna Egan. "Reverse Migrations and Imagined Communities." 96–111.

Articulates how granddaughters of Eastern European immigrants situate themselves as family storytellers in opposition to official historical narratives.

Echano, Marta Vizcaya. "'Somewhere between Puerto Rico and New York': The Representation of Individual and Collective Identities in Esmeralda Santiago's *When I was Puerto Rican* and *Almost a Woman.*" 112–30.

In asking who has the authority to assign community status, focuses on the ideological positions of Santiago's readers and critics.

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Movement." 196–218.
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Kungl, Carla T. "Family, Slivovitz, and the Burdens of Narrative." 29–34.
Considers different ways of narrating family history.

Hickey, Christopher. "Self-Portraiture: Interpreting an Artist's Life." 34.
Six images of the artist.

Weber, Christina. "Reading Life as Palimpsest: A Reconsideration of the Interpretation Process." 35–38.
In describing a research project involving the children of Vietnam veterans, suggests the difficulties involved in placing individual lives in a particular historical context.

Bulovsky, Helen C. "Behind the Trenches." 39–50.
Memoir of a WW I army nurse.

Ropers-Huilman, Becky. "Evolutions of Self and Research: Knowledge Processes of Women in Higher Education." 51–54.
In considering how her gendered experiences influence her academic focus on women in higher education, explores how autobiography can be a scholarly act.

Rich, Susanna Lippóczy. "Sleepwalking." 55–61.
Presents memoir writing as a way of re-membering or reassembling pieces.

Cassel, Valerie, and Juan Logan. "Mr. Logan's Reliquary." 62–63.
Explores the meanings of the reliquaries created by North Carolina sculptor Logan.

Alpert, Jessica. "Muted Testimony: Rape and Gendered Violence of the Holocaust." 64–68.
Discusses the rarity and place of accounts of gendered violence in Holocaust narratives.

Fischer, Lisa Pope. "Return Migration to Post-Socialist Hungary: Identity Reconstruction, Anxiety, and Resolution." 69–74.
Considers the difficulties of creating a national Hungarian identity in post-socialist Hungary.

Reber, Calvin H., Jr. "Interned in Hong Kong: A Personal Account." 75–80.
Story of an American missionary interned by the Japanese in Hong Kong in 1942.

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Discusses changing ideas of appropriate behavior for Russian elite women because of increasing use of Western forms of social interaction.

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ozilo, Helena. "Cosmetics—or Dying to Overcome Nature in an Age of Art and Artifice." 73–103.
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ebrut, Semeon. "Love and the Lap-Dog." 105–110.
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kareva, Natal'ia L. "Russian Noblewomen's Education in the Home as Revealed in Late 18th and Early 19th-Century Memoirs." 111–28.
s memoirs to discuss home education of Russian noblewomen.
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lores reading practices of Russian provincial noblewomen.
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pfert, Frank. "Observations on the Life and Work of Elizaveta Kheraskova (1737–1809)." 163–86.
s how the poems and translations of Kheraskova and other Russian women introduced sentimentalist movement to Russia in the 1770s.
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lineates the gender implications of the impact of male critics and editors on the reading writing habits of Russian women.
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s how women—and particularly non-noblewomen—created relationships uncon-ized by church law.
heleva, Olga. "Episodes from Women's Lives in the Reign of Peter I." 243–55.
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Jenkins, Ruth Y. "The Gaze of the Victorian Woman Traveler: Spectacles and Phenomena." 15–30.

Considers the impact of contact with non-British women on Amelia Edwards, Lady Florence Dixie, and Lady Lucie Austin Duff Gordon.

Banerjee, Sukanya. "Lady Mary Montagu and the 'Boundaries' of Europe." 31–54.

Places Montagu's early eighteenth-century letters from the Ottoman Empire in the context of her travels to Asia and Africa.

Siegel, Kristi. "Women's Travel and the Rhetoric of Peril: It Is Suicide to Be Abroad." 55–72.

Explores subtexts of warnings addressed to women traveling alone.

Enevold, Jessica. "The Daughters of Thelma and Louise: New? Aesthetics of the Road." 73–95.

Argues that *Thelma & Louise* renews the road-trip buddy narrative genre by descripting traditional gender binaries.

Jennings, Rachel A. "Women Writers and the Internal Combustion Engine: Passing Penelope Pitstop." 97–119.

Discusses how women travelers represent themselves in relation to automobiles, generally figured as phallic symbols in adolescent American male rites of passage.

Cheng, Chu-Chueh. "Frances Trollope's America and Anna Leonowens's Siam: Questionable Travel and Problematic Writing." 123–65.

Shows how Trollope and Leonowen reinforced the popular Victorian imaginary.

Brusky, Sarah. "Nancy Prince and Her Gothic Odyssey: A Veiled Lady." 167–80.

Argues that Prince used gothic elements to veil and reveal her identity.

Haynes, Rosetta R. "Zilpha Elaw's Serial Domesticity: An Unsentimental Journey." 181–91.

Demonstrates how Elaw's spiritual autobiography revised tropes of women's sentimental writing to challenge a racist and patriarchal public sphere.

Macpherson, Heidi Slettedahl. "Women's Travel Writing and the Politics of Location: Somewhere-In-Between." 193–208.

Explores the generic unraveling of fiction and nonfiction in the work of Bharati Mukherjee, Marilynne Robinson, and Paule Marshall.

Fowler, Corinne. "The Problem of Narrative Authority: Catherine Oddie and Kate Karko." 209–221.

Argues that Oddie's and Karko's travel narratives fail to escape the genre's colonial and imperialist aspects.

Ledford-Miller, Linda. "A Protestant Critique of Catholicism: Frances Calderón de la Barca in Nineteenth-Century Mexico." 225–33.

Reads Calderón's letters for the impact her travels had on the Scottish-born American.

Hasseler, Terri A. "Identity in Rosamond Lawrence's *Indian Embers*: 'I cannot somehow find myself.'" 235–61.

Traces Lawrence's estrangement as documented in her journal.

Fitzpatrick, Kristin. "American National Identity Abroad: The Travels of Nancy Prince." 263–78.

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gests that Prince's gender, ethnicity, and national identity contribute to forming an rican national identity.

Colley, Margaret. "Alexandra David-Néel's Home in the Himalayas: Where the Heart Lies." 279–91.

s how David-Néel challenged traditional constructions of home and domesticity.

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s Wright's essay "Memories of My Grandmother" in relation to *Black Boy*'s treatment nder and religion.

Gill, Robert. "The Life You Write May Be Your Own: Epistolary Autobiography and the Reluctant Resurrection of Flannery O'Connor." 31–46.

n O'Connor's expressed apathy to autobiography, considers the differences between posthumous epistolary publication and memoir and fiction.

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ses on metaphors of clarity and perception in reading Mason's and Thoreau's works as e writing and spiritual autobiography.

nis, Gregory L. "Boy with Loaded Gun: The Confessions of Lewis Nordan." 59–81.

lyzes how Nordan encourages reading the "Sugar Mecklin" stories as autobiography, e they actually work against his own experiences.

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lights Allison's skills as a storyteller in exploring the interplay of genres in her work.

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lights how Santos's work differs from other southern American autobiographies in ing Texas's similarities and differences from Deep South states.

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Describes intercommunal influences leading to shared links between hagiography and monotheism which impacted representations of the founders of Zoroastrian, Jewish, Christian, and Muslim communities.

Clinton, Catherine. "On the Road to Harriet Tubman." *American Heritage* June/July 2004: 44–49.

Because Tubman was virtually illiterate, she is an elusive biographical subject, due to the lack of her own letters and diaries.

Cohen, Erez. "I Am My Own Culture: The 'Individual Migrant' and the 'Migrant Community,' a Latin American Case Study in Australia." *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 25.2 (2004): 123–42.

Reveals the diffeent ways in which subjective migratory experiences may lead to the emergence of "new subjectivities" contained within the migratory movement and lifestyle.

Cole, Kevin L., and Leah Weins. "Religion, Idealism, and African American Autobiography in the Northern Plains: Era Bell Thompson's *American Daughter*." *Great Plains Quarterly* 23.4 (Fall 2003): 219–29.

Focuses on religious themes in Thompson's memoir of growing up in rural North Dakota.

Cope, Virginia H. "'I Verily Believed Myself to Be a Free Woman': Harriet Jacobs's Journey into Capitalism." *African American Review* 38.1 (Spring 2004): 5–20.

Places Jacobs's narrative of her journey to freedom in relation to nineteenth-century capitalism.

Christensen, Peter G. "St. Francis on Film: A Bibliographical Essay." *AFCU Journal* 1.1 (Jan. 2004): 72–86.

Compares film and television accounts of Francis of Assisi, addressing hagiographical and melodramatic aspects.

Cossentino, Jacqueline. "Becoming a Coach: Reform, Identity, and the Pedagogy of Negation." *Teachers and Teaching: Theory and Practice* 10.5 (2004): 463–87.

Reveals the range of uncertainties involved in coaching, as well as illuminating the complex and connected "links between identity and practice entailed in becoming a coach."

Coullie, Judith Lütge. "Engendering Apartheid: Race and Gender in the Life Stories of Black South African Men." *Men and Masculinities: A Social, Cultural, and Historical Encyclopedia.* Ed. Michael Kimmel. Santa Barbara: ABC-Clio, 2004.

Explores changing constructions of race and gender in black South African male life writing.

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ser, G. Thomas. "The Obituary of a Face: Lucy Grealy, Death Writing and Posthumous Harm." *Auto/Biography* 12.1 (2004): 1–15.

es that by reconstructing her life using trite scripts of disability and overwriting her self-representations, the *New York Times* obituary of Lucy Grealy represents an exam- of death writing that inflicts posthumous harm on its subject.

wley, Sara L., and K. L. Broad. "'Be Your (Real Lesbian) Self.'" *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 33.1 (2004): 39–71.

s survey involves the mobilization of "sexual formula stories through personal (and polit- storytelling.

wley, P. "Paul Ricoeur: The Concept of Narrative Identity, the Trace of Autobiography." *Paragraph* 26.3 (Nov. 2003): 1–12.

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is, Rocio G. (see also Lucas). "Ethnic Autobiography as Children's Literature: Laurence Yep's *The Lost Garden* and Yoshiko Uchida's *The Invisible Thread.*" *Children's Literature Association Quarterly* 28.2 (Summer 2003): 90–97.

roaches Yep's and Uchida's work as relatively rare, multicultural children's literature.

—. "Reading Asian American Biracial Autobiographies of Childhood: Norman Reyes's *Child of Two Worlds* and Kien Nguyen's *The Unwanted.*" *Prose Studies* 25.2 (Aug. 2003): 79–101.

rasts Reyes's narrative of a pre-World War II Filipino-American childhood with Kien's unt of his post-1975 life as an Amerasian.

—. "A Task of Reclamation: Subjectivity, Self-Representation, and Textual Formulation in Sara Suleri's *Meatless Days.*" *Asian North American Identities: Beyond the Hyphen.* Ed. Eleanor Ty and Donald Goellnicht. Bloomington: Indiana UP, 2004. 117–29.

acks the self-construction strategies in Suleri's memoir of postcolonial Pakistan.

—. "Through Yellow Light: Garrett Hongo Writing the Hawaiian Landscapes of Self." *Nature's Nation Revisited: American Concepts of Nature from Wonder to Ecological Crisis.* Ed. Hans Bak and Walter W. Hölbling. Amsterdam: VU UP, 2003. 168–83.

ds Hongo's *Volcano* as nature writing.

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Dickerson, Victoria C. "Young Women Struggling for an Identity." *Family Process* 43.3 (2004): 337–48.

Using a case study approach, this article suggests that for certain women, rules and cultural expectations are often broken in the process of identity construction.

Di Piero, W. S. "Late Arrivals." *Poetry* May 2004: 111–20.

A poet expresses the desire to be able to "write a poetry erased of memory that expresses only the experienced instant."

Dolan, Frances E. "Reading, Work, and Catholic Women's Biographies." *English Literary Renaissance* 33.3 (Autumn 2003): 328–57.

Centering on *The Lady Falkland,* a biography of Elizabeth Cary by one of her daughters, considers biographies of Tudor Catholic women written after their deaths, often by priests who served as their confessors, and the saints' lives used as models.

Dolby, Nadine. "Encountering an American Self: Study Abroad and National Identity." *Comparative Education Review* 48.2 (2004): 150–73.

Submits that students studying abroad are so focused on their own experiences and realities that they are often "oblivious to the context in which they perform or display" their American identities.

Donaldson, Ian. "Biographical Uncertainty." *Essays in Criticism* 54.5 (Oct. 2004): 305–322.

Discusses epistemological and ethical questions relating to how much biographers can and should try to know about their subjects.

Doniger, Wendy. "Self-Impersonation in World Literature." *Kenyon Review* 26.2 (2004): 101–125.

The irony of the disguised and/or masked self is that frequently becoming other than who we are, we often become closer to revealing who we truly are.

Duckworth, Alistair M. "How Shall We Ever Recollect Half the Dishes for Grandmamma?" *Eighteenth Century Fiction* 16.3 (Apr. 2004): 471–92.

Considers the Jane Austen "industry" and the use of literary tourism to map her texts onto a mythical landscape.

Duncker, Patricia. "Mary Shelley's Afterlives: Biography and Invention." *Women* 15.2 (Summer 2004): 230–49.

In comparing constructions of Shelley in biographies of her husband and of her, asserts that biography is a kind of "master-text" and "glossary" to all the other works (the "psychic exegesis") of the subject's mind.

Duneer, Anita J. "Postpositivist Realism and Mandala: Toward Reconciliation and Reunification of Vietnamese and American Identities in Andrew

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X. Pham's *Catfish and Mandala.*" *A/B: Auto/Biography Studies* 17.2 (Winter 2002): 204–220.

position to essentialist and postmodern conceptions of identity, applies a theory of positivist realism to Pham's negotiation of personal and national identity.

in, Isabel. "Latino Autobiography, the Aesthetic, and Political Criticism: The Case of *Hunger of Memory.*" *Nor Shall Diamond Die: American Studies in Honor of Javier Coy.* Valencia: Bibliteca Javier Coy D'estudis Nord-Americans, 2003. 91–104.

siders critical responses to Richard Rodriguez's memoir.

—. "Looking at God with Children's Eyes: Religion, Ethnicity and Childhood Autobiography." *Religion in America.* Ed. Hans Krabbendam. Amsterdam: VU UP, 2004. 131–42.

ses on religious themes in multicultural American autobiographies of childhood.

—. "Postmodern Selves in Recent American Autobiography." *[Mis]Understanding Postmodernism and Fiction of Politics, Politics of Fiction.* Ed. Matthew Sweney and Michal Peprnik. Olomouc: Univerzita Palackeho, 2003. 43–67.

ores innovative constructions of self in contemporary American life writing

in, Paul John. "What Are We Reading When We Read Autobiography." *Narrative* 12.2 (May 2004): 121–32.

ores the idea of a radical equivalence between narrative and identity, focusing on works Oliver Sacks, Antonio Damasio, and Mary Karr.

ardt, Marianne Horney. "Discussion of 'Artemisia Gentileschi and Her World' by Ildiko Mohacsy." *Journal of the American Academy of Psychoanalysis and Dynamic Psychiatry* 32.1 (Spring 2004): 177–80.

rasts Mohacsy's multidimensional presentation of Gentileschi to Alexandra Lapierre's.

n, Susanna, and Gabriele Helms. "Life Writing." *The Cambridge Companion to Canadian Literature.* Ed. Eva-Marie Kröller. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2003. 216–40.

duces principal themes, texts, and history of life writing genres in Canada.

wood, Victoria A. "'Happy, Happy Ever After': The Transformation of Trauma between the Generations in Art Spiegelman's *Maus: A Survivor's Tale.*" *Biography: An Interdisciplinary Quarterly* 27.4 (Fall 2004): 691–720.

siders how Spiegelman, in a work spanning autobiography and collaborative biography, ggles to narrate an identity within a family from whose founding trauma he was absent.

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Feldstein, Mark. "Kissing Cousins: Journalism and Oral History." *Oral History Review* 31.1 (Winter/Spring 2004): 1–22.

Compares issues of evidence, purpose, technique, empathy, and ethics in print and broadcast journalism and in oral history.

Fell, A. S. "Literary Trafficking: Performing Identity in Violette Leduc's *La Batarde*." *Modern Language Review* 98.4 (Oct. 2003): 870–80.

Considers the diverse personae in La Batarde, focusing on the Occupation identities of writer and black-marketer.

Fitzmaurice, James. "Margaret Cavendish's *Life of William*, Plutarch, and Mixed Genre." *Authorial Conquests*. Ed. Nancy Weitz and Line Cottegnies. Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson UP, 2003. 80–102.

Places Cavendish's innovative use of genres in historical context.

Flaherty, Emalee G., Rise Jones, and Robert Sege. "Telling Their Stories: Primary Care Practitioners' Experience Evaluating and Reporting Injuries Caused by Child Abuse." *Child Abuse and Neglect* 28 (2004): 939–45.

Suggests that those who cannot speak for themselves depend on advocates to tell their stories.

Fraser, Heather. "Doing Narrative Research: Analysing Personal Stories Line by Line." *Qualitative Social Work* 3.2 (2004): 179–201.

Notes that "narrative researchers are aware that in the process of pulling together threads of others' stories, we will be telling stories of our own."

Frederick, Rhonda. "Creole Performance in *Wonderful Adventures of Mrs. Seacole in Many Lands*." *Gender and History* 15.3 (Nov. 2003): 487–506.

Analyzes Seacole's autobiography using Caribbean literary perspectives that voice raced, "coloured," and geographically located identities.

Froggett, Lynn, and Prue Chamberlayne. "Narratives of Social Enterprise: From Biography to Practice and Policy." *Qualitative Social Work* 3.1 (Mar. 2004): 61–77.

Drawing on a psychosocial case study of narratives in a community development setting, shows how biographical methods can link personal, organizational, and policy domains.

Fuchs, Anne. "'The Deeper Nature of My German': Mother Tongue, Subjectivity, and the Voice of the Other in Elias Canetti's Autobiography." *A Companion to the Works of Elias Canetti*. Ed. Dagmar Lorenz. Rochester: Camden House, 2004. 45–60.

Focuses on mother-son and "mother tongue" relations in Canetti's autobiographical works.

Fudge, Erica, and Dee Robinson. "Animal Lives." *History Today* 54.10 (Oct. 2004): 26–37.

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ques the requirements and criteria that exclude animals from the *Dictionary of Nation-*
ography, with suggested entries for the bear Blind Bess, Morocco the Intelligent Horse,
rus Jack, Gelert, Godolphin Arabian, and Dolly.

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rpse poems" (poems not about the dead but spoken by the dead) sometimes tell us as
h about the emotional state of the poet as about the speaking "corpse(s)."

bbard, D. Christopher. "The Dutch Wives' Good Husbandry: Defoe's
'Roxana' and Financial Literacy." *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 37.2 (Win-
ter 2004): 237–51.

Defoe's novel as an inverted spiritual autobiography in which Roxana's financial illit-
y and inability undermine her manipulation of the forces of emerging capitalism.

llard, Christian. "On Defining Words, Some Scenarios and Vectors in
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(Nov. 2003): 571–91.

cludes that even though *Memories, Dreams, Reflections* was a collective work, it consti-
s a unified representation of Jung's inquiry into the unconscious.

nnon, Susanne. "'Dream(e)scapes': A Poetic Experiment in Writing a Self."
Auto/Biography 12.2 (2004): 107–125.

llenges realist conventions of self-writing by using a poem collected from recorded frag-
ts of dreams to show how feminist poststructural theory engages with psychoanalytic
discursive approaches to writing the self.

Jo. "Anne Sexton and Confessional Poetics." *Review of English Studies*
55.220 (2004): 425–45.

valuates Sexton's work, suggesting that "far from being the apotheosis of confessional-
" Sexton's writing negotiates and contests the boundaries of the confessional mode.

son, Annette. "Internalizing Mastery: Jean Rhys, Ford Madox Ford, and
the Fiction of Autobiography." *Modern Fiction Studies* 50.3 (Fall 2004):
632–56.

ows the biographical-textual connections between Rhys and Ford as contributing to the
ing of modernist and postmodern fiction

dfrey, Barry, and Jane Richardson. "Loss, Collective Memory and Tran-
scripted Oral Histories." *International Journal of Social Research Method-*
ology 7.2 (Apr. 2004): 143–55.

transcribed Australian oral histories from the late nineteenth and early twentieth cen-
s, reveals common narrative forms that suggest that individual narratives require appro-
strategies for interpreting within sociohistorical contexts.

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Goldman, Eric A. "Spilling Ink and Spilling Blood: Abolitionism, Violence, and Frederick Douglass's *My Bondage and My Freedom*." *A/B: Auto/Biography Studies* 17.2 (Winter 2002): 276–95.

Links changes between Douglass's 1845 *Narrative* and 1855 work to his growing acceptance of the use of violence to end slavery.

Goldschmidt, Myra M. "Identifying Labels among University Students in the New South Africa." *Journal of Black Studies* 34.2 (2003): 204–221.

Examines the relationship between political change and the sense of identity among students during a ten-year period.

Gray, Ross. "No Longer a Man: Using Ethnographic Fiction to Represent Life History Research." *Auto/Biography* 12.1 (2004): 44–61.

Defends the use of ethnographic fiction to present social science research.

Green, Anna. "Individual Remembering and 'Collective Memory': Theoretical Presuppositions and Contemporary Debates." *Oral History* 32.2 (2004): 35–44.

Green posits that "oral historians need to re-assert the value of individual remembering, and the capacity of the conscious self to contest and critique cultural scripts or discourses."

Greenleaf, Monika. "Performing Autobiography: The Multiple Memoirs of Catherine the Great (1756–96)." *Russian Review* 63.3 (July 2004): 407–426.

Focuses on Catherine's autobiographical writings about her literary works and cultural initiatives, and the place of autobiography among Enlightenment genres.

Gregg, Melissa. "A Neglected History: Richard Hoggart's Discourse of Empathy." *Rethinking History* 7.3 (Winter 2003): 285–306.

Draws on Hoggart's autobiography to clarify the political strategies balancing the disciplines of history and cultural studies in *The Uses of Literacy*.

Grove, Valerie. "Primary Research and the Biographer." *The Author* Spring 2004: 9–10.

Mentions the types of sources available to the serious biographer.

Guelzo, Allen C. "The Unlikely Intellectual Biography of Abraham Lincoln." *Transactions of the Charles S. Pierce Society* 40.1 (Winter 2004): 83–106.

Discusses Lincoln's intellectual biography, focusing on the views of his law partner William Henry Herndon, and on Lincoln's lack of self-revelation.

Hamilton, Louis. "Possidius' Augustine and Post-Augustinian Africa." *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 12.1 (Mar. 2004): 85–105.

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ough Possidius knew Augustine well, his *Vita* differs from the late antique hagiographi- style and Augustine's own *Confessions* to present a model for a post-Augustinian Africa.

mpson, Robert. "Memory False Memory: 'Days of '49' by Alan Halsey and Gavin Selerie." *New Formations* Autumn 2003: 48–56.

plores how a "collaborative project" documenting the year of the authors' births is a sub- ve potpourri of culturally diverse events and impressions.

rle, Roxanne. "'The Savage Inscription': Abolitionist Writers and the Reinscription of Slavery." *Mosaic* 37.2 (June 2004): 1–20.

g contemporary theories of the body, reads how abolitionist writers reinscribed the sav- other in representing the tortured slave body.

mon, Mark. "Missing Persons: Two Little Riddles about Kafka and Berlin." *New England Review* 25.1–2 (2004): 225–32.

scribes how a writer's personal connection with a city, both real and symbolic, can help ock the meaning of some of his writings.

rris, Rochelle. "Encouraging Emergent Moments: The Personal, Critical, and Rhetorical in the Writing Classroom." *Pedagogy* 4.3 (2004): 401–418.

that the uses and purposes of student texts are extremely empowering for the student ritic and learner when these texts involve personal writing on student-selected topics.

te, Liam. "'Somewhere beyond England and Ireland': Narratives of 'Home' in Second-Generation Irish Autobiography." *Irish Studies Review* 11.3 (Dec. 2003): 293–305.

ough auto/biographical works by diasporic Irish, explores the implications of Irish iden- loss and continuity.

rman, Geoffrey. "Trauma within the Limits of Literature." *European Journal of English Studies* 7.3 (Dec. 2003): 257–74.

ques the application of trauma theory to literature.

ad, Matthew. "Cultural Meanings for Women Composers: Charlotte ('Minna') Brandes and the Beautiful Dead in the German Enlightenment." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 57.2 (Summer 2004): 231–84.

scribes how Brandes's memorialization preserved and perfected her in keeping with the eenth-century fascination with the beautiful female dead.

ispenstall, Peter. "'On Missionaries and Cultural Change in Samoa': Derek Freeman preparing for a 'Heretical' Life." *Journal of Pacific History* 39.2 (Sept. 2004): 241–51.

sses Freeman's early work on Samoa.

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Henderson, I. H. "Speech Representation and Religious Rhetorics in Philostratus' 'Vita Apollonii.'" *Studies in Religion/Sciences Religieuses* 32.1–2 (2003): 19–37.

Argues that despite its shortcomings as historical biography, Philostratus's narrative reveals a range of Roman Empire religious and political speech.

Hettle, W. "The Minister, the Martyr, and the Maxim: Robert Lewis Dabney and Stonewall Jackson Biography." *Civil War History* 49.4 (Dec. 2003): 353–69.

Argues that Dabney's 1866 biography combined themes of modernity and proslavery morality in ways that underscored southern conservatism and impacted subsequent accounts.

Hollenberg, Donna Krolik. "'Obscure Directions': Interpreting Denise Levertov's Ambivalence about Ezra Pound." *Biography: An Interdisciplinary Quarterly* 27.4 (Fall 2004): 737–50.

Documents Levertov's ambivalence about Pound, and discusses issues raised for a biographer of Levertov in interpreting that evidence.

Hongo, Garrett. "The Mirror Diary." *Georgia Review* Summer 2004: 458–70.

Describes the "secret" diary of the author's own dreaming.

Hopkin, David M. "Storytelling, Fairytales and Autobiography: Some Observations on Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century French Soldiers' and Sailors' Memoirs." *Social History* 29.3 (May 2004): 186–98.

Points to the integration of fairytale motifs in memoirs by French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars veterans, as examples of storytelling among migrant male work communities.

Hubert, Judd David. "Reading Gertrude Stein in the Light of the Book Artists." *Modernism/Modernity* 10.4 (Dec. 2003): 677–704.

Contrasts interpretations of Stein's work by illustrators Clement Hurd, Susan Weil, Andrew Hoyem, Shirley Sharoff, Matthew Tyson, Aurélie de Nemours, and Irma Blank.

Ironside, Virginia. "Autobiography's Role as Catharsis." *The Author* Spring 2004: 18–19.

Autobiographers must often grapple with their so-called motives for writing about themselves.

James, Daniel, and Mirta Zaida Lobato. "Family Photos, Oral Narratives, and Identity Formation: The Ukrainians of Berisso." *Hispanic American Historical Review* 84.1 (2004): 3–36.

Examine the role of images in the "making of collective identities and national imaginaries in Latin America."

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efferson, Ann. "The Hagiographies of Pierre Michon: Rimbaud le fils." *French Studies* 58.2 (Apr. 2004): 205–217.

xplores Michon's quasi-biographical adoption of hagiographical strategies to position himself and his readers.

ohnson, Erica L. "Giving Up the Ghost: National and Literary Haunting in *Orlando*." *Modern Fiction Studies* 50.1 (Spring 2004): 110–28.

pplies Marxist, psychoanalytic, cultural studies, and trauma theories to the hauntings in *Orlando*.

ohnston, Lon B., and David Jenkins. "Coming Out in Mid-Adulthood: Building a New Identity." *Journal of Gay and Lesbian Social Services* 16.2 (2004): 19–42.

ocuses on a time when identity losses sometimes seem greater than identity gains.

ähkinen, Eeva. "The Making of Mothers in Diary Narratives." *Qualitative Inquiry* 10.3 (June 2004): 339–59.

ses narrative discourse analysis of texts by mothers from the 1960s, 1980s, and 1990s to highlight the confessional aspect of the form for diary keepers and researchers.

lly, Margaretta. "Censored/Uncensored: Lovers in Dialogue." *Auto/Biography* 12.2 (2004): 147–66.

ing excerpts from correspondence between Carole Harwood and her husband Kevin Litwood while she was in prison for dancing on the missile silos at Greenham Common Airce Base, considers personal letter writing in the context of "second wave" feminist politization of personal relationships.

——. "Corresponding in the Sex and Gender Revolution: Desire, Education and Feminist Letters, 1970–2000." *Gender, the Letter and Politics 1750–2000*. Ed. Maire Cross. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004.

xplores a variety of epistolary strategies and uses in letters from participants in second and rd wave feminist actions.

——. "Writing the Web: Letters from the Women's Peace Movement." *The Feminist Seventies* (Online Journal) (2003).

Because its emphasis was deeply activist and the flavor distinctly anarchist, Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp provided a specially interesting demonstration of the litical functions of women's letter writing."

nes, Rebecca. "*Blended Voices*: Crafting a Narrative from Oral History." *Oral History Review* 31.1 (Winter/Spring 2004): 1–23.

ing *Blended Voices*, a collection of oral histories of post-World War II immigrants to Aussia, discusses how to edit oral histories for publication.

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Jossua, F. P. "The Diary as a Literary Form and an Intinerary of Life." *Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Theologiques* 87.4 (Oct.-Dec. 2003): 703–714.

Suggests a periodization and typology of diaries based on addressee, poetics, and anthropological and ethical presuppositions.

Judge, Joan. "Blended Wish Images: Chinese and Western Exemplary Women at the Turn of the Twentieth Century." *Nan Nu: Men, Women, and Gender in Early and Imperial China* 6.1 (Mar. 2004): 102–135.

Explores how biographies of Western women were added to the traditional repertoire of exemplary Chinese women in new-style textbooks and women's journals as part of a complex process of accommodating foreign ideas.

Juhila, Kirsi. "Talking Back to Stigmatized Identities." *Qualitative Social Work* 3.3 (2004): 259–75.

Findings show that shelter residents frequently refer to their "given identities," toward which they often adopt a critical attitude rather than taking them for granted.

Kane, Thomas H. "Mourning the Promised Land: Martin Luther King Jr.'s Automortography and the National Civil Rights Museum." *American Literature* 76.3 (2004): 549–77.

Automortography "shows the self anticipating an impending death and scripting the response of the posthumous audience."

Kaplan, Robert. "O Anna: Being Bertha Pappenheim—Historiography and Biography." *Australasian Psychiatry* 12.1 (2004): 62–68.

Reviews the case of Anna O as reconstructed by succeeding generations of analysts.

Kearns, Judith. "Fashioning Innocence: Rhetorical Construction of Character in the Memoirs of Anne, Lady Halkett." *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 46.3 (2004): 340–62.

Argues that by appropriating the conventions of romance, Halkett fashioned her memoirs to justify behavior that endangered her reputation.

Kelleter, Frank. "Ethnic Self-Dramatization and Technologies of Travel in *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African, Written by Himself*." *Early American Literature* 39.1 (Mar. 2004): 67–84.

Posits Equiano's narrative as an example of cultural hybridity in the age of colonialism.

Keren, Michael. "National Icons and Personal Identities in Three Israeli Autobiographies." *Biography: An Interdisciplinary Quarterly* 27.2 (Spring 2004): 357–83.

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plores how the status of Yigal Allon, Moshe Dayan, and Yitzhak Rabin as national icons fected their life writing.

ershaw, Ian. "Personality and Power: The Individual's Role in the History of Twentieth-Century Europe." *The Historian* Autumn 2004: 8–19.

ographical investigation can serve as a "prism" to help further the understanding of historical events, movements, and figures.

ely, Elizabeth. "'What Would I Be Doing at Home All Day': Oral Narratives of Irish Married Women's Working Lives, 1936–1960." *Women's History Review* 13.3 (2004): 427–46.

mpares oral histories on women's working lives in three Irish counties to the political and ligious discourses of the day.

ersky, Sandra M. "Perilous Crossings: Tales of Gender, Identification, and Exiled Desires." *Journal of Lesbian Studies* 8.1–2 (2004): 191–207.

cording to Kiersky, "gender is a fluid, ambiguous and contextual aspect of identity."

ser, Lisa J. "Animal Economies: The Lives of St. Francis in Their Medieval Contexts." *ISLE* 11.1 (Winter 2004): 121–38.

cuses on environmental and economic issues in depictions of animals in medieval giographies of Francis.

inknecht, Erica, and Denise Beike. "How Knowing and Doing Inform an Autobiography: Relations Among Preschoolers' Theory of Mind, Narrative, and Event Memory Skills." *Applied Cognitive Psychology* 18.6 (Sept. 2004): 745–64.

ints out implications for the development of autobiographical memory of a research study the content and structure of preschoolers' memory narratives.

uffman, Avra. "Reflections on the Sacred: Mystical Diaries of Stuart England." *Things of the Spirit: Women Writers Constructing Spirituality.* Ed. Kristina Groover. South Bend: U of Notre Dame P, 2004.

cuses on the diaries of Jane Lead and Ann(e) Bathurst.

ozoll, Richard H., and Margery D. Osborne. "Finding Meaning in Science: Lifeworld, Identity, and Self." *Science Education* 88.2 (2004): 157–81.

sed on empirical case study interviews with young adult migrant agricultural workers, plores questions of identity in the teaching and learning of science.

likoff, Allan. "Electric Ben: Ben Franklin and Popular History." *Journal of the Historical Society* 4.2 (Spring 2004): 211–44.

rough Franklin biographies, assesses what scholars can learn from popular histories.

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Kunin, Aaron. "Other Hands in Pepys's Diary." *Modern Language Quarterly* 65.2 (2004): 195–219.

In a sense, the diary which is a single voice that "claims only to represent a day" is also able to "speak for an entire historical period."

Lamarque, Peter. "On Not Expecting Too Much from Narrative." *Mind and Language* 19.4 (2004): 393–408.

Uses a "narrative definition of the self" to show that most narratives, including life narratives, promise more than they can actually deliver.

Landy, Joshua. "Proust, His Narrator, and the Importance of the Distinction." *Poetics Today* 25.1 (2004): 91–135.

Invites us to "take Marcel's memoir as a model for how we should think about our lives, not how we should write about them."

Larson, Thomas. "Our Samuel Clemens: Mark Twain in the Age of Personal Disclosure." *Southern Humanities Review* 38.2 (2004): 135–53.

The sharing of "archival material via the Internet" is driving people's interest in and access to a "warts and all" approach to biographical seeking.

Laurenson-Shakibi, Helen. "Como debajo de un vidrio: Rafael Alberti and the Autobiographical Act." *Romance Studies* 21.3 (Nov. 2003): 203–213.

Focuses on conflicts between truth and memory, and on Alberti's narrative strategies for constructing an autobiographical self.

Lauterback, Frank. "Textual Errands into the Carceral Wilderness: Prison Autobiographies and the Construction of Cultural Hegemonies." *In the Grip of the Law: Trials, Prisons and the Space Between.* Ed. Monika Fludernik and Greta Olson. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2004. 127–43.

Compares the constructions of personal and cultural identities in American and English prison narratives.

Leach, Laurie. "Lying, Writing, and Confrontation: Mary McCarthy and Lillian Hellman." *LIT: Literature Interpretation Theory* 15.1 (Jan.-Mar. 2004): 5–28.

Explores the controversies relating to truth, falsehood, and libel arising from McCarthy's and Hellman's divergent autobiographies.

Leibovici, Solange. "Remembering, Acting-Out, Working-Through: The Case of Sarah Kofman." *PsyART* 8 (Mar.-June 2004) (e-journal).

Argues that in contrast to Primo Levi's autobiographical work, in which trauma is repeated as narrative and translated into the symbolic order, Kofman remains in the illusionary order of the autobiographical mirror stage, repeating and acting out childhood events.

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eigh, David J. "Hope, Resistance, and Poetry in Two Russian Autobiographies." *Renascence* 56.3 (Spring 2004): 197–207.

alyzes the use of hope in the titles of autobiographies by Nadezhda Mandelstam and Irina ushinskaya in light of Russian Orthodox theology.

ebler, Carolyn A. "American Indian Ethnic Identity: Tribal Nonresponse in the 1990 Census." *Social Science Quarterly* 85.2 (2004): 310–23.

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ejeune, Philippe. "Auto-Genesis: Genetic Studies of Autobiographical Texts." *Genetic Criticism: Texts and Avant-Textes.* Ed. Jed Deppman, Daniel Ferrer, and Michael Groden. Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 2004. 192–217.

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David Leiwei. "On Ascriptive and Acquisitional Americanness: *The Accidental Asian* and the Illogic of Assimilation." *Contemporary Literature* 45.1 (Spring 2004): 106–134.

plores the variety of cultural assimilation in Eric Lui's autobiography.

em, Ramsay. "History, Trauma, and Identity: The Legacy of the Korean War for Korean Americans." *Amerasia Journal* 39.3 (2003/2004): 111–39.

interpreting Korean-American oral family histories in which the pivotal event was the rean War, highlights the connection between "the private lives of individuals and signifant periods of political conflict and trauma."

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cuses on the deliberate narrative use of photography by early twentieth century conserative Protestant missionaries to expand their evangelical work.

ovell, Steven. "Biography, History, and Finitude: Understanding the Life Span in Early-Nineteenth-Century Russia." *Slavonic and East European Review* 82.2 (Apr. 2004): 246–67.

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Studies the rhetorical implications of speech-reporting strategies in medieval East Slavic hagiographies by Nestor of the Caves (Life of Feodosij, 11th century) and Kirill of Turov (late 12th century).

Lucas, Belén Martín. "A World of My Own: Margaret Cavendish's Auto/Biographical Texts." *Re-Shaping the Genres: Restoration Women Writers.* Ed. Jorge Figueroa Dorrego and Zenón Luis Martínez. Bern: Peter Lang, 2003. 213–32.

Analyzes Cavendish's mixing of genres.

Lucas, Belén Martín, Rosalía Baena, Dollors Collemir, and Rocío G. Davis. "Narrative Strategies of Life Writing in the New Literatures in English." *Fifty Years of English Studies in Spain (1952–2002): A Commemorative Volume.* Ed. Ignacio Palacios et al. Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, 2003. 847–57.

Discusses new developments in life writing techniques and styles.

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Magro, Maria. "Spiritual Autobiography and Radical Sectarian Women's Discourse: Anna Trapnel and the Bad Girls of the English Revolution." *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 34.2 (Spring 2004): 405–437.

Considers the female subjectivity presented in Trapnel's *Report and Plea* (1654) as spiritual autobiography, and its relationship to sectarianism and radicalism.

Mahoney, Maryjo. "Signs of Waking." *Northwest Review* 42.3 (2004): 132–51.

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Mason, Jennifer. "Personal Narratives, Relational Selves: Residential Histories in the Living and Telling." *Sociological Review* 52.2 (May 2004): 162–79.

Uses a qualitative study of personal narratives about residential histories from the North of England to consider how far social identity and agency should be seen as individualized or relational concepts.

Mattison, Michelle. "Grete Weil, a Jewish Author?" *German Studies Review* 27.1 (2004): 113–27.

Observes that "the reciprocal instability of Jewish and German identity is at the very heart of the literary self-representations of the Jewish writer in Germany."

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Mays, Kelly J. "When a 'Speck' Begins to Read: Literacy and the Politics of Self-Improvement in Nineteenth-Century British Working-Class Autobiography." *Reading Sites: Social Difference and Reader Response.* Ed. Patrocinio P. Schweickart and Elizabeth A. Flynn. New York: MLA, 2004. 108–134.

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McCabe, Scott, and Elizabeth H. Stokoe. "Place and Identity in Tourists' Accounts." *Annals of Tourism Research* 31.3 (2004): 601–622.

Asks whether where you are influences who you are and vice versa.

McClain, Carol Shepherd. "Black by Choice: Identity Preferences of Americans of Black/White Parentage." *Black Scholar* 34.2 (2004): 43–54.

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McGeer, Victoria. "Autistic Self-Awareness." *Philosophy, Psychiatry, and Psychology* 11.3 (Sept. 2004): 235–51.

Offers an account of self-awareness and self-report that provides a methodology for explaining autistic symptoms.

McKinney, Donald. "Teaching the Stories of Scientists and Their Discoveries." *Science Teacher* 71.9 (Nov. 2004): 46–51.

Suggests ways teachers can include the history of science in curricula, and the impact including science history and biography can have on student learning.

McLellan, Josiel. "The Politics of Communist Biography: Alfred Kantorowicz and the Spanish Civil War." *German History* 22.4 (Nov. 2004): 536–62.

Points out the retrospective self-justifications in Kantorowicz's memoirs which enabled him to avoid discussing his own behavior as a Stalinist functionary.

Milne, Lorna, and Maeve McCusker. "'Troubler l'order de l'oubli': Memory and Forgetting in French Caribbean Autobiography of the 1990s." *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 40.4 (2004): 438–50.

Uses the upsurge in autobiographical narratives in the Antilles in the 1990s as a response to the 500th anniversary of Columbus and the 150th anniversary of the abolition of slavery.

Monius, Anne. "Siva as Heroic Father: Theology and Hagiography in Medieval South India." *Harvard Theological Review* 97.2 (Apr. 2004): 165–97.

Discusses the hagiographical presentation of Siva in the *Periyapuranam,* and its impact on the Tamil Saiva tradition.

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Moore, Cornelia. "The Magdeburg Cathedral Pastor Siegfried Saccus and the Development of the Lutheran Funeral Biography." *Sixteenth Century Journal* 35.1 (Spring 2004): 79–95.

Takes Saccus's (1427–1496) funeral sermons as examples of the homiletic possibilities in the emerging tradition of biographically informed funeral orations.

Mula, Stefano. "Muhammad and the Saints: The History of the Prophet in the *Golden Legend*." *Modern Philology* 101.2 (Nov. 2003): 175–88.

Analyzes the presentation of the Prophet Muhammad in James of Voragine's collection of saint's lives.

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Introduces the idea of punctualized identity, which involves a "'revealing' of each specified identity within the here and now" depending upon the demands of a particular time.

Murphy, Sara. "Mourning and Metonymy: Bearing Witness Between Women and Generations." *Hypatia* 19.4 (Fall 2004): 142–66.

Suggests replacing the Kantian concept of dignity Drucilla Cornell uses in her ethics of self-representation with an approach drawn from Irigaray's critique of Levinas.

Nadel, Ira. "Writing Tom Stoppard." *Journal of Modern Literature* 27.3 (Winter 2004): 19–29.

Considers ways to write a biography of Stoppard given his reticience and belief that the past can be invented but not reproduced.

Nager, Elizabeth A., and Brian de Vries. "Memorializing on the World Wide Web: Patterns of Grief and Attachment in Adult Daughters of Deceased Mothers." *Omega* 49.1 (2004): 43–56.

Article reveals that "many bereaved persons are creating memorial Web sites for deceased loved ones, providing text-based representations of what they have lost."

Nancarrow, Mindy. "The Seventeenth-Century Spanish Vida: Producing Sanctity with Words and Images." *Woman's Art Journal* 25.1 (Spring/Summer 2004): 32–38.

Shows how professional vida writers reconstructed the subject's life according to established rules for Christian hagiography, often including a portrait that similarly reinforced codes of religious presentation.

Nanxiu Qian. "'Borrowing Foreign Mirrors and Candles to Illuminate Chinese Civilization': Xue Shaohui's Moral Vision in the Biographies of Foreign Women." *Nan Nu: Men, Women, and Gender in Early and Imperial China* 6.1 (Mar. 2004): 60–101.

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amines how Xue Shaohui's reconceived women's virtues by rewriting the original stories included in *Waiguo lienü zhuan* (Biographies of foreign women), the first systematic oduction of foreign women to Chinese readers.

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t media coverage of India's six Miss World and Miss Universe title-holders authorizes ideological interests of India's consuming classes by presenting the global beauty queen hybrid hero preserving authentic national identity while succeeding in the global arena.

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nsiders issues raised by the growing amount and use of archived qualitative (as opposed statistical) data, which has generally been generated by a researcher and respondent.

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rl, Monica B. "AIDS and Melancholia in Paris: Edmund White's Textual Incorporation of His Dying Lover." *Auto/Biography* 12.1 (2004): 34–43.

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Reads White's *Sketches from Memory* as a dialogic text that reveals an internalized ambivalence common to melancholia.

Pekacz, J. T. "Memory, History and Meaning: Musical Biography and Its Discontents." *Journal of Musicological Research* 23.1 (Jan. 2004): 39–80.

Critiques traditional assumptions of musical biography in view of epistemological, methodological, and narratological developments in life writing.

Pelizzon, V. Penelope, and Nancy M. West. "'Good Stories' from the Mean Streets: Weegee and Hard-Boiled Autobiography." *Yale Journal of Criticism* 17.1 (Spring 2004): 20–49.

Focuses on the influence of crime scene photographer Arthur Fellig on American popular culture, while reconsidering his work as autobiography.

Pihlainen, Kallel. "Representing Identities: Transforming Acts into Gestures?" *Rethinking History* 7.3 (Winter 2003): 307–313.

Using Sartre's biography of Flaubert, examines the gap between an individual's self-identity in a given situation and later appropriation for purposes of communal and identity politics.

Pitts, Alice. "Reading Women's Autobiography: On Losing and Refinding the Mother." *Changing English* 11.2 (Oct. 2004): 267–78.

Surveys autobiographical texts for descriptions of mothers, and analyzes common responses of female students to the perceived negative representations.

Poletti, Anna. "Life Writing in Zines: Memory, Public Spaces and Intimacy." *New Media Poetics* 3 (May 2004). (online journal)

A close reading of zines, focusing on memory, public places, and self-understanding.

Popkin, Jeremy. "Facing Racial Revolution: Captivity Narratives of the Saint Domingue Uprising." *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 36.4 (Summer 2003): 511–33.

Shows how narratives by white captives during the slave revolution that led to the creation of the independent black republic of Haiti deconstruct autonomous white male egos.

Porter, David. "Beyond the Bounds of Truth: Cultural Translation and William Chamber's Chinese Garden." *Mosaic* 37.2 (June 2004): 40–64.

Examines Chambers's writings on Chinese eighteenth-century travel narratives highlighting eighteenth-century exoticism.

Preece, Julian. "Between Identification and Documentation: 'Autofiction' and 'Biopic': The Lives of the RAF." *German Life and Letters* 56 (2003): 363–76.

Shows how generational affiliation and gender impact biographies, films, and fiction depicting members of the Red Army Faction.

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Pulido, Alberto López. "Engraving Emotions: Memory and Identity in the Quest for Emotive Scholarship." *Crosscurrents* 54.2 (2004): 45–50.

A scholar "seeks answers to experiences that on the surface appear to be hidden."

Rajagopal, V. "The Rhetorical Strategy of an Autobiography: Reading Satyavati's *Atmacaritamu*." *Indian Economic and Social History Review* 40.4 (Oct.-Dec. 2003): 377–402.

Locates one of the first autobiographies by a woman in Telugu in the corpus of writing by women in India in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Rak, Julie. "Pain and Painting: William Kurelek and Autobiography as Mourning." *Mosaic* 37.2 (June 2004): 21–39.

Considers Kurelek's autobiography *Someone with Me*, and his allegorical paintings, as charting a movement from melancholia to mourning, from reenacting psychic pain to recording social losses.

Ramadanovic, Petar. "*Black Boy*'s Comedy: Indestructibility and Anonymity in Autobiographical Self-Making." *Callaloo* 27.2 (Spring 2004): 502–21.

Reads Richard Wright's *Black Boy* through Lacan's understanding of the comic hero and de Man's analysis of autobiography.

Reay, Diane. "Cultural Capitalists and Academic Habitus: Classed and Gendered Labour in UK Higher Education." *Women's Studies International Forum* 27.1 (Jan.-Feb. 2004): 31–39.

In detailing the repercussions of an elitist and masculinized academy on female contract researchers, shows how autobiography can be combined with gender and class analysis.

Reed, Matt T. "'La manie d'Écrire': Psychology, Auto-Observation, and Case History." *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences* 40.3 (Summer 2004): 265–84.

Examines the modern psychiatric case study, based on autobiographical patient narratives, as a scientific method and as a genre for writing about the self.

Regard, Frédéric. "Replacing the Self in Cardinal Newman's *Apologia*." *Biography: An Interdisciplinary Quarterly* 27.4 (Fall 2004): 721–36.

Analyzes how Newman articulates nineteenth-century conceptions of time through a canonical conception of prophetism, using a technique of "replacement" that deconstructs itself as a metaphorical process.

Rickey, Carrie. "Film Biographies Find 'Truth' in Art." *Philadelphia Inquirer* 13 July 2004: F1, 4.

Notes that many biographies are impressionistic, and sometimes, if the subject is an artist, "a canvas, song, or film can be the window to the soul."

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Riley, Patrick. "Fables of the Self and Subject: On Cartesian Autobiography with and against Augustine." *Papers on French Seventeenth Century Literature* 31.60 (2004): 151–73.

Compares Descartes's *Discours de la méthode* as autobiographical prose, and its treatment of subjectivity, to Augustine's *Confessions.*

Robbins, Ruth. "Hidden Lives and Ladies' Maids: Margaret Forster's Elizabeth Barrett Brownings." *Women* 15.2 (Summer 2004): 217–29.

Through Margaret Forster's two versions of the life of Browning—one a biography, one a novel told from the point of view of her lady's maid—explores the connection between Victorian women's self-representations and class privilege.

Roberts, Brian. "Biography, Time, and Local History-making." *Rethinking History* 8.1 (Spring 2004): 89–102.

Explores how individuals situate personal histories within local community narratives and popular social narratives.

Robson, Kathryn. "Bodily Detours: Sarah Kofman's Narratives of Childhood Trauma." *Modern Language Review* 99.3 (July 2004): 608–621.

Applies trauma and Freudian theories to Kofman's accounts of body functions and childhood trauma.

Rolling, James Haywood, Jr. "Messing around with Identity Constructs: Pursuing a Poststructural and Poetic Aesthetic." *Qualitative Inquiry* 10.4 (2004): 548–57.

Probes a son's identity crisis after the death of his father, using an autoethnographic framework.

Rosenstone, Robert A. "Confessions of a Postmodern Historian." *Rethinking History* 8.1 (Spring 2004): 149–66.

Uses his personal story to advocate for memoir, fictional biography, and history on film as ways of making the past important and meaningful.

Ross, William T. "Bertrand Russell in His Nineties: Aging and the Problem of Biography." *Journal of Aging and Identity* 6.2 (2004): 67–76.

Russell's biographers' attribution of his behavior in the nineties to "senility," when similar behavior when younger was not attributed to mental shortcomings, reveals powerful predispositions that shape accounts of subjects' later years.

Rossi, Andreola. "Parallel Lives: Hannibal and Scipio in Livy's Third Decade." *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 134.2 (Autumn 2004): 359–81.

Shows how Livy constructed Hannibal and Scipio as parallel lives to contrast Rome's past *virtus* and present decline.

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utherglenn, Susannah. "Merleau-Ponty's Doubt: Cézanne and the Problem of Artistic Biography." *Word & Image* 20.3 (July 2004): 219–27.

fers Merleau-Ponty's study of Cézanne as a model of phenomenological inquiry that recciles literature and history—individual perceptions and cultural forces.

yan, Kathleen J. "Memory, Literacy, and Invention: Reimagining the Canon of Memory for the Writing Classroom." *Composition Studies* 32.1 (2004): 35–47.

ows the importance of encouraging students to use memory to compose personal essays.

ijnani, Nisha. "Strategic Narratives: The Embodiment of Minority Discourses in Biographical Performance." *Canadian Theatre Review* 117 (Winter 2004): 33–37.

nsiders the responses to marginalization by minority and immigrant women writers and formers of personal narratives.

ndahl, Carrie. "Queering the Crip or Cripping the Queer." *GLQ* 9.1–2 (2003): 25–56.

tes intersections of "queer" and disabled identities in solo autobiographical performance.

al, Joanne. "Ghost Selves: The (Auto)biographical Voices of *Mothertalk*." *A/B: Auto/Biography Studies* 17.2 (Winter 2002): 221–44.

plores the generic blurring resulting from the collaborative construction and publication Mary Kiyoshi Kiyooka's stories, involving the work of translating and editing by Matsu-Masutani, Roy Kiyooka, and Daphne Marlatt.

hrader, Claudia. "The Power of Autobiography." *Changing English* 11.1 (Mar. 2004): 115–24.

scusses pedagogical approaches to personal narrative.

chechter, Daniel S. "Letter from Chicago: On Aging and Judaism." *Conservative Judaism* 56.2 (2004): 70–76.

gages how the aging process forces all individuals to go through self-redefinition and self-ssment.

huster, Shlomit."The Autobiography of I and Thou: A Philosohical Psychoanalysis." *Existential Analysis* 15.1 (2004): 133–43.

ads Buber's work in light of his autobiography.

gal, Lynne. "Lost Worlds: Political Memoirs of the Left in Britain." *Radical Philosophy* 121 (Sept.-Oct. 2003): 6–23.

scusses writings that address the "fragility of memory, as it stretches tenuously across the blic-private divide."

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Sekulic, Dusko. "Civic and Ethnic Identity: The Case of Croatia." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 27.3 (2004): 455–83.

Focuses on the concept of "civic identity" as a means of circumventing the narrowness of "ethnic identification."

Selz, Gebhard J. "Composite Beings: Of Individualization and Objectification in Third Millennium Mesopotamia." *Archiv Orientální* 72 (2004): 33–53.

Suggests that because Mesopotamians had a refined concept of the "reconstructiveness of a person's identity," increasing reflexivity led to social and political change.

Shardakova, Marya, and Aneta Pavlenko. "Identity Options in Russian Textbooks." *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education* 3.1 (2004): 25–46.

Introduces a "new analytical approach to the study of identity options offered in foreign and second language textbooks."

Sharkey, Judy. "Lives Stories Don't Tell: Exploring the Untold in Autobiographies." *Curriculum Inquiry* 34.4 (Winter 2004): 495–512.

Examines social and political contexts in challenging teachers and teacher-educators to reflect on their roles in creating the contexts that affect autobiographical texts.

Shepherd, N. "'When the hand that holds the trowel is black . . .': Disciplinary Practices of Self-Representation and the Issue of 'Native' Labour in Archaelogy." *Journal of Social Archaeology* 3.3 (Oct. 2003): 334–52.

Reframes photographs from archives of sub-Saharan archaeologist John Goodwin to restore biographical agency and narrative to those marginalized in the practice of archaeology.

Sikka, Sonia. "'Learning to Be Indian': Historical Narratives and the 'Choice' of a Cultural Identity." *Dialogue* 43.2 (2004): 339–54.

Refers to the "apparent need, felt by many people, to 'reconnect' with, or strengthen their links with, a culture in which they have never been embedded."

Sim, Cheryl. "The Personal as Pedagogical Practice." *Teachers and Teaching* 10.4 (2004): 351–64.

Uses data gathered as part of an Australian national research study to examine the practice of "teacher disclosure."

Sloan, Kris. "The 'I' before the 'Thou' before the 'It': Autobiography, Conversation, and Curriculum." *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 36.1 (Jan.-Feb. 2004): 117–30.

Addresses current research on autobiographical-based curriculum inquiry through a review of *Teacher Education and the Cultural Imagination* by Florio-Ruane and de Tar.

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ince, Sebastian. "Reading Faces." *Prospect* 98 (May 2004): 40–42.
hen a "facial coding expert" was asked to "read" some portraits, more was learned about e artist than the sitter.

mith, Thomas R. "Blurring Distinctions: Autobiography and Identity in Bruce Chatwin's *The Songlines.*" *Bucknell Review* 47.2 (2004): 90–103.
packs Chatwin's account of his wanderings in Australia.

——. "Narrative and Consciousness." *Journal of Consciousness Studies* 11.5–6 (2004): 146–55.
views interdisciplinary work anthologized in *Narrative and Consciousness: Literature, Psychology, and the Brain,* ed. Gary D. Fireman, Ted E. McVay, Jr., and Owen J. Flanagan.

tead, Jennifer. "Disjecta Membra Poetae: The Aesthetics of the Fragment and Johnson's Biographical Practice in the *Lives of the English Poets.*" *Age of Johnson* 15 (2004): 37–56.
scusses how Johnson puts together details, anecdotes, and fragments.

derqvist, Thomas. "Lives of Scientists as Sources for Ethical Reflection." *Friends of the Wellcome Library and Centre for the History of Medicine Newsletter* 30 (2003): 8–10.
roduces a range of ethical issues raised by reading the lives of scientists.

——. "Scientific biography à la Plutarch." *Jahrbuch 2002 des Collegium Helveticum.* Ed. Helga Nowotny. Zurich: Hochschulverlag, 2003.
fers a Plutarchian approach to science life writing.

——. "Wissenschaftsgeschichte à la Plutarch: Biographie über Wissenschaftler als tugendethische Gattung." *Biographie schreiben.* Ed. Hans Erich Bödeker. Göttingen: Wallstein, 2003. 287–325.
mines biographies of scientists as ethical texts.

lovyova, Natalia. "The National and 'the Other' as a Biography of the Creative Mind: *Orlando* by Virginia Woolf." *Woolf across Cultures.* Ed. Natalya Reinhold. New York: Pace UP, 2004. 215–25.
ds *Orlando* for Woolf's remaking of national identities and otherness.

arkes, Andrew C. "Bodies, Narratives, Selves, and Autobiography: The Example of Lance Armstrong." *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 28.4 (Nov. 2004): 397–428.
plores the cultural shaping of Armstrong's *It's Not About the Bike: My Journey Back to Life,* e autobiography cycles from cyborg narrative to restitution narrative to quest narrative, d a return to original body-self relationships.

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Squier, Susan. "Meditation, Disability, and Identity." *Literature and Medicine* 23.1 (2004): 23–45.

According to Squier, for many disabled meditators, there is a gap between the embrace of disability as a "collective constructed identity and the Zen-influenced surrender of any notion of identity at all."

Stevens, Peter. "An 'I' for an Eye: The Personal and the Private—Autobiography, Essay, and Story." *Cross Cultures* 74 (2004): 71–92.

Focuses on generic intersections in Mavis Gallant's work.

Stover, Johnnie M. "Nineteenth-century African American Women's Autobiography as Social Discourse: The Example of Harriet Ann Jacobs." *College English* 66.2 (Nov. 2003): 133–54.

Views black women's "life experiences within a historical context" that saw the negation of black Americans' humanity and self-worth.

Stow, G. B. "The Continuation of the *Eulogium Historiarum*: Some Revisionist Perspectives." *English Historical Review* 119.482 (June 2004): 667–81.

Examines the *Continuatio Eulogium*'s narrative of Richard II's reign.

Sullivan, Gerald. "A Four-fold Humanity: Margaret Mead and Psychological Types." *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences* 40.2 (Spring 2004): 183–206.

Shows how Mead's "squares" hypothesis of four primary and four intermediary personality types applies to individuals and to the psychological positioning of individuals in cultures.

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Defines ethnographic autobiography as a life story told to an anthropologist or one interpreted socioculturally rather than psychologically.

Wood, Mary E. "'I've Found Him!': Diagnostic Narrative in *The DSM-IV Casebook*." *Narrative* 12.2 (May 2004): 195–220.

Shows how shadow narratives expose storytelling aspects of narratives of schizophrenic diagnosis, and tensions within universalist Western narratives of schizophrenia.

Workman, Mark E. "Obscured Beginnings in Personal Narratives of Sexual Jealousy and Trauma." *Narrative* 12.2 (2004): 249–62.

Explores "narratives with imperfect beginnings": those by tellers who are unable "to adequately retrieve the moment" of their stories' inceptions.

Wu, Cynthia. "Marked Bodies, Marking Time: Reclaiming the Warrior in Audre Lorde's *The Cancer Journals*." *A/B: Auto/Biography Studies* 17.2 (Winter 2002): 245–61.

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Zlotnick-Sivan, H. "Moses the Persian? Exodus-II, the 'Other' and Biblical 'Mnemohistory': Exploring Post-Exilic Pentateuchal Redaction." *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 116.2 (2004): 189–205.

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DISSERTATIONS

Al-Shaikh, Abdul-Rahim. "Beyond the Last Twilight: An Annotated Translation of Barghuthi's Autobiography *Al-Daw' As-Azraq* (The Blue Light)." Utah, 2004. *DAI-A* 65.1 (July 2004): 155.

Annoted translation, with historical and critical contextualization, of 1997 novelized autobiography by Palestinian author and activist Hussein al-Barghuthi.

Alston, Vermonja Romona. "Race-crossings at the Crossroads of African

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American Travel in the Caribbean." Arizona, 2004. *DAI-A* 65.4 (Oct. 2004): 1354.

mines the ways in which the Caribbean has been packaged by and for African-Ameri- s as a place to re-engage with romanticized African origins.

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lores how Asian American theater and performance artists negotiate the use and per- ion of autobiography in their art works.

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ctifictional study of Kathy Acker's life and works that theorizes auto/biography as it cri- es the conventions of traditional scholarship.

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m Thucydides's portrayal of Pericles and Alcibiades, Augustine's conception of author- and analyses of Franklin Delano Roosevelt's and post-FDR presidencies, argues for the nstruction of political forms that encourage, harness, and restrain civic passions.

linger, Elizabeth Ann. "A Long Way from Home: Class, Identity, and Ethics in Autobiography." Connecticut, 2004. *DAI-A* 65.3 (Sept. 2004): 928.

ng texts by John Edgar Wideman, Russell Baker, Agate Nesaule, and Bobbie Ann son, analyzes the ethical nature of the representations of working-class family members d significant others by autobiographers who are trying to reconcile their own class-iden- conflicts.

llman, Amy Kallio. "Dangerous Eloquence: Hate Speech Tactics in the Discourse of Asa/Forrest Carter from 1954–1974." Oklahoma, 2004. *DAI-A* 65.2 (Aug. 2004): 493.

dies the political life and writings of Asa Earl Carter and the literary writings he pro- ed under the name Forrest Carter.

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Relates the depiction of exile and homecoming in hagiography and romance to the gendered nature of medieval social relations.

Camargo, Carlos Fernando. "Immigrant Subjectivities and Commodity Culture: Cultural Citizenship, Americanization, and Immigrant Autobiographies in the Late-Twentieth Century United States." California-Berkeley, 2003. *DAI-A* 65.2 (Aug. 2004): 513.

Theorizes the relationship between identity formations in narratives of Americanization and the social discourses and material practices that make these texts possible.

Claycomb, Ryan Matthew. "Playing at Lives: Life Writing and Contemporary Feminist Drama." Maryland-College Park, 2004. *DAI-A* 64.12 (June 2004): 4458.

Points out challenges and possibilities for feminist playwrights and performers of autobiographical performance, biographical plays, and staged oral histories.

Condon, Matthew George. "Mimetic Identities: The Rupture of the Other in Self-Narratives." Chicago, 2003. *DAI-A* 64.7 (Jan. 2004): 2518.

Reads Augustine's and Rousseau's *Confessions* and Roth's *Operation Shylock* to show how narratives of self-fashioning are produced performatively, rhetorically, and ethically.

Cudahy, Mary Atlanta. "Ingeborg Bachmann and Marieluise Fleisser: Post-aesthetic Autobiography." California-Berkeley, 2003. *DAI-A* 64.9 (Mar. 2004): 3311.

Shows how Bachmann's and Fleisser's work rejects Brecht's and Eliot's exaltation of the impersonal, but embraces the modernist stylistics of disjuncture, fissure, and non-linearity.

De Villiers, Nicholas Andrew. "Opacities: Queer Strategies." Minnesota, 2004. *DAI-A* 65.4 (Oct. 2004): 1355.

Examining Foucault's, Barthes's, and Warhol's use of forms typically linked to authenticity and truth-telling—auto/biography, diary, and interview—suggests opacity as an alternative queer strategy to closetedness.

Dresdner, Lisa. "Spatial Self-Representations: Identities of Space and Place in Twentieth Century American Women's Autobiographies." Loyola-Chicago, 2003. *DAI-A* 64.8 (Feb. 2004): 2886.

Examines how space and place contribute to the shape and content of self-representation in life writing by Audre Lorde, Terry Tempest Williams, Gretel Ehrlich, and Nancy Mairs.

Duff, Kerry A. "Biographies of Scale: The Life Writing of Nineteenth-Century 'Dwarfs' and 'Giants.'" Michigan State, 2003. *DAI-A* 64.8 (Feb. 2004): 2887.

Reads nineteenth-century life writing by midgets and giants as performances of enfreaked selfhood that fracture the logic of the democratic subject.

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yzes that feminist approaches have changed the subjects of literary biography, but not the ms and structures that allowed women to be written out of history in the first place.

arza, Cecilia. "Escritura Autobiografica en el Peru contemporaneo." New York University, 2004. *DAI-A* 65.3 (Sept. 2004): 950.

yzes six autobiographical texts by twentieth century Peruvian writers as personal versions ruvian history and culture and reflections on the role of the professional writer.

, Broderick Benn. "The 'I' Behind the Image: Mobilizing Subjectivity through Film, Video, and New Media." Southern California, 2003. *DAI-A* 64.9 (Mar. 2004): 3115.

yzes alternative sites of embodied subjectivity in the visual record, and investigates their entials for historical revision, personal expression, and political action.

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yzes that Carlos Rojas, Antonio Gala, and Manuel Vázquez undermine contemporary logies by blending historical essays and biographies with their own experiences and imagions.

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plores the construction of St. George as a crucial component in the development of Engational identity.

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yzes for the centrality of embodiment in the construction of individual and collective ities framed by discourses of national inclusiveness in work by Denise Chong, Daphne Marlatt, and Maria Campbell.

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Hammond, Paul D. "A Private Life as Public Discourse: Thomas Bernhard's Autobiography and the First Victim Myth." Rutgers, 2004. *DAI-A* 65.5 (Nov. 2004): 1799.

Shows how Bernhard uses autobiography's privileged position as an interlocutor among individual and collective memory and history to address postwar Austrian victim rhetoric.

Hansen, Signe Lindskov. "Den glemte genre. Laesninger af danske forsker og laerdomsbiografier fra 1750 til i dag" [The Forgotten Genre: Readings of Danish Biographies of Scientists and Scholars from 1750 Onwards]. U of Copenhagen, 2004. Danish, with English summary.

Study of the Danish éloge tradition in publications by the Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters.

Hayes, Melissa Hamilton. "Circumscribing the Spirit. Spiritual Identity and the Autobiographcal Acts of Three American Women Writers." Nebraska, 2003. *DAI-A* 64.8 (Feb, 2004): 2889.

Explores how Zora Neale Hurston, Flannery O'Connor, and Adrienne Rich create spiritual self-identities through life writing.

Heidt, Sarah Jane. "Composite Beings: Symonds, the Burtons, Oliphant, and the Making of Late-Victorian Auto/Biographical Selves." Cornell, 2003. *DAI-A* 64.9 (Mar. 2004): 3305.

Reveals the range of self-makings involved in the composition, editing, and publication of life writing by John Addington Symonds, Richard and Isabel Burton, and Margaret Oliphant.

Highberg, Nels P. "Needing a Second Opinion: Theories and Practices of Autobiography, Narratives of Disease, and Composition Pedagogy." Illinois-Chicago, 2003. *DAI-A* 64.7 (Jan. 2004): 2474.

Unpacks intersecting and mutually informing theories and practices of autobiography, disease narratives, and composition pedagogy.

Jeffries, Laura. "Writing the Life of Margery: Generic Identities, Hagiographic Conventions, and 'The Book of Margery Kempe.'" Emory, 2003. *DAI-A* 64.11 (May 2004): 4044.

Argues that rather than autobiography, the *Book* is hagiographical in content and form, despite its focus on an uncanonized woman.

Jones, Melissa R. "Modernist Hagiography: Saints in the Writings of Joyce, Stein, Eliot, and H.D." Kent State, 2004. *DAI-A* 65.5 (Nov. 2004): 1775.

Describes *Ulysses, Four Saints in Three Acts, Murder in the Cathedral,* and *The Flowering of the Rod* as modernist hagiography because they perpetuate saintly imagery and tradition within a modernist literary tradition.

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rner, Jaclynne J. "Art in the Name of Science: Illustrated Manuscripts of the *Kitab al-Diryaq*." New York University, 2004. *DAI-A* 64.12 (June 2004): 4241.

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cup, Jordan Elizabeth. "Pilgrim Leadership: Dorothy Day and the Benedictine Way of Transformation." Gonzaga, 2004. *DAI-A* 65.5 (Nov. 2004): 1816.

lances a concept of pilgrim leadership from Day's autobiographical accounts.

orre, Sobeira. "Criss-crossing Gender, Autobiography and History in Latina Auto-Fictional Discourse." SUNY-Stony Brook, 2003. *DAI-A* 64.6 (Dec. 2003): 2078.

s out the literary and geographical boundaries of the self in works by Julia Álvarez, Judith iz Cofer, Cristina Garcia, Esmeralda Santiago, and Ana Lydia Vega in which national ntity and ethnicity impinge on women's subjectivity.

pley, Nicole M. "The New Thirteenth Century Hagiography: Royalty, Sainthood, and Writing." Pennsylvania, 2003. *DAI-A* 64.6 (Dec. 2003): 2077.

mines the cultural and literary forces at work in the generic developments of royal saints' s during the thirteenth century.

dwick-Bieker, Rosemary. "The Cloisters Panel 'Scenes from the Life of Saint Augustine': A Study in Late Medieval Iconography and Augustinian Spirituality." SUNY-Binghamton, 2003. *DAI-A* 65.5 (Nov. 2004): 1572.

ows how the Cloisters Panel goes beyond a simple narrative cycle of a saint's life.

cNeill, Laurie Ann. "Public Designs for a Private Genre: Community and Identity in the Diary." British Columbia, 2004. *DAI-A* 65.3 (Sept. 2004): 922.

alyzes the contemporary diary in English as an autobiographical form that intersects pub- and private spheres, lives, and narratives.

ize, Britt Alex. "Perspective and Sympathy in Medieval English Life Writing." North Carolina-Chapel Hill, 2003. *DAI-A* 64.4 (Oct. 2003): 1248.

ith a focus on reception, interprets the hermeneutics of narrative access to characters' ntality in medieval English saints' lives.

orris, Robin Jinnett. "Deathbed Confessors: Mourning and Genre in Anglo-Saxon Hagiography." Toronto, 2003. *DAI-A* 64.,10 (Apr. 2004): 3679.

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Explores how Anglo-Saxon hagiographers negotiate between prohibitions of sorrow and generic conventions which encourage the representation of mourning men to emphasize saints' roles as confessors.

O'Flynn, Siobhan Louise. "Place and Identity in Auto-Topographic Metanarrative." Toronto, 2004. *DAI-A* 65.5 (Nov. 2004): 1776.

Suggests a new term—auto-topographic metanarrative—for postmodern autobiography and travel writing that features "out of place" authors, such as Bruce Chatwin, Aritha van Herk, Kristjana Gunnars, Dionne Brand, and V. S. Naipaul.

Oh, Stella Yumi. "Life Writing and Nation Formation: Contesting Legal and Visual Authority." California-Irvine, 2004. *DAI-A* 65.5 (Nov. 2004): 1783.

Analyzes US citizenship and national belonging through literary works and popular cultural forms that address legal discourses marginalizing Asian-American communities.

Patterson, Raymond Arthur. "Irish Hagiography and Reform Movements: A Comparison of the Portrait of the Saint in the Lives of Sts. Ita, Samthann, Declan, and Malachy." Catholic U of America, 2003. *DAI-A* 63.12 (June 2003): 4355.

Traces the changing ideal of holiness in Irish saints' lives from the seventh through the thirteenth centuries.

Phinney, David Nathaniel. "The Prophetic Persona in the Book of Ezekiel: Autobiography and Portrayal." Yale, 2004. *DAI-A* 65.3 (Sept. 2004): 975.

Explores the portrait of Ezekiel derivable from Old Testament first-person material.

Prudio, Donald Sherm. "Peter of Verona: The Martyred Inquisitor." Virginia, 2004. *DAI-A* 65.4 (Oct. 2004): 1410.

Examines hagiographical sources for writing Peter's life, and the ensuing development of his cult.

Pruett, David. "Writing the Life of the Self: Constructions of Identity in Autobiographical Discourse by Six Eighteenth-Century American Indians." Texas A&M, 2004. *DAI-A* 65.5 (Nov. 2004): 1784.

Applies rhetorical criticism to autobiographical discourse by Samuel Ashpo, Hezekiah Calvin, David Fowler, Joseph Johnson, Samson Occom, and Tobias Shattock.

Serra, Ilaria. "The Value of Worthless Lives: Italian Immigrant Autobiographies by 'Ordinary People.'" Florida Atlantic, 2004. *DAI-A* 65.2 (Aug. 2004): 521.

A gallery of fifty-eight immigrant self-portraits reveals a direct tie between the experience of migration and the need to write an autobiography.

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rano, Diana. "Escribiendo desde el margen de la colonia: La autobiografia de Sor Catalina de Jesus Herrera." Florida, 2004. *DAI-A* 65.5 (Nov. 2004): 1800.

vides political, economic, social, and gender-oriented readings of a 1758 spiritual auto-graphy.

olock, Adale. "Autobiographical In/Visibilities: Queer Theory and the Pol-itics of Sexual Self-Representation." SUNY-Binghamton, 2004. *DAI-A* 65.5 (Nov. 2004): 1786.

ghlights the normative conditions of sexual self-representation in Dorothy Allison and uel Delany to account for the ways in which sexual visibilities compete with race and s.

ckney, Gwen H. "Gender, Genre, and Pseudoautobiography in Spanish Picaresque Narrative and the Spanish American Testimonial Novel." Indiana, 2004. *DAI-A* 65.5 (Nov. 2004): 1771.

cusses the confessional, pseudoautobiographical form shared by early modern Spanish aresque and twentieth-century Spanish American testimonial novels.

ckdale-Delay. Jacqueline Kay. "Women's Memoirs of the French Revolu-tion: Gender, Genre, and Self-Representation." Maryland-College Park, 2003. *DAI-A* 64.6 (Dec. 2003): 2109.

uses on female memoirists' representations of their experiences of the Revolution as ponses to socioeconomic, political, and cultural forces.

ickling, Chris Anne. "Re/Presenting the Self: Autobiographical Perfor-mance by People with Disability." Texas-Austin, 2003. *DAI-A* 64.12 (June 2004): 4276.

sed on work by facially disfigured performer David Roche, deaf performance artist Terry lloway, and disabled performers in the Performance Project of Austin, argues that the tobiographically constructed and theatrically conveyed self re/presents the self of disabil-to largely non-disabled audiences.

rkan, Kim. "Passing Rhetorics and the Performance of Gender Identity: (Auto)biographical, Visual, and Virtual Representations of Transgender Subjectivity and Embodiment." Minnesota, 2003. *DAI-A* 64.6 (Dec. 2003): 2288.

uses on gender identity as it is performed and represented in transsexual autobiography d biography, film, staged drag performances, and online interactions.

dd, Thea Mary. "Christina of Markyate's Biographer and His Work." Victoria, 2004. *DAI-A* 65.4 (Oct. 2004): 1360

itions the *Life of Christina of Markyate* as hagiography rather than autobiography, and uses on the anonymous author.

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Trujillo-Majia, Laura. "Genealogy of Memory: Fictional Autobiography in the Spanish Transition." Pennsylvania, 2003. *DAI-A* 64.7 (Jan. 2004): 2507.

Argues that work by Cristina Fernéndez Cubas, Lourdes Ortis, and Eduardo Mendicutti constitute examples of narratives that simultaneously use and subvert the conventions of autobiographical writing.

Welch, John S. "Aristocratizing the Community: Roger Fenton and British Photography in the 1850s." Princeton, 2004. *DAI-A* 65.1 (July 2004): 6.

Relates Fenton's biography to Victorian aesthetic and cultural dictates and to the development of professional photography.

Wellen, Sanne Rusalka. "Andrea Del Sarto 'pittore senza errori': Between Biography, Florentine Society, and Literature." Johns Hopkins, 2004. *DAI-A* 64.10 (Apr. 2004): 3516.

Corrects Giorgio Vasari's influential 1550 and 1558 accounts of del Sarto.

Wilson, Minnie Clara. "Embracing the Shadow: Black Women's Narratives as Recovery and Restoration." SUNY-Buffalo, 2004. *DAI-A* 65.3 (Sept. 2004): 999.

Examines the significance of personal testimony for promoting healing, recovery, and restoration in the lives of African American women.

Yang, Eunhee. "On Kawara's Nomadic Mind: Autobiography of 'a Citizen of the World.'" City University of New York, 2004. *DAI-A* 65.4 (Oct. 2004): 1156.

Shows how Kawara turns his personal narratives into a system of self-portraiture that allows hiim to critique cultural homogenization in both Japan and the US.

Sources and databases consulted include *America: History and Life, American Bibliography of Slavic and East European Studies, Arts and Humanities Citation Index, Digital Dissertations, ERIC, Historical Abstracts, Ingenta, Iter Bibliography, MLA International Database, Psychology and Behavioral Sciences Collection, Project Muse, PsycINFO, Religion and Philosophy Collection, Social Science Citation Index, Social Work Abstracts, Sociological Abstracts,* and *Studies on Women and Gender.*

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REVIEWS

a Hoffman. *After Such Knowledge: Memory, History, and the Legacy of the Holocaust.* New York: Public Affairs, 2004. xv + 301 pp. ISBN 1-58648-046-4. $25.00.

After Such Knowledge, Eva Hoffman, author of the luminous memoir *Lost Translation* about her emigration from Poland in 1959, meditates on the gacy of the Holocaust and its meaning for those, who like her, are children survivors. Addressing "frontally" what she has so long thought about only bliquely," she refracts through the prism of her own family history and her de reading in literature, history, philosophy, and psychology "the profound fects of a traumatic history, and its paradoxical richness" (xi). The result is extraordinary and complex reflection upon "the transmission of traumatic perience across generations," "the emotional intricacies" of relating to parts and other survivors, "the moral quandaries" faced when meeting perpetors and their children, "and the relationship of private memory" to histo- (xii). In *After Such Knowledge* Hoffman aims, and succeeds admirably, in senting an "informal synthesis, to bring the various approaches to this vast bject into dynamic interaction" (xiii).

The book's seven sections correspond roughly to a trajectory Hoffman sits for the second generation. They delineate the stages through which the spring of the survivors confronted the Shoah's diverse dimensions. Hoffman opens with how the "humble, homely disconnected units of narration" her parents' lives in hiding in that dark time seeped into her earliest conousness. There they created "a sort of fairy tale deriving not so much from other world as from the center of the cosmos: an enigmatic but real fable"), "where the border between life and death was dangerously permeable" 2). As children and teens, the generation born after lived with this emonal legacy, with their parents' "splintered signs of acute suffering, of grief d loss" (34), and its accompanying "[d]epression, anxiety, psychic numbg, panic attacks. And further, or below these, burning rage and corrosive lt, an inadmissible shame and a mourning so encompassing that it could ely have no 'resolution' within a single lifetime" (53). To these "psychic ens" in the lives of the second generation must be added the additional along tasks of wishing to undo the past, to replace dead relatives, and to cue their loved ones from grief and mourning (77).

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For Hoffman, emigration, "an enormous psychic upheaval under any circumstances" (80), with its accompanying "wholesale losses" of landscape and language, friends and a known past, pushed into the background "the attic of my parents hiding"—but only for a time (99–100). For she knows that the "atrocity literally reverberates through the minds and lives of subsequent generations" (103). And, it takes little for the survivors' children, really just life's chance experiences, to push it to the forefront. For her, these moments came unexpectedly—when she found herself utterly unable to change trains to stay, as she had intended, overnight in Frankfurt; when she first met a German contemporary, an occasion which she knows to be a "rite of passage" for the second generation navigating its way through "that morally dense and intense post-Holocaust terrain" (109).

Hoffman worries that the "increasing preoccupation" with the Holocaust has transformed an "historical event" into "a cultural phenomenon" (157). She need not work hard to convince even a casual observer of the breadth of this trend. The plethora of novels and histories, memoirs and biographies, testimonies and documentaries, films and plays, monuments and museums, and public ceremonials—where those born decades after march with the living to Birkenau on Holocaust Remembrance Day even as others stand in the Rotunda of the United States Capitol as memorial candles are lit—have "inscribe[d] the 'memory' of the Holocaust" into contemporary consciousness (156). Foregrounding the Holocaust in popular consciousness is part of a "great swing of the cultural pendulum" which has elevated, at least in memory, those victimized over those wielding power and enjoying privilege (169). She is rightly wary of remembering the Holocaust "through the lens of ideological positioning" (170). And she worries that this collective memory will evolve into a "kind of hypermemory . . . in which the Shoah . . . [becomes] "an increasingly empty referent, a *symbol* of historical horror," rather than the real catastrophe it was (177). She never fears that this will become true for her generation, nor even for the third born after, in whose lives she has seen the echoes of catastrophe reverberate, but she fears the perils of the "secular sacralization of the Shoah" (176).

The renting of the Iron Curtain has allowed Hoffman and others of the second generation to visit at last the places "acid-etched" into their earliest memories (34). Thus, she comes to confront both the astonishing risks taken by rescuers and the remarkable moral choices they made even as she ponders why her parents never, as far as she knew, contacted those who had saved their lives.

In *After Such Knowledge* Hoffman shares what she calls "one of my life's major tasks," thinking out loud about how her "life has been shadowed by

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's past" and about her need "to unravel and then braid together its raveled, orted, cut, and fragmented threads" to "distinguish shadows from realities d fable from history" (233). We, who have not lived lives in the shadows this appalling past, are fortunate to have Hoffman give eloquent voice to r life's task in this supremely thoughtful book.

Pamela S. Nadell

th Holmgren, ed. *The Russian Memoir: History and Literature.* Evanston: Northwestern UP, 2003. 221 pp. ISBN 0-8101-1930-7, $27.95.

memoir a genre, and why does the ground where it flourishes appear to be ture-specific? There are no histories of the American memoir or the Indi- memoir, though there are memoirs of the British in India, and a long tra- ion of French memoirs. Beth Holmgren's edited collection of essays on *e Russian Memoir* begins with the realization that justifying the book means stifying the memoir and giving it a typological home. Ranging across the ickly drawn lines between public and individual experience, the dotted lines ween fiction and history, and the shadow borders that separate autobiog- phy and memoir, Holmgren concedes that modern criticism is likely to ve the memoir undefined. Explorations of genre now use differentials based facticity, style, manipulation of narrative voice, and consistency of lexicon at have collapsed most of the formerly impermeable walls between prose ms. The elastic characteristics of the novel can now be found almost any- ere, from travel guides to journalism to cookbooks, and the resistant gen- s like the newspaper obituary or prayer, are those that are the most ritual- ic and perfunctory. Holmgren nevertheless risks a definition of degree, not ality. She seems to side with those who believe that "The memoir may be ered through the most idiosyncratic subject and as eccentrically narrated, borately plotted and symbol packed as any work of fiction, but the mem- ist is nevertheless bound to worldly reference" (xiii). While autobiography ants its author as remarkable, the memoir advertises itself as an ordinary son's telling of remarkable events and people. The ordinariness may be a ne, but if there is a defining feature of the memoir, it would be found in e active subordination of its author to large orders of experience.

Holmgren narrows her introduction to something more answerable: why ssians wrote memoirs, and why the aims of memoirists changed dramati- ly in the course of nearly three centuries. Her overview makes for excel- t social history, traversing the creation of a "serving self" under Peter the eat, the violent collision of revolutionary thought with repressive rule in

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the second quarter of the nineteenth century, its tragic reprise under the Communists, and the collapse of Soviet society in the 1990s, an implosion which left Russian culture with no coordinates on which to fix notions of subjectivity, civil society, responsiveness, and responsibility. In such a climate, as one of the book's contributors notes, the memoir can only flounder, or be an account of floundering.

In *The Russian Memoir*'s opening chapter, Jane Gary Harris presents the indispensable Lidiia Ginzburg (1902–1990), a formidable literary scholar, writer, and member of the St. Petersburg intelligentsia. In the 1920s she apprenticed under the giants of Russian Formalism, including Boris Eikhenbaum and Boris Tomashevsky, then for thirty years lived the typical marginalized life of an *intelligent,* holding insecure teaching posts in backwater towns. Only in the 1960s—by then herself in her sixties— could Ginzburg begin a public career as a critic. "Typical" is the operative word. Atypical alone was her lesbianism, suppressed in the memoirs. In Harris's eyes, Ginzburg takes the typical as her thesis, appointing herself the house sociologist of the Soviet intelligentsia. Writing her memoirs in the late 1970s, Ginzburg investigated the strikingly uniform operations of identity construction and alteration suffered by her generation, not only during the Bolshevik terror, but at epochal moments during the Revolution and the Nazi occupation of the Soviet Union. "Shared identity" was not only enforced but required for survival, and provided the only practical relation the individual could have to the era. For Ginzburg, the microscopic details of dailyness—which became the governing topos of the period's memoiristic literature—coincided with the macrohistorical transformations undergone by society. How to hold one's place in a bread queue, whom to trust, how to make ends meet in an unprovisioned village and escape arrest—these activities were universally pursued, and memoirs hardly required the leverage of symbolic rhetoric to generalize them. Harris is fully aware that this association of quotidian experience and historical "type" is nearly identical to the conventions of the Realist novel. Her literary erudition allows her to keep step with Ginzburg in showing how a culture's consensus "fiction of identity" emerges. The force of Harris's work lies in the implicit dialogue developed between two scholars occupied with one question.

Gitta Hammarberg's reception study of "The Canonization of Dolgorukaia" addresses the vicissitudes of a mid-eighteenth-century memoir, significant largely as a bellwether of fluctuating tastes for chronicles of the insignificant. Exile, and the limited range of social contact afforded women of her time, denied Natalia Dolgorukaia access to the grand theater of events. Her "surprisingly tenacious . . . image of humble, self-sacrificing, yet courageous and patriotic femininity" exemplifies the literary trope endlessly recycled and

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visited upon Russian women, and forcefully deconstructed in both Holmgren's introduction and Goscilo's essay (96). Unearthing a forgotten popular novel of the 1850s, Petr Furmann's *Dolgorukova: A Tale for Young Girls*, Hammarberg shows the pedagogical uses and abuses to which Russia has subjected canonized female characters. Printed at the end of the regime of Nicholas I, who made patriarchy a functional concept of government and a relentless source of political self-advertisement, the novel defines Dolgorukaia exclusively as a backdrop to her sons, her father, and her husband. If there is a disappointment to Hammarberg's work, it is that her encyclopedic account of reception is more annal than history, listing salient responses to Dolgorukaia's memoirs but failing to ground them in a stable, recurring set of propositions. The only persistent marked category attaching to Dolgorukaia's received image would seem to be "woman."

If Holmgren's foreword provides the theoretical axis for memoir studies, then by breadth of argument Helena Goscilo's article on Elena Bonner, and Alexander Prokhorov's essay on the pop culture figure El'dar Riazanov, form the analytical core of the chapters on individual memoirs. Like Richard Stites, whose pathbreaking *Russian Popular Culture* (1992) made Russian popular culture popular, Prokhorov is a close student of the evolving tastes of the (never-eradicated) Russian classes. Prokhorov makes Riazanov out to be the post-modern echo of Rousseau. His memoirs openly parade "insecurities," "a narrative collage that lacks a stable hierarchy of narrative voices," and a polyphony—or cacophony—audible "in the diversity of lexical registers" (82). All of this, in Prokhorov's view, conveys an anxiety and helplessness in the face of post-Soviet life that counterintuitively serves to authenticate the author's sincerity. In a political culture built upon hypocrisy, Riazanov and Prokhorov seem to say, the poseur who announces, "I am a *poseur*" is trustworthy.

Goscilo unsparingly associates the memoirs of Bonner, widow of Andrei Sakharov, with the "all too familiar repressive decorum" of the writings of women of the intelligentsia (65). One could take this further. Bonner's style reflects the magisterial gestures characteristic of male writers of the previous century, when memoirists donned the mantle of ethicist and seer. In a hierarchical universe where messages were clear (everything proclaimed by fiat) but information skewed, memoirists assumed that their countertexts alone were true, and they presented them as such. As Andrew Wachtel has proven in *An Obsession with History* (1994), Russians needed elaborate ways to evade the evasions of official history, but Goscilo shows that the dissident memoir, despite its imprint of honesty, is as prone to revision and suppression as any prose form. Constrained by their constant "no," movements of dissent engendered their own puritanic language of distortion and specious linearity.

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Essays by Galya Diment and Marina Balina neither challenge nor extend the foregoing chapters. Diment studies the selection of a memoir language by Josef Brodsky and Vladimir Nabokov, two writers whose bilingualism afforded them the rare opportunity for choice. Noting that a salutary *Verfremdungseffekt* lures both writers, Diment proposes that a more recently acquired language is apt to appear to the memoirist less encumbered by associations clinging to the earlier: associations both negative, because they belong to a place of abandonment, and of greater subjective intensity, since they encode the memories of childhood. To write in Stalin's language, Diment would have it, is to be trapped in Stalin's time and in the perverse, rewritten dictionary that Bolshevism forced upon the Russian lexicon (177). Perhaps. But one could cite as counterexample the fully bilingual Kafka, writing both his fiction and his diaries—not intended for dissemination—in the same German tongue, and through this monolingual medium contriving a powerful hell of linguistic alienation. Likewise, J. M. Coetzee's largely single-language worlds, including the fictionalized diaries of *Waiting for the Barbarians* and *In the Heart of the Country,* appear poised over a cauldron of warring linguistic alternatives: silence, repression, artificial languages, dialect switching, and so forth. Above all, Diment's essay reminds one of the unavoidable critical circularities engendered by memoirs, especially the question of "when to take writers at their word," since it is in a memoir, even more than in conventional autobiography, that the author is likely to bare motives and justify rhetorical procedures. In the chapter that concludes *The Russian Memoir,* Balina offers a coda to an essay collection that hardly needs one. If on finishing the volume the reader believes the Russian memoir has evolved to the point of having its own "history," it is because Holmgren's collection makes the case. This reader-generated history eclipses Balina's schematic summary.

Reflective as *The Russian Memoir* is, there are further places to carry the topic. One wishes that in place of the final essay, Holmgren had imposed an open conclusion. First, some historically dictated questions. Our field has understood that Dostoevsky's published diaries, serialized in the Russian press in the 1870s, are more than a running op-ed column. With their deep engagement in events, circumscribed nonetheless by a witness's "limited point of view," do they constitute a memoir of the present? Given the idiosyncratic intercalation of the author's personal knowledge of tsar and patriarch with the mundane telling of his own sufferings, isn't archpriest's Avvakum's foundational autobiography, written in the 1670s, actually a memoir? And there are also typological questions. Do these generic decisions made by the scholar—autobiography or memoir— matter? Holmgren's book suggests that it is the *what* that distinguishes the memoir, not the *how,* which joins it

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ith virtually every prose form. Finally, one wants Holmgren to have reflect- d on the accomplishment of her staff of authors: as each scholar takes up a emoirist, the essay becomes a memoir of sorts, performing the identical nctions of constructing an identity, marking a brush with history, and cre- ing a provisional myth of the power of a text. This wish list aside, though, olmgren's work fills in exemplary fashion the niche that she has identified, space of writing which every reader of Russian literature will agree is a ajor cultural category.

John M. Kopper

rbara Weissberger. *Isabel Rules: Constructing Queenship, Wielding Power.* Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 2003. 484 pp. ISBN 0-8166-4165-X, $24.95.

ith her groundbreaking work *Isabel Rules: Constructing Queenship, Wielding wer,* Barbara Weissberger has made a significant contribution to our under- nding of Spain's most famous queen, Isabel of Castile (r. 1474–1504), and the field of late medieval gender studies. Isabel is noteworthy among late edieval and early modern queens because Castilian law allowed her to inher- the throne and rule in her own right. Her marriage to her political equal, rdinand of Aragon, and questions about the appropriateness of a female ler (despite her legal claim to the office) make her exercise of sovereign wer and reactions to it a primer in late medieval gender relations. Weiss- rger offers a shrewd analysis of the texts of fifteenth-century Iberia, and at they can tell us about how a queen and her contemporaries fashioned r image and sovereignty. This astute and insightful reading of both classic d little-studied texts of the period pivots on the assertion that these texts ust be read through the lens of gender analysis if we are to fully appreciate ir meaning during the reign of Isabel.

Using the analytical tools of new historicism and materialist feminism, eissberger states at the outset that she is "not so much interested in the per- of the Queen as in the shaping of the Queen's power through literary rep- entation" (xiv). Particularly relevant to her aim is her observation that abel's role as a sovereign queen (and not simply a queen consort) challenged r male literary contemporaries to contend with the reality of a powerful oman. Their reactions, as a consequence, often reflected misogyny and mis- ust. Some of these misgivings surfaced even before Isabel became queen. r example, one of Isabel's advisors, Martín de Córdoba, wrote a manual, *rdín de las nobles doncellas,* for her in 1468. In it he urged Isabel to recog- e and try to contain her "natural" feminine weakness.

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Yet at the same time, Isabel was a queen who often effectively exercised patriarchal authority in the name of restoring order and stability. Thus, these male writers also had to make their peace with a powerful woman who successfully embraced what they would have defined as masculine ideals. In other words, could they really criticize a ruler who shared their masculine agenda? As a consequence, many of the authors whom Weissberger examines sought policies of containment and accommodation in their works. They could not dismiss the existence of Isabel's sovereignty, but they could try to fashion it in more palpable terms. So, for example, even the queen's partisans criticized her when they believed she overstepped her bounds. Alfonso de Palencia, one of her chroniclers, did not hesitate to chastise the young queen's use of a sword (meant to symbolize justice) in an early acclamation ceremony. He urged her to allow her husband, Ferdinand, a greater (and as he saw it, rightful) role in the administration of the realm. One of her court's poets, Iñigo de Mendoza, allowed the queen to exercise the office of justice and other more traditionally "masculine" attributes, but carefully fashioned these within the context of domestic imagery and responsibilities.

Isabel's literary contemporaries joined their cultural fashioning of the queen's image with assertions that she had come to restore order to the peninsula. Such a claim assumed the existence of a disorder that needed to be righted. Weissberger demonstrates that this, too, was a highly gendered and sexualized discourse. Spain's enemies—both in the distant Visigothic past, and in the fifteenth-century present—were often portrayed as sexually deviant and/or effeminate. What interests Weissberger in this context is the slippage between a homophobic discourse and a misogynist one. Drawing on the work of Eve Sedgwick, Weissberger contends that misogyny "always underlies homophobia" (72). Focusing on the chronicler Alfonso de Palencia, she finds that his preoccupation with the containment of the effeminate threat of the "Other" contained a simultaneous mistrust and near-hatred of his queen who, by his account, had transgressively usurped the power of her husband, King Ferdinand (and deprived Palencia of the office of official royal chronicler).

The tremendous range of Weissberger's work allows her to illuminate aspects of Isabel's reign not previously addressed by historians or literary scholars. Weissberger's study of Luis de Lucena's obscure and "virtually ignored" *Arte de axedrez* (Art of Chess) allows her to share some interesting insights into Isabel's patronage of scholars at the University of Salamanca (135). But Weissberger goes one step further, linking this text to questions about Isabel's sovereignty played out against the backdrop of changes in how the game of chess was being played across medieval Europe—changes that made the piece of the queen more powerful.

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Readers expecting a traditional narrative biography will be disappointed. ut this is not Weissberger's aim, as she makes clear at the outset. The book not so much about Isabel herself as it is a study of the perceptions and cul- al filtering of the queen's sovereign power. And in this objective Weiss- rger succeeds marvelously. The work demonstrates both breadth and depth. er command of the literary landscape of fifteenth-century Spain is striking. the same time, she comprehensively analyzes those texts that she singles t for particular attention. Engagingly written, this work deserves a wide adership among scholars of gender studies, Spanish literature, and women's story.

Elizabeth A. Lehfeldt

gela Pérez-Mejía. *A Geography of Hard Times: Narratives about Travel to South America, 1780–1849.* Trans. Dick Cluster. Albany: SUNY P, 2004. 167 pp. ISBN 0-791-6013-4, $40.00.

r many years we have had a monolithic notion of what "Latin America" s all about, a generic term that includes twenty countries, each with its own aracteristics, idiosyncrasies, history, and ethnic constituencies. We have o had the presumptuous idea that there is such a thing as an "expert" in at we call "Latin American Studies" in the United States—an idea that is t only false, but arrogant and paternalistic. In a well-written research work, gela Pérez-Mejía puts on display examples of European men and women, m different backgrounds, who defined "Latin America" during the eigh- nth and nineteenth centuries, before the French term existed. Voyages by botanist José Celestino Mutis, the geographer Alexander von Humboldt, historian Maria Graham, and the French feminist and activist Flora stán outline the parameters of Pérez-Mejía's work.

A Geography of Hard Times also displays the harsh reality of the inde- ndence struggles in Spanish America, a convulsive period when, with the of Native Americans and "enlightened" European countries with eco- mic interests in the Spanish colonies, Spanish American patricians fought independence against their parents from the Iberian peninsula. Pérez- ía analyzes the representations of South America offered by the narratives, strations, and maps produced by the four voyagers, and the effect that th America had on the narrators' self-representations. In short, she seeks analyze geographic text as a liminal territory in which it is possible to rpret the presence of the 'other'" (6).

Postcolonial relations between Spanish America and Europe would later established by well-known friendships, such as the one between Bolívar

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and Humboldt, and those between other upper-class "criollos" and European scientists and politicians. Pérez-Mejía begins with José Celestino Mutis, the Spanish botanist who never returned to Spain because, according to Pérez-Mejía, he was transformed by the American continent. In the beginning, Mutis relied only on European scientific knowledge, but in the end, as documented in his personal journal, he gave considerable credence to local wisdom about medicine and other disciplines. The Spanish scientist ultimately surrendered, the author argues, to the beauty of nature in America—"the silence, the peace, the forest of America, which exercised a greater attraction on his heart than the pomp of the courts of Spain" (37).

Once travelers contracted the "malady of America," their texts generated a consciousness of national geographies and discourses of independence. The Spanish government authorized the German geographer Humboldt to travel freely through its colonies, and according to Pérez-Mejía, Humboldt's maps, classifications of isothermic climate zones, and censuses of every settlement visited, impacted the formation of the new Spanish American republics, as Bolívar used this material in his campaign. Pérez-Mejía places Humboldt within Enlightenment frames of reference and extent European discourse about America. Humboldt's style was encyclopedic. Although he corrected erroneous assumptions made by other historians such as La Condamie and William Robertson, he presented America with such scientific rigor that it became the "authentic" discourse about America—for his fellow Europeans and for the Americans themselves, who saw the enormous potential of those lands never before scientifically "discovered." The discourse of independence from the newly formed republics was made by "creoles"—Spaniards born on American soil—who were very conscious about seeing themselves as civilized, in contrast to the "barbarism" of the Native Americans. In this context, Pérez-Mejía criticizes Humboldt for failing to acknowledge the extraordinary importance of the Native American informants who made possible the "enormous empirical knowledge" presented in his masterwork *Voyage aux régions équinoxiales.* Never recognizing them as equals, Humboldt referred to Native Americans as "inferior races," and represented them as passive objects, analyzable and classifiable. Paradoxically, he was also a fervent opponent of slavery, and influenced the development of such pro-independence ideas as "free trade" among the new Americans—though only for members of the new governing classes, who commanded the Native masses.

Maria Graham (1795–1842), one of the two women travelers studied in this work, was an Englishwoman who embarked with her husband, Thomas Graham, for Brazil and Chile. After her husband died, and after spending a year in Chile, she became the tutor of Princess Doña María, later Queen of

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rtugal, and in 1824 published her *Journal of My Residence in Chile During e Year 1822.* Graham wrote from a position of a white European woman ho saw the Chileans as immature, backward, Catholic fanatics. A paternalic, social "heroine" able to descend to the lowest level of society, though ways conscious of her social and racial superiority, she saw Latin America a territory that had to learn from Europe if it were ever to escape from its ferior state. She made friendships and alliances with the Creole elite, and rticularly with Bernardo O'Higgins.

The narratives by woman travelers are noteworthy for treating topics not gularly explored in depth by their male counterparts, including appearance, strume, domestic life, and the manners of women. Flora Tristán's *Les Pérégrinations dé une paria* was more than a travel chronicle; it was a pretext for e construction of an autobiographical narrative in a context of political rivism. Pérez-Mejía argues that the works of Graham and Tristán (1803–84) pioneered a type of South American travel narrative that became popr during the nineteenth century. Exceptional books in the rhetoric of capalism were written by women alone in America, she argues, because these omen were exceptionally well positioned to present, from their own perectives, an accurate view of the local contests of power. Tristán, for exame, aligned with the oppressed, but at the same time considered herself supeor, an observer who could place her criteria above the avaricious Peruvian ite. Her work is also of interest today because of its theoretical discussions autobiography as a genre, and her confrontation with established models femininity.

Pérez-Mejía successfully analyzes the multiethnic Latin American society this period, with all the social tensions that existed during the creation of e new republics emerging from Spanish control. The four European voyers she presents are a good mirror for understanding the sometimes subtle alities that normally escape the rigid rhetoric of official historical discourse.

Juan Francisco Maura

nda S. Maier and Isabel Dulfano, eds. *Woman as Witness: Essays on Testimonial Literature by Latin American Women.* New York: Peter Lang, 2004. 218 pp. ISBN 0-8204-6324-8, $63.95.

he purpose of this book is to contest a type of Latin American *testimonio* iticism practiced by a coterie of predominantly male academics based in S universities. The criticism in question is the postmodern post-Lacanian guments of primarily Georg Gugelberger and his immediate circle, including John Beverley, as well as the controversial work of anthropologist David

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Stoll. These names may not be familiar to readers new to Latin American *testimonio,* but suffice it is to say that the polemic surrounding the key text in these debates, Nobel prize winner Rigoberta Menchú's *I, Rigoberta Menchú: An Indian Woman in Guatemala,* edited by Elisabeth Burgos-Debray and translated by Ann Wright (London: Verso, 1984), is apparently still going strong. No doubt it is not coincidental that the contributors to this volume are all, bar one, women academics based in the United States, and that all are assistant or associate professors, or visiting scholars. Similarly, it is probably no coincidence that the book is published by Peter Lang and not by Duke University Press, the temple of high theory. This is a protest from the margins, by women whose main concern is not the massaging of their academic egos in tautological and self-perpetuating debates, but an effort to foreground once again the *testimonios* written by Latin American women. As Linda S. Maier states in her level-headed introduction, few critics have addressed the fact that most *testimonios* are written by women, and on this basis she calls for a new theory of reading.

Testimonios are accounts of harrowing, usually political, events related by a witness or protagonist to a journalist or equivalent to set the record straight, to counter official versions of history. It is a hybrid narrative genre, akin to memoirs, autobiography, and fiction, in that it purports to be authentic and truthful yet necessarily uses rhetorical devices to persuade the reader to its cause. *Testimonio* is also a political act. Due to its factual or truth value, *testimonio* has been considered as extra- or even anti-literary.

The first section of this volume, "Critical Issues and Challenges," begins with Marilyn May Lombardi's spirited critique of the layers of theorizing heaped up on Menchú's story of the atrocities perpetrated against the Guatemalan Indians in the early 1980s. In a veritable *tour de force* she takes us from Menchú through Beverley, Lacan, and Žižek on *film noir,* to Gugelberger (who in turn draws on Benjamin, Barthes, Jameson, Said, Deleuze, and Guattari), and on to Kristeva (on the abject), Herbold (on Žižek), Chopp, Somme (on Cordelia, answering to Showalter on Ophelia), Levinas, Marcuse, the post-Marxists, and Derrida, to mention a few. She argues that Menchú has become the *femme fatale* of the postmodern male fantasy, a specter, a mere ghost: "Whatever happened to the Indian woman of Guatemala?" (25). Postmodern critics, she argues, "claim to use Lacan to explain popular culture but more often use popular culture to explain Lacan" (36). The reason is that the purpose of *testimonio* criticism (and Lombardi includes herself here) is not primarily to explore the work of Menchú at all, but an in-house search for "the authentic": "we reserve our finest arguments, our most scathing attacks, and our highest admiration for one another. This, it

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ems to me, is genuine respect—and Menchú has received precious little of (37).

Joanna R. Bartow carries on this line of argument, though not so fero-usly, in her essay "Essential Subversions." She refers to the view that Latin merican *testimonio* serves as raw material in a colonial dynamic of appro-ation for the purposes of theory production. The field is now "saturated" 7), she argues, with questions of authenticity, legitimacy, and truth. But *timonio* may provide lessons for critics in that it illuminates the paradoxes d inconsistencies of postmodern theory, the greatest of which is the dis-owed reticence to allow the "subaltern to speak" for herself. Bartow choos-to focus on the preliminary material of the *testimonios* supplied by tran-ibers and compilers such as Elena Poniatowska and de Burgos-Debray to ke her point. She ends by suggesting that the most effective type of *testi-nio* is avant-garde, schizophrenic testimony such as Chilean Diamlea Eltit's *padre mío,* which confounds the critics in that it is so obviously not writ-for easily accessible consumption and therefore eludes critics' assump-ns. Eltit's text rejects any pretension of "truth value" in its attempted rep-entation of fragmented devastation under political repression; *El padre* plays the postmodern critic at his (or her) own game.

One way out of the self-perpetuating theoretical loop, according to Sophia McClennen in "Are Cultural Studies Against Literature?" is to stop read-*testimonio* as if it were literature. She draws an analogy with film studies, which, too often in her opinion, Latin American films are read as novels, thout sufficient attention being paid to the specificities of film produc-n, such as camera work, distribution, and context. In McClennen's view, *timonio* ought to be treated as documentary; considering it as narrative m "only points to its critical colonization where its distinctive mode of oduction is erased" (72). Moreover, the *testimonio* is not just a text to be d but a political act against silence, often in the face of death.

In the final essay in the "Critical Issues and Challenges" section Isabel lfano spells out the "Present Predicaments and Future Forays" of *testimo-* criticism. She attributes the debunking of the icon Menchú and the "gen-l apostasy" (81) shown towards the genre by, for example, David Stoll o set out to discredit Menchú's account) to disillusion among "former ists," including Latin American exiles, with revolutionary politics and ndas. She points to the photograph of a smirking Stoll on the cover of the 99 issue of the *Middlebury College Alumni Magazine,* the subtitle of which "Incorrigibly Incorrect: Stoll Takes On an Icon" to argue that Menchú "is deed a threatening icon," as a spokesperson for illiterate indigenous peo-s and repressed women (87). Dulfano also notes that the role played by

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Burgos-Debray is not so keenly questioned, which leads her to posit two forms of future *testimonio,* one in which the *testimonio* is presented overtly as closer to fiction than journalism, and one in which the subaltern "do their own talking" without the need for an intellectual intermediary (95).

The rest of the book comprises critical case studies of particular *testimonios,* all of which return implicitly or explicitly to these major debates. They include a sharp and unpretentious critical analysis of Salvadoran Nidia Díaz's *Nunca estuve sola* by Donald Shaw (the only male contributor) who argues (unlike McClennen) for the need to take into account literary techniques and effects, and Vicki Román-Lagunas's assessment of the notion of feminism in Nidia Díaz's *testimonio* and in that of fellow Salvadoran Ana Guadalupe Martínez; although both women reject the label feminism, they reveal feminist attitudes in their texts. Then follow three essays on Argentina: a fascinating historical and biographical study of Agustina Palacio de Libarona's account of life on the Argentine frontier in 1840 by Mary G. Berg, a lucid assessment of Victoria Ocampo's "making of self" in her *Autobiography* by Mimi Y. Yang, and Alyce Cook's study of narrative as "testimonial breakthrough" in Luisa Valenzuela's novels. Cook argues that the novels function as allegories prompting self-reflection on the part of the reader. In *Hay que sonreír* the witness is murdered and therefore unable to write; the protagonist's "inability to challenge repressive circumstances results in her own death" (171). Similarly, in *Cola de lagartija* the victims of oppression are shown to unknowingly participate in their own victimization (175). As political texts, however, it could be objected that these allegories would only work with highly literate readers who are able to interpret such "writerly" novels. Finally, Ana García Chichester addresses the question of ethics and commitment in Elena Poniatowska's *Hasta no verte, Jesús mío,* again focusing on the strains in the relationship between the real-life subject Josefina Bórquez, the fictional character Jesusa Palancares, and Poniatowska. García Chichester proposes a recuperation of the non-fictional (in this case Josefina) to allow "its claim to authenticity" and thus clarify the "ethical intention of the text" (165). The volume is completed by two Argentine *testimonios,* the rare Palacio text (it should be emphasized that Mary Berg has done us all a great service by bringing this to light), and Nora Strejilevich's *testimonio* of her torture and her brother's disappearance at the hands of the Argentine military junta, taken from her novel *A Single, Numberless Death* (2002).

This is a book well worth reading. It is to be hoped that it will have some clout in academic circles. There is no index and a line seems to be missing from the top of page two. On a more positive note, the editors include a long bibliography of criticism on *testimonio,* and a useful list of Latin

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merican testimonial works, written by men and women, with English anslations where available.

Catherine Davies

usana Rotker. *Captive Women: Oblivion and Memory in Argentina.* Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 2002. 236 pp. ISBN 0-8166-4030-0, $18.95.

usana Rotker's analysis of the historical phenomenon of widespread kidnapping of white women by Argentine Indians in the nineteenth century is an portant addition to scholarship treating the "disappearing" of racial diver- y from the discourse of nation building in Argentina. Although Rotker is able to provide these women a history, she succeeds in accounting for their sappearance from the historical record. It is important to note that in that anner, she names the vanishing of the captivity experience as part of its tual historical occurrence, thereby linking the undocumented lives of omen kidnapped from Argentina's internal frontier to more recent silences historical archives—the disappearance of men, women, and children who ere tortured and murdered during the Argentine military regime that was in ower from 1976 to 1983, and the silence of the Holocaust victims. As Jean anco notes in the book's foreword, Susana Rotker's personal history links *aptive Women: Oblivion and Memory in Argentina* to survivors' grief, and the grief of children who, like Rotker, have been deprived of family mem- y: a child of Jewish refugees, Susana Rotker was born in Argentina, grew in Venezuela with no family memories to claim, and then returned to gentina during the dirty war when revelations of torture, death, and dis- pearance were a regular occurrence, and the issues of memory and amnesia ere fiercely disputed.

Captive Women is Jennifer French's translation of Susana Rotker's 1999 panish language original *Cautivas: Olvidos y memoria en la Argentina.* It is ivided into core chapters, a forward by Jean Franco, informative chapter otes, a bibliography, and a useful index. The temporal span of the book gins with Esteban Echeverría's *La cautiva* (1837). A review of letters writ- n from the internal frontier during the nineteenth century, and an exami- ation of Argentina's only known first-person captivity narrative, *Memorias l ex cautivo Santiago Avedaño* (1850–60), follow. The final chapters of the ook include an analysis of accounts regarding Argentina's legendary captive, ucía Miranda, and a study of memory and modernity in Lucío V. Mansil- a's *Una excursión a los indios ranqueles* (1870).

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The first chapter, "Against Oblivion," introduces the theoretical approaches to memory that Rotker employs in her project, and establishes the text's initial premise that a study of the poetics of memory is also a study regarding pacts of silence. Here, she draws upon the work of Sande Cohen and Matt Matsuda to affirm the central elements of her effort: 1) to question why a given phenomenon does or does not enter into the system of writing we call History, and 2) to read the past with a spirit of doing justice to those who have been forgotten.

In Chapter 2, "In Conquest of a White Nation," Rotker seeks to understand the establishment of Argentina as a discursively white nation by reviewing narratives that constitute its foundation. Her examination of José Enrique Rodó's *Ariel* and Domingo F. Sarmiento's *Facundo: Civilización y barbarie* calls attention to a system included in both works that is designed to "disappear" the marginal non-urban populations of indigenous peoples, blacks, and captive women in order to permit the dreamed of identity equating Buenos Aires with Paris. Rotker's argument regarding the custom of erasing social fringes that do not correspond to the desired national self-image also demonstrates that the suppression of fragments of the past (or present) from the historical record is a "strategy for avoiding the negotiation that emerges from political interaction" (35).

"No One Mourns for the Captives: The Soldiers," Chapter 3, endeavors to reconstruct the real situation of the captive women from memoirs of soldiers on the frontier. In considering the ramifications of silence, Rotker acknowledges that because captivity is synonymous with disappearance, the tales that exist are insufficient to recuperate reality or to reproduce in memory the experience of the confrontation between cultures. In Argentina, unlike other countries where there were captives, there are no public registers of diaries or testimonies written by the women captives. Rotker's explanation to account for these silences in the historical record is noteworthy: those running the highest risk of capture were female rural settlers with little or no political power, whose loss would have been almost invisible in the rural workforce. In brief, the history of the female captives was of no concern to the lettered elite because the captives' gender and location did not correspond to the image that the lettered elite held of themselves and their country.

The vexing question as to why fictitious captive experiences entered into the collective imaginary rather than the real victims' accounts comes to the fore in Chapters 4 and 5. As Rotker's essays on Echeverría's *La cautiva* (Chapter 4) and works by Rosa Guerra and Eduarda Mansilla (Chapter 5) demonstrate, the invented narratives provided the elites with another weapon against barbarism in their fight to justify their white Europeanizing project. Rotker

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convincingly makes the case that because incorporating the voices of the actual victims would have violated the white man's legitimating myth about the land, it was necessary to silence the true accounts of captivity and impose conditions of national homogeneity instead. Importantly, real victims' accounts would have narrated carnal contact with the Indian and a racially mixed population. To the extent that Echeverría's María is obliged to remain chaste and to die almost immediately, civilization is not subjected to the threat of her returning contaminated. Rotker points out that Echeverría's portrayal of María as an absolute victim provides the "civilized" elite with another death to avenge.

Rotker's readings of a pair of rewrites of the Lucía Miranda myth suggest several important consequences. As regards Rosa Guerra's interpretation of the myth, Rotker develops two important themes: 1) Lucía Miranda, contrary to the standard role of women in romantic literature, "evangelizes, carries out works of charity, and manages to save Mangoré's soul before he dies" (109), and 2) the real value of Guerra's version lies in its commentary on the transformative powers of language as mediator between different cultures—the Indians are likeable and Lucía learns to speak their language. Rotker likewise analyzes Eduarda Mansilla's rewrite of the myth apropos the protagonist's involvement with the Indians. As translator between Spanish and Indians, the Lucía of Mansilla's piece is the axis for a number of female friendships that eventually lead to an involvement between the two cultures. Rotker highlights that while Guerra and Mansilla fail to give voice to the real women of the frontier, both of their writings convey a curiosity toward the forbidden and non-representable.

Rotker concludes her study with an analysis of the principles of representation. In Chapters 6 and 7 she takes up letters and memoirs that never appeared as part of the national ideological network. Their authors—former captives, Indians, and relatives of the disappeared or kidnapped—portray a social reality very different from the one handed down in the literary canon. Chapter 8 is an assessment of *Memorias del ex cautivo Santiage Avendaño,* by Lucío Mansilla (brother of Eduarda Mansilla). In addressing the question of why Lucío Mansilla chose to rob the Indians of all historicity and diminish the importance of the captive women, Rotker explores in detail the costs of criticizing the nation as the body of a woman.

Captive Women is a rich book, filled with specificity and close readings. Susana Rotker has admirably succeeded in exposing the concerted act of forgetting that allowed Argentina to erase the presence of Indians, Africans, and mestizos from its national story. One of the greatest values of this book is the questions it poses regarding the relation between narrative and history,

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between writing and memory, and its consideration of the moment when violence and culture clash, in earlier as well as contemporary history.

I was glad to have the opportunity to review the English version of Rotker's book. On November 28, 2000, Susana Rotker met an untimely death that has deprived academia of a talented and passionate scholar. I offer my brief review in homage to her memory.

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Alyce Cook

Javier Auyero. *Contentious Lives: Two Argentine Women, Two Protests, and the Quest for Recognition.* Durham: Duke UP, 2002. 240 pp. ISBN 0-8223-3115-2, $18.95.

Contentious Lives, which is sociologist Auyero's second major work in English, analyzes two popular protest movements in Argentina in December 1993 and June 1996. They occurred in Santiago del Estero and Neuquén, two provinces of the country's far interior, north and south respectively of the national capital in Buenos Aires. The former movement, known as the *santiagazo,* seemed the more unusual because the protesters assaulted and burned the state house, the legislature, and several of the homes of leading politicians. The latter movement, called the *pueblada,* became visible in the form of barricades blocking the flow of traffic from the adjacent towns of Cutral-cu and Plaza Huincul in Neuquén. The events of Santiago del Estero remain unique, but the use of barricades manned by so-called *piqueteros* exemplified a form of protest that has become common throughout Argentina since the mid-1990s.

The santiagazo, the pueblada, and many other protest movements originated in the rapid contraction of the public sector in the 1990s under President Carlos Menem, which provoked rising unemployment and collapsing incomes, especially in the provinces. Menem's "neo-liberal" policies, which embraced currency convertibility as well as privatization en masse, culminated in the staggering economic collapse in Argentina of 2001–2003. A decade previously, however, the bloated public sector that Menem later dismantled had posed serious economic problems in Argentina, and underlay recurrent bouts of hyperinflation. Before retrenchment, in the city of Santiago del Estero, the provincial capital, the public sector employed around half the work

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rce. The santiagazo exploded in reaction to unpaid wages and pensions and political corruption. The 1996 movement in Neuquén occurred in the termath of the privatization of YPF (Yacimientos Petrolíferos Fiscales), the te oil company, which resulted in massive local layoffs. Politicians had romised substitute forms of employment, but failed to deliver them.

Auyero has written another original and compelling book, which deserves become widely known among students and scholars. His earlier work, *Poor ople's Politics,* on the shantytowns of Greater Buenos Aires, illustrated the le of the brokers and the "machines" of the Perónist Party in the political anagement and containment of the poor. *Contentious Lives* focuses simi- ly on leaders, but this time on the opponents of the status quo, who defied e bosses and the government. Auyero writes the story of the santiagazo ound the biography of "Nana," an employee in the courts and a former car- val dancer; he constructs that of the pueblada of Neuquén around Laura adilla, a divorced single mother who had been a victim of marital abuse. He gues not only for the intertwining of biography and protest, but also con- nds that biography strongly influences the content of protest. He attempts show that Padilla's past as a victim of domestic violence both impelled her rticipation in the protest and led her to oppose the use of force. Nana's ssion for the carnival became visible in the santiagazo. As an outburst of structive fun, and as an inversion of the established social hierarchy where e poor briefly ruled the rich and powerful, the santiagazo came to resem- e the carnival. According to Auyero, the strong economic causes of protest riving from the destruction of the state sector became secondary to the pro- gonists' quest for "dignity," meaning self-respect and external recognition.

The quality of this book stems from its imaginative use of multivariate urces, which include personal diaries, videotapes, and oral history as well newspapers. Auyero successfully exploits his advantage of working on con- mporary and not historical events to create an extraordinarily rich narrative. milar urban melees, strikes, or riots adumbrate the modern history of Argen- na, but are much harder to document in such detail. Even so, the historical cumentation is good enough to illustrate that past protests contained many atures similar to those of contemporary times. The "carnival atmosphere" a riot, for instance, appeared during the destruction of the El Salvador minary in Buenos Aires in 1875 by anticlerical immigrants. In Buenos res, the same features of collective emotional discharge by riot or rebellion ppeared in the rebellion of July 1890, in the general strike of May 1909, d in the *Semana Trágica* of January 1919. The protest movements of the 90s became miniatures of the urban insurrections of 1969–1973 led by e *cordobazo* of May 1969. The accusations against "professional agitators"

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in the protests of the 1990s (referring to the alleged role of outsiders in the tumults), replicated a conservative critique that can be traced back to the 1880s and beyond. The quest among protesters for self-respect and recognition visible in the 1990s had many parallels in the movements of the 1940s to support Juan Perón, for whom restoring the *dignidad* of the workers became a principal declared objective. The prominence of women in the movements of the 1990s attracts attention more because of its scale than its novelty; women had also distinguished themselves in many other *actos populares* in the past. At the height of the 1890 revolution in Buenos Aires, for instance, Eufrasio Cabral, a young women teacher, was borne along by her admirers to deliver fiery speeches in support of the rebellion on the street corners of Buenos Aires. In recent years, protest has often resulted in the creation of local bodies of activists known as *asambleas populares.* They too had antecedents in similar associations, like the parish committees of 1890, that mushroomed in eras of crisis or breakdown.

The main originality of the movements of the 1990s lay in their link with the contraction in the public sector. Auyero's work thus illustrates the enormous pressure for public sector spending in Argentina, and the generalized quest for a form of renovated grassroots neo-Peronism. The country remains ripe for a new Perón, but cannot create one in its current impoverished and depressed condition. Like the Peronists of the 1940s, the participants in the protests of 1990s were typically poor but not necessarily propertyless people, who united to blame the political establishment for their lot and to demand public subsidies. Laura Padilla's words echo the rhetoric of Eva Perón fifty years ago: "I live in the poverty that other people have decided for me and my children. Unjust justice: they receive very big salaries . . . they steal under my name" (33). In Neuquén, as the major underlying factor in the protest, YPF had "ceased to be the welfare agency and become an enclave industry under strict capitalist guidelines" (43).

Despite the admirable texture of Auyero's account, his efforts to link a mass protest movement with the biographies of his protagonists is not entirely convincing. Obviously, "biographies shape the ways in which people make sense of protest" (191), but it seems farfetched and sentimentalized to link, for example, Nana's participation in protest with her past as a street dancer in the carnival. More importantly, she had lost her job in the public administration. Laura's personal sufferings may have helped to impel her into joining the protest, but many other people joined the fray without these specific personal experiences. The alleged chain of causation is weak, and the weakness affects the heart of the book's thesis. In the last analysis, the value of this book lies in its insights into the deteriorating conditions of the Argentine interior.

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ill the current localized protest one day escalate into revolutionary protest? he answer will largely depend, I suspect, on the ability of the local machine liticians to contain and deflect the causes and manifestations of protest.

David Rock

nny Sharpe. *Ghosts of Slavery: A Literary Archaeology of Black Women's Lives.* Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 2003. xxvi + 187 pp. ISBN 0-8166-3722-9, $49.95 cloth; ISBN 0-8166-3723-7, $17.95 paper.

Ghosts of Slavery, Jenny Sharpe examines, over four chapters, the lives of ree women—the Maroon leader, Nanny; the enslaved Mulatto, Joanna; d Mary Prince, the narrator of the only English female "slave narrative"—o experienced slavery in different geographical contexts in the Caribbean. e think we know these women because they are not as invisible as other slaved women, as their names are among the most repeated in the history oks; but how much do we really know, or can we know, given the sources ilable to us? Unlike women like Old Doll of Barbados, and men like udah Equiano, these are not people who left "their own" written records; d so Sharpe has rightly described the process through which she found terial, using Toni Morrison's characterization, as "literary archaeology." r rationale for this approach has been beautifully expressed: "Slavery con-ues to haunt the present because its stories, particularly those of slave men, have been improperly buried. But an improper burial does not mean that y are irretrievably lost" (xi). Having established the rationale that under-s her present work, she then proceeds to explain her methodology as she barked on this project of "resuscitating the lives of the dead by raising the inful memory of slavery" (xi). She uses a multidisciplinary approach "to ce together a range of subjectivities from the fragmentary appearance of e women in the historical records" (xiv). She complicates the issue of sistance": of equating agency with resistance. But as she correctly admits, s is not a new idea. Many other scholars have wrestled with the matter of stance vs. "accommodation," of collective vs. individual acts, and ques-ned the assumption of antislavery intent in all of the "oppositional prac-s" of the enslaved.

But Sharpe creatively revisits these debates by using the three women's s to demonstrate the complexities of the slave experience; the ways in ich their everyday activities moved between "oppositional practices," and ncy that was more broad-based than resistance, negotiation, survival. In er words, she demonstrates that antislavery discourse can be limiting. e also makes the interesting suggestion that perhaps the needs of the

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decolonization movement of the postmodern age and post-independence governments' search for heroes/heroines projected their own needs for "rebels" onto history. Her preference is for a more holistic approach to the study of the lived experiences of enslaved women, one that goes beyond their representation as rebels, while not ignoring this fundamental history of resistance.

I have to admit though that from a Caribbean perspective, her first chapter on Nanny, written as it is in the aftermath of Beverley Carey's authoritative *Maroon Story,* which gives greater visibility to Nanny than any previous work, appears almost passé. And Carey's work is not just based on "Maroon oral history." The chapter title also seems to reinforce the stereotype of Nanny as a mythical being; but it is understandable, as the image of Nanny as obeah woman and healer is so dominant. The usefulness of this chapter lies less in its uncovering of new historical data, however, and more in its rehearsal and problematization of the multiple representations of Nanny in the past and in the contemporary period.

The second chapter on "the mulatto concubine," as represented by Stedman's Joanna, questions the traditional assumptions about the roles of such women during slavery. Did they represent a site of subjugation and domesticity, or a site of resistance, or a combination of both? Is the search for autonomy not a form of resistance? Sharpe grapples with these questions, showing in the process that there is no simple answer. But the representation of the mixed race woman as belonging to a "privileged class" is certainly one that will continue, despite evidence that the relations of a slave society (even for those who were free/freed) cannot be interpreted, even in hindsight, as if they were those of a free society.

In chapter 3, Sharpe rightly questions the tendency to date West Indian migration to Britain as a postwar phenomenon, using the works of Gilroy and others that question the pragmatic amnesia to show that Black people from the Caribbean had been making this trip since the days of slavery. So the link between Joanna's allegorical journey to Europe and the journey of other enslaved Caribbean people to their respective metropoles can be made much earlier, regardless of whatever racist attitudes may persist in Britain towards the Black population.

The final chapter focuses on Mary Prince (first brought to our attention by Moira Ferguson and over-problematized ever since), whose "narrative" has been labeled by skeptics as an anti-slavery tract rather than as a true, first person "slave narrative." Sharpe also addresses this issue of the extent to which Prince had "narrative control" over her story, comparing this narrative with those of other enslaved women narrators (like Harriet Jacobs). Some who have read Prince differently may take issue with some of Sharpe's interpretation

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what the narrative reveals about Prince herself (e.g., "unlike Jacobs, the nditions of her sexual relations were closer to prostitution" [123]). Since is aspect of Prince's life is virtually silent in the text, as Sharpe herself knowledges, how do we "know" this? But in the academy, all views must allowed to contend. Sharpe's contribution is that she tries to read the slave rrative "as a record of what the slave could not speak . . . or was obliged forget" (123); and she finds usefulness in this approach in the Freudian derstanding of memory as "screen-discourse." In the end, Sharpe finds a ute out of the multiple silences to understand the life of the enslaved oman who was unable to tell us unambiguously about what slavery was like.

Although focused on three individual enslaved women, Sharpe uses their periences as lenses through which we can understand the experiences of her enslaved women—to imagine what may have happened in the past. nfortunately, few new names and faces are exposed. In this regard, the book strates the existing problem in Caribbean women's history—the focus on at is "known," and an insufficient attention to the excavation of new roines. We now need works focused, for example, on the seventy-five-plus men who were involved as rebels in the 1831/32 Emancipation War in maica. But that is not Sharpe's problem.

Admittedly the subject matter is not new; but this is a well-written work synthesis that not only adds to the growing body of works on gender in merican/Caribbean history, but also participates in the ongoing project of voicing the marginalized Black woman's experience. The multidisciplinary proach allows the author to make use of a variety of sources that speak to Black experience. Her mastery of theories and concepts is unchallenged. ave only a few problems with the book. I must question the author's sugtion on page 44 that "a study of West Indian concubinage . . . can tell us nething about how slave women achieved a certain degree of autonomy m their owners through a form of domesticity that was unique to the West dian slave culture." A comparative study of slave societies might well reveal at the West Indies was not at all unique in this regard. I also take issue with first note (157). It is true that scholars in the "external frontier" appear dominate the writing of Caribbean history; but there are historians in the ribbean who have spent a great deal of their time writing about the slavery perience and not just "the legacy of slavery during the post-emancipation riod." Her own bibliography (though not representative) undermines her im. I was also surprised to read the following on page 120: "Prince's narive was intended to create sympathy for the Negro race. . . ." I would have ough that scare quotes would have been in order.

Verene A. Shepherd

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Jean M. Humez. *Harriet Tubman: The Life and the Life Stories.* Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 2004. 484 pp. ISBN 0-299-19120-6, $45.00.

Harriet Tubman, the legendary escaped slave who guided scores of slaves to freedom, has been the subject of well over a hundred children's books, yet no major biography of her life has been produced since 1943. One might argue that this contradiction demonstrates the ways in which Tubman, the mythic figure said to have been guided by the North Star, mystical visions, and her famous motto—"I can't die but once"—has come to represent many things and serve many needs in the cultural imagination. In light of all the painful and shameful stories of slavery that would not and perhaps could not be told, the story of Tubman's heroic feats in the face of the monstrous institution replaced slavery's legacy of disgrace, indignity, and guilt with the epic narrative of a brave and victorious warrior. Perhaps to flesh out the life of the woman behind the icon would complicate that narrative displacement, yet, such an investigation is exactly what Jean M. Humez's biography of Tubman attempts. Humez's study encounters dense intersections between Tubman the iconic figure, and Tubman the private self. Indeed, Humez argues that the public image of Tubman has virtually swallowed the private woman. In this biography, Humez attempts to illuminate the creation of Tubman's celebrity while also resurrecting the private Tubman, who was shrouded by that celebrity.

To that end, Humez offers a four-part volume that begins with a biographical overview of Tubman's life. Situating Tubman's biography within the growing national crisis over slavery, in Part One Humez compiles accounts of Tubman's history, not with the intent of offering a definitive biography, but rather an interpretative outline that carefully brings multiple accounts of Tubman's life into conversation with each other. The result is an illuminating account that delineates the historical contours that shaped Tubman's life, while also closely examining the biographical data on Tubman. Taking into account the cross-fertilization of iconography and biography, Humez attempts to locate the boundaries between the two, and thus map a probable account of Tubman's life. For example, in her description of Tubman's escape, Humez compares early accounts that claim that Tubman was assisted in her escape by a white woman with later accounts that describe Tubman as having escaped slavery alone, guided only by the North Star. Humez concludes that while the former is probably the less "heroic" of the two versions, it seems "highly likely" that Tubman would have received such assistance, and that such an early alliance might explain Tubman's later amiable relationships with politically like-minded white women activists. Humez's account is replete with words such as "probably," "maybe," and

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kely." However, her speculative explorations often rely heavily on histori- l evidence that compels such interpretative reflection and warmly invites holarly inquiry.

Part Two of the biography is an innovative attempt to prove that Tub- an, an illiterate slave, "did 'write' her autobiography." According to Humez, ubman used all of the resources available to her as a storyteller and celebri- to create her public story. Humez contends that Tubman actively shaped r public legacy, and even exerted considerable control over the most exten- e biography of her written in her life time. Interestingly, Humez mines ubman's public performances, arguing that these performances, which cluded songs, storytelling, and performing dramatic reenactments, arguing at these performances not only projected the iconic Tubman, but also lped to create the audience for the biography, which Tubman collaborated with Sarah Hopkins Bradford. Humez explores the possibility of finding ubman's voice within the biographical texts, proposing Tubman's author- ip might be best exemplified in the "mini-narratives" or "core stories" in ich Tubman is not only a character but also controls the narrative per- ective. Humez argues that these narratives are Tubman's creation and hibit artfully crafted narrative structures that may have evaded revision and nsorship by the biographers. Despite this optimistic portrait of the possi- ities of locating Tubman within the mire of biographical accounts and tural iconography, Humez also calls attention to the silences, especially es related to Tubman's family history, in the interview-based biographies. addition, Humez probes what she reads as the biographers' perspective of cial 'otherness'" that shapes their accounts of Tubman.

Parts Three and Four are fascinating collections of biographical extracts d primary source materials. The former includes extracts from three biog- hies of Tubman, all of which Tubman participated in. Humez describes section as an assembly of "every individual life history story I was able to ate." Entitled "Stories and Sayings," the section is a rich resource for future dy of Tubman. The various accounts trace Tubman's early history, her ivism, and her growing celebrity. While Humez argues that these materi- also contribute to our understanding of the private Tubman, they some- es illustrate the inextricability of that private self from the iconography. ch of these accounts, though extracted from its contexts, speaks to the com- ities of a historical moment, and personal and collective agendas. Many them also suggest the tension between the teller's agenda and that of bman. Such conflicts should not be surprising, considering that Tubman, o Humez convincingly argues was the author of her life, was also in many ys competing with others for that authorship.

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Though she maps the ways in which Tubman shaped her own legacy, Humez also contends for that authorship, forming an image of Tubman as not only a powerful storyteller, but a bit of a nineteenth-century spin doctor who carefully erected her image and her legacy. Humez's argument forces readers to rethink the relationship between authorship, authority, literacy, and slavery, shifting from Tubman as a character within a particular meta-narrative, to Tubman as the inventor of a public self and narrative. For this reason and others, Humez's biography is a dynamic contribution to the fields of history, women's studies, and literary studies.

Cassandra Jackson

Frank H. Goodyear III. *Red Cloud: Photographs of a Lakota Chief.* Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 2003. 211 pp. 97 photographs. ISBN 0-8032-2192-4, $35.00.

Frank H. Goodyear III's book *Red Cloud: Photographs of a Lakota Chief* brings an interesting and fresh perspective to photographic artifacts usually seen as simply another weapon in the colonial arsenal. That photos of Native Americans were, and still are, used in ways that participate in the ongoing and mythologizing construction of American Indians as silent, noble Other to Western civilization cannot be disputed—a point made by authors such as Lucy Lippard, Gerald Vizenor, and James Clifford, among others. Goodyear discusses how the typical uses of these photographs center on white consumption: the amusement of the white masses through newspapers or dime novels, markers of social standing for the wealthier classes who commissioned and owned collections of such photos, and ethnographic analysis by social scientists and anthropologists. At the same time, though, Goodyear asks us to (re)consider our long-held views of one such photographic subject in particular, the Lakota leader Red Cloud (1821–1909), as instead a willing participant in what Goodyear wants us to recognize as a "transcultural conversation" (4).

The first few pages of the book can be taken to symbolize Goodyear's approach to the impressive assortment of eighty-one photographs he has gathered and carefully analyzed. Bright red pages invoke at once the foreignness and amorphousness of Red Cloud's name as a signifier. A white page with the words "Red Cloud" in small font toward the top right follows, as if to suggest that this name, this historical figure, this man was both a blank page onto which meanings were projected and a canvas for Red Cloud's own "self-fashioning" (6). The next page positions a negative image of the photograph that appears on the facing title page in this whitened blankness. This series

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pages illustrates Goodyear's thorough excavation of the historical context ended to bring progressively the meaning of any given photograph, and imately Red Cloud, into sharp focus. Goodyear's choice of a pose in which blind, old Red Cloud faces angled away from the camera, seemingly con- med with inner thoughts about his life, reflects his interest in Red Cloud's n motivations and choices as opposed to those of the photographer.

Goodyear's portrayal of Red Cloud as an acting subject is a welcome parture from representations of Native Americans as victims that draws on theoretical insistence on the inherent potential for resistance most asso- ted with the work of Michel Foucault. Through the extensive textual ref- nces to Oglala and white cultural contexts of the late nineteenth century r accompany each photo, Goodyear tries to paint a portrait of Red Cloud man who used photographic sessions as a means of "simultaneously pay- deference to and resisting those Euro-Americans who sought to subju- e the Lakotas" (5). Thus Goodyear reads Red Cloud's portraits as "semi- obiographical texts" (5), opening "new possibilities for Native American graphy" (1). Goodyear writes that his attention to "alternative documen- ion" offers "unique insights into Native lives" (1). This seems an especial- alient approach given the paucity of written material available due to the lity of American Indian cultures.

Yet the difficulty of Goodyear's task results in often contradictory pulses in the Introduction, as well as conflicting claims about various pho- graphs in the later chapters. For example, Goodyear alternately imputes sistance" and "reconciliation" or "communication" to Red Cloud. He ultaneously presents Red Cloud in idealistic and more realistic terms. On page, Goodyear has Red Cloud "refusing to allow others within Euro- erican society to define him" and "seiz[ing] upon this new technology otography] for his work of self-representation," then admits that although d Cloud "demanded that others see him, preferably on his own terms . . . s] was often not possible" (6). Chapter One, "First Exposure, 1870–1877," wise concedes that "it is often unclear why Red Cloud posed for a par- ular photograph" (33). Although Goodyear amasses a wealth of contextu- ing information, little of it speaks directly either to Red Cloud's motiva- ns or the reception of his photographs. This lack of specific knowledge cerning Red Cloud's intentions, whatever those might have been at any n time, coupled with the thorny issue of whether those intentions would fact determine the meaning of the image, undercut Goodyear's sometimes rly strong assertions of Red Cloud's "self-fashioning" (6).

Whether Goodyear ultimately succeeds in convincing his readers that d Cloud spoke "to both the dominant culture and his own people" (4)

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through the medium of photography is debatable. His invocation of a model of "transcultural conversation" during a time that might be described as the apex of colonialism in America is troubling. The word "conversation" implies an ideal of equal speaking positions that simply wasn't available to Red Cloud or any other Native in the decades leading up to the twentieth century. More importantly, a conversation requires a listener, and given the degree to which the average American had already internalized the myth of the vanishing Native, listeners of the type necessary to do justice to Red Cloud's attempts to communicate something resistant to the prevailing ideologies of the day would have been seriously limited, at best. Although the inability of the dominant culture to "hear" a subaltern voice does not automatically silence that voice—as Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak has pointed out—it does circumscribe its effectiveness, and therefore the photograph's ability to serve as a "vital medium through which to reconcile . . . differences" between white and Native cultures (4).

And while it might be tempting to defend Red Cloud's ability to communicate to other Indians through photography, this cannot be assumed either. Simple access to the photographs would have constituted a significant barrier; Red Cloud himself possessed only a few of the pictures. Although Goodyear points out that "political and social standing in Oglala society was determined more by public displays and performances than by hereditary association" (6), it's unclear if and how a session with a white photographer would have resonated with Oglala society. Goodyear presents no specific evidence of Lakota reception of photographs of Red Cloud. His own presentation of the various perceptions of photography among Indians, ranging from opportunities to make money to reviled anthropological tools, complicates the identification of a single role that these photographs might have played. Internal divisions among the Lakota about how to deal with the encroaching white presence increase this uncertainty; the Lakota chief Crazy Horse, for example, never allowed himself to be photographed. In a related vein, Goodyear at times places too much pressure on the concept of "Oglala society," which minimizes the conflicts and changes within the Lakota peoples as a result of more than two centuries of Native-white conflict.

The pairing of the title page photograph with its negative on the previous page indicates Goodyear's efforts to get behind the photographs, but it also highlights a problem in his text. The relationship between the circumstances of each photo's production and the photograph itself differs from that between a negative and the print. Goodyear relies too heavily on those historical circumstances, as if they determined the meaning of each image. Too often, Goodyear doesn't interpret the photograph itself at all, concentrating

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stead on Red Cloud's possible state of mind given the events surrounding is visit to the studio. Whereas Goodyear's speculations about Red Cloud's oughts entail interpretation of these events, his recitation of the historical ntext presents the events themselves as straightforward facts. Goodyear also erlooks alternative interpretations of the portraits. In discussing a photoaph of Red Cloud with William Blackmore, Goodyear finds "most revealg . . . the fact that the two men are shaking hands, suggesting mutual spect. . . . [T]he photograph seems to indicate that they formed a friendip" (23). Yet the posing of the photograph, in which Red Cloud is seated hile Blackmore stands above him, looking downward at Red Cloud in a ze that Red Cloud does not return, could more plausibly suggest a framing ore stereotypical to the age—that of the benevolent white man welcoming s (lesser) former adversary into the fold of civilization.

This problem renders Goodyear's work susceptible to the same charge he gitimately levels against the work of those early photographers of Natives: e substitution of the framer's desires for those of the subject. The juxtapoion of Goodyear's multipage detailed discussion with each photograph uld inadvertently suggest the very muteness that Goodyear wants to disite. In this way, the book's structure may reveal a similar power structure at attributes the ability to explain and to know to the white intellectual. In rticular, Goodyear's focus on the historical context to the virtual exclusion the photographs as images—the medium through which Red Cloud is pposed to be speaking—could perpetuate this silencing. Just as these poits "shed as much, often more, light on the dominant culture" (3) as on eir subjects, so Goodyear's readings of Red Cloud's intentions can also tell as much about about Goodyear as Red Cloud, and how this particular torical and intellectual moment enables America to "see" Natives.

Goodyear's project, then, raises important questions about postmodern ory and practice. A postcolonial paradigm—Goodyear references Homi abha and Mary Louise Pratt, for instance—does not automatically preide assumptions and effects that inhere in a colonial context. Ascribing ncy to the oppressed, such that the colonial hierarchy is inverted, or at least eled, fails to undermine the frame of reference itself. If postmodernism s the West less "convinced of the illusion of Otherness it created" (38), as arianna Torgovnick suggests in *Gone Primitive,* it should not enable us to ggest that "those differences, ordinarily so crucial, do not matter for the ration of the [postmodern] carnival," for while everything seems "freer ze, everything possible . . . carnivals do not last. And the interpenetration third and first world is not just festive. Behind the festivities are social and onomic facts we should not forget" (40). The point here is that while it is

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indeed tempting, and possible in today's frame of reference, to "hear" previously silenced voices, we cannot ignore the ongoing realities that allow the West to "hear" what it needs or wants. As much as the myth of the vanishing Native has been undermined and Native stereotypes debunked, one need only visit the grocer, gas station, or sports arena to remind oneself how prevalent those same myths remain. And despite Goodyear's valuable insights, his work ultimately documents how Red Cloud and others were virtually swept away by the white ideologies of the time—their legitimate complaints and concerns about conditions on the reservation mostly ignored, and their many trips to Washington largely unsuccessful in changing anything.

Christopher Nelson

Lynette Felber. *Literary Liaisons: Auto/biographical Appropriations in Modernist Women's Fiction.* DeKalb: Northern Illinois UP, 2002. 232 pp. ISBN 0-87580-301-6, $36.00.

In these days of political correctness, we have all been duly warned to separate the professional from the personal and never allow love interests to interfere with serious professorial identities, lest nasty harassment suits, dramatized onstage by David Mamet, compromise our pedagogical lives. What happens, however, if one's profession is that of writer, and one's mentor happens to be another author of the same or opposite sex? What if a literary mentorship turns into a much more personal apprenticeship in *ars amoris*? What is a young, impressionable female writer, inaugurated into the glittering world of prominent literati, to do if her aesthetic mentor happens to be an attractive individual with linguistic powers of subliminal seduction?

Most of the partnerships portrayed in Lynette Felber's *Literary Liaisons* —Anais Nin/Henry Miller, H.D./Ezra Pound/Richard Aldington, Rebecca West/H. G. Wells, Zelda Fitzgerald/F. Scott Fitzgerald, and Radclyffe Hall/Una Troubridge—end disastrously, with surviving consorts determined to recast a collaborative auto/biographical narrative in the image of their own narcissistic projections. Felber's book traces a fascinating proto-narrative of mastery and revenge geared to exonerate the authorial subject from moral or emotional culpability and to represent the opposite party as a heartless scoundrel, patriarchal autocrat, deranged nymphomaniac, or self-absorbed sociopath.

In the case of the expatriate author Anais Nin, the answer was simple: give in to the seductions and physicality of a charismatic Henry Miller, and make feeble excuses to one's husband (Hugh Guiler) about flaunted infidelities. Anais Nin met Henry Miller just as her first book, a semi-scholarly

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preciation of D. H. Lawrence, was about to hit Paris bookshops. Not actly a hot commodity, the text gave voice to a passionate but repressed lit-ary sensibility eager to be accepted by the European intelligentsia. Nin uld provide Miller with financial backing through subtle and seditious anipulation of her household economies. Somehow, she managed to carry a clandestine affair with the sexually voracious but magnetic Miller, even she made fantastic excuses for prolonged absences from her conjugal bed. scinated by Miller's barbaric realism, a mesmerized Anais developed an olatrous attachment to her savage, crass, narcissistic, but utterly captivating er. Miller was already a published author, a decade older than Anais, and ll acquainted with the bohemian haunts of Paris's left bank. Nin, though rn in Europe, had grown up in the United States, and was seeking a patri-hal tutor who might salve the wound of her father's earlier desertion.

The relationship, Felber suggests, was initially symbiotic, with Nin pro-ling praise for Henry's voracious ego, and Miller offering ambiguous liter-guidance to his seductive apprentice. This kind of mentorship, however, ariably turns bitter if the disciple challenges her instructor's accomplish-nts and the two engage in protracted vocational rivalry. Deeply hurt by nry's parodic imitation of her lyrical prose style, and envious of Miller's ranged wife June, Anais devised an ingenious game of one-upsmanship by propriating the subject of Henry's erotic fantasies. If June threatened Anais fact and in fiction, then Nin would launch a counterattack by seducing this drogynous female in a tacitly lesbian liaison. The strategy proved to be lliant and effective. Keen to trump Henry at the trade of literary produc-n, Anais appropriated June's figure for a succession of literary experiments: lific journal entries; the novella "Djuna," incorporated into *Winter of Arti-*; and the surrealistic novel published separately as *House of Incest.* In re-ating June's figure in the context of a rarefied experimental prose-poem mystified Henry, Nin could claim to be writing a thoroughly innovative rk of fiction as she attempted to mediate between the scopophilic male e and the female art of erotic enchantment. Anais could love June, reject then offer her enigmatic image as a propitiatory gift to the callous Miller, o felt incapable of empathizing with his complicated, elusive, mendacious use.

Nin's female gaze wanders far afield in her autobiographical memoirs, as ais embarks on a sexual experiment via two lesbian prostitutes who per-m sexual acts for her and a male companion (either Henry or her husband gh—depending on the version consulted). The lesbian performers care-ly dispense with dildoes and phallic apparatus, as the two women educate ais in the orgasmic pleasures of clitoral stimulation. With the clitoris

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standing in for the missing Freudian phallus, Nin claims mastery of her art and of June's heart, even as she trumps Henry at his own game of literary seduction. Anais was smart enough to outwit her literary mentor and eventually forge an international reputation that depended, Felber suggests, on the feminist enthusiasms of a 1970s cult of admiring devotees. But anyone who had met and conversed with Nin personally, as I had, could never quite forget her charismatic charms.

One of the most riveting chapters in Felber's study is her discussion of "H.D.'s Auto/Biographical Fiction," a section devoted to the multiple, palimpsestic fictional incarnations of H.D.'s congeries of heterosexual, homosexual, and bisexual liaisons. Identifying Ezra Pound as her first "initiator," H.D. offered a less than flattering portrait of this early mentor in her Bildungsroman *Hermione.* Although Pound/George Lowndes introduces the Hilda/Hermione protagonist to the joys of linguistic and poetic utterance and counsels her to learn Greek, the egotistical Yankee poet condescendingly tells his Dryadic muse that although she herself is a poem, the verses she authors are "naught." In this twice-told tale of adolescent romance and ill-fated infatuation, Pound competes with Frances Gregg/Fayne Rabb for the heroine's favor, with the results of their amorous rivalry left ambiguous at the end of the novel. Although H.D./Hermione triumphantly inscribes her female, preoedipal, and pre-linguistic identity symbolically in the snow, and Fayne awaits the company of the friend she has ostensibly betrayed, it is not until the sequel *Asphodel* that Gregg's adult hypocrisy and conjugal treachery are fully revealed.

Felber devotes much of Chapter 5 to an intriguing analysis of H.D.'s mature Kunstlerroman, *Bid Me to Live,* delineating the traumatic years of World War I. Here H.D.'s poet-husband, Richard Aldington (Rafe Ashton) becomes the model for a hyper-masculine British warrior whose sexual needs require palliation through brash infidelities with a sensuous, voluptuous mistress; and the role of spiritual, poetic, disembodied mentor is fulfilled by D. H. Lawrence/Rico, who advises H.D./Julia to restrict her poetry to the intuitive iterations of a passive and victimized Eurydice. For Felber, it is Cecil Gray/Cyril Vane who mediates the doubly destructive mentorship offered by these literary foils by offering Julia sanctuary in Cornwall and a fraternal guardianship that appropriately nurtures and mirrors her burgeoning artistic identity. Felber's description of the complex trajectory of H.D.'s coming-to-writing might have been further elucidated by triangulating this particular novel with its two corollary fictional renditions of H.D.'s experience during World War I—*Asphodel* and *Paint It Today.* Although Felber briefly mentions both texts, she dismisses the emergent portrait of Bryher (Winifred Ellerman) as H.D.'s

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iumphant alternative to the failures of male heterosexual mentorship. In *sphodel,* when Gray's patronage is exposed as paternally irresponsible, Her-ione renounces his partnership and embraces her own future (re)produc-ve capacities in a lyrical paean to incipient maternity. Similarly, female onding and the exuberant celebration of a magical mystery child sets the age for a new female aesthetic of maternally grounded *gloire* announced in *id Me to Live,* then realized in *Asphodel* and *Paint It Today.* Felber pays trib-e to Bryher as a sequential visionary collaborator in H.D.'s *Tribute to Freud,* ut not entirely successful in her complex role as financial patron, spiritual rtner, and enamored disciple of an august literary mentor. What Felber's eoretical scaffolding helps readers comprehend, however, is the illusory ture of the subject's biased perception of the beloved object—an idealized sion lodged in the Lacanian Real and constructed through psychological ojection and chronic misprision.

When the author Cicely Fairfield became a feminist writer, she took the *m de plume* of Rebecca West, in homage to the playwright Ibsen, who had aken the western world with his celebration of the "new free woman" of a wning era of rights and egalitarian liberties. After she had indicted H. G. Ells as an "old maid" in a 1912 review of his novel *Marriage,* the literary an sought out this bold feminist critic, charmed her, seduced her, and fectionately addressed her as his feline erotic compatriot, "Panther." Wells asured the corollary epithet of "Jaguar" and whimsically changed his con-gal consort's name from Amy Catherine Wells to plain "Jane"—a tolerant ouse who indulged her wayward husband's perennial *passades,* provided he id the family mortgage and consigned his illegitimate children to the care other women.

When Cicely/Rebecca gave birth to a bastard son, Anthony "Panther" est, this highly cerebral woman realized that she had little tolerance or skill raising "cubs"—especially one with enough literary genes to wreak ven-ance on both progenitor and maternal "Aunt" by writing savage narratives at parodied his parentage and vindicated his illegitimate status. Rebecca s forced to tussle with both her lover and her son for the control of a much sputed auto/biographical narrative of failed mentorship, abusive conjugal-, and unrequited love. Part revenge novel, part therapeutic text, West's sthumously published *Sunflower* cast her in the role of a much more pas-e and less educated alter ego—the blonde, beautiful, and betrayed figure of actress named Sybil Fassendyll, christened "Sunflower" by her charming invidious lover Lord Essington. Giving aristocratic status to the son of a opkeeper, West nonetheless used this fictional portrait of her irascible lover expose the kind of verbal and psychological abuse characteristic of Wells's

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patriarchal power over women who fell under the sway of his monumental intellect, overbearing demeanor, and megalomanic personality. *Sunflower* exposes Wells as blustering but impotent, a rebarbative character seeking maternal nurture in the guise of amorous ecstasy, and intent on exploiting intellectual women with the same bravado articulated in his visionary and prophetic fiction. Wells's farsighted political philosophy translated into narcissistic exploitation of the highly gifted women he managed to lure into the web of his hypnotic narrative imagination.

If Rebecca West writes fiction as a kind of "scriptotherapy" to work through psychological abuse and verbal harassment, she nonetheless attempts to situate her own sense of a lost and wasted youth, sexual humiliation, and emotional abandonment in the larger political context of female vulnerability to male treachery in a society that blindly condones patriarchal manipulation and emotional abuse. Although she briefly flirts with the possibility of being rescued by a romantic hero/lover (Lord Beaverbrook/Francis Pitt), West finally turns to her art as the true repository of pleasure and gratification, even as she leaves her blonde alter ego bereft in North America, searching for love in lower-class immigrant haunts that fail to fulfill the promise once offered by the London stage.

It might have been interesting for Felber to compare West's vituperative portrait of her erstwhile mentor with auto/biographical sketches of Wells in Dorothy Richardson's *Pilgrimage* (a text treated by Felber in her earlier study *Gender and Genre in Novels Without End*). H. G. Wells apparently proposed similar agendas, at different times, to both Richardson and West—brilliant and talented females besotted by their witty consort. Richardson barely escaped a lifelong connection with Wells when she suffered a traumatic miscarriage. West, in contrast, bore Wells's illegitimate child and lived to tell a tale of shocking sexploitation, while her son Anthony cajoled her in print for the crime of single parenthood and blamed her for the painful resonance of their social ostracism.

When F. Scott Fitzgerald met Zelda Sayre, a beautiful and vivacious debutante from the American South, he felt that in discovering the love of his life, he had acquired a gorgeous Galatea whose emotional turbulence enhanced her role as malleable muse for an anguished American modernist. Little did the author anticipate that this pliable Galatea would eventually rebel. Who, one might ask, can legitimately claim the right to configure mutually shared auto/biographical life experiences in the fictional medium of twentieth-century art? For Scott Fitzgerald, the answer was obvious: the (male) subject with acknowledged talent should appropriate and re-shape a collaborative life story. He who best tells the tale (and who has a vendable

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ublication outlet) has priority in the game of tit-for-tat tale-telling. Narrative ill claims priority in the field of publication, conjugal disputes, and divorce urt settlements.

But even a charming southern belle, a scribbling lady, or an anorexic bal- dancer can eventually get fed up. Zelda started complaining that her hus- nd pilfered her witticisms, took notes on their private conversations, stole om her diaries, ransacked her letters, and rescripted her prose. In a spousal view of *The Beautiful and the Damned,* Zelda charged, in a fit of pique, that ott had plagiarized her diaries and letters, and that his prose style resem- ed the soggy essays she had composed as an adolescent. In this inadvertent llaboration, one of the parties felt decidedly unsatisfied.

First in jest, then in earnest, Zelda not only got mad (in every sense of e term), but also got even. In her auto/biographical Bildungsroman, *Save e the Waltz,* she artfully articulated her version of the narrative, transposing e literary careers of herself and Scott into the agonistic marriage of the ncer Alabama Beggs to an arrogant painter, David Knight. Abjuring his itial role as courtly knight in shining armor, David commits adultery, and rough sexual infidelities and verbal abuse, pushes Alabama in the direction self-discovery as an independent woman and successful artist. In Paris, she abraces a mensch of a mentor in the figure of Madame, a surrogate moth- who introduces her to a Kristevan language of gestures and a community nurturant women who foster her talent and self-esteem. Only in the dark derworld of the Neapolitan stage does Alabama discover the Janus image female solicitude in a ruthless and competitive environment of profes- nal one-upsmanship. Fatally wounded by a "calla lily . . . or a shower th," this pirouetting princess gets blood poisoning, severs a tendon, and is t (like Oedipus) castrated and immobile at the end of the novel.

Alas, poor Zelda! Incarcerated in a sanitarium, she was forbidden by her sband to write, then allowed only two hours of scribbling per day by her erly solicitous doctors. Scott was livid when he learned that Zelda had sub- itted her autobiographical novel to publishers without his permission. And cause of intersections with his own literary production, he demanded that e make numerous changes in the manuscript. Zelda apparently complied ith many of his demands, but her book remained a bone of contention in highly fraught conjugal contest for artistic custody of auto/biographical perience. One does not know whether the title *Save Me the Waltz* issues an perious command or an affectionate plea. In either case, the waltz is a nce that traditionally demands a supportive partner. Zelda's alter ego, like ats's lyrical dancer, is a solitary ballerina tragically denied an artistic future. onically, Zelda herself would eventually paint ballet scenes similar to those

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she fictionally attributes to David Knight. Appropriating the identity of the male artist she created, Zelda ingeniously blurs the outlines of artist, model, and mimetic reproduction in the course of her turbulent career.

A singular exception to this pattern of male abuse and female protest is Radclyffe Hall's auto/biographical novel *The Forge,* lovingly dedicated to her lesbian lover Una Troubridge. Coding her relationship with Una in the masquerade of heterosexual marriage, Hall simultaneously examines the inevitable conflict between vocation and amorous commitment that perplexes both parties in a relationship that must accommodate two aspiring artists. Cloaking her lesbian love affair in a thin veil of heterosexual union, Hall offers an ostensible social comedy that grapples with serious issues of love and self-sacrifice, ego and narcissistic demand, and the attempt of one party to fulfill the needs of the other through a process of imaginary cross-attribution. When Hall examines the mind-forged manacles that limit and constrain both partners in a traditional love relationship, she gratefully acknowledges the implicit sacrifices made by Una, her own domestic partner.

Throughout *Literary Liaisons,* Felber makes use of a complex and scholarly substratum of psychoanalytic theory—Lacanian mirror images buttressed by theoretical premises from Kristeva, Irigaray, and Cixous, to name only a few. The study is brilliantly configured and sustained by a remarkable array of feminist and psychoanalytic theories that add depth and texture to Felber's argument. Yet it strikes even a sympathetic and informed reader that some of Felber's ponderous psychoanalytic apparatus might profitably have been honed, and the text streamlined. Auto/biographical narratives evinced by turbulent love relationships in the stormy years of post-suffrage modernism provide an intriguing topic of investigation. Psychoanalytic explanation is sometimes an added bonus in this study, and sometimes superfluous in the context of a sensitive and elucidating work of literary interpretation.

What might have deserved more attention in *Literary Liaisons* is the paradoxical motive of subliminal seduction lingering in even the most belligerent tale of terminated relationship. Ironically, the narrative of vengeance and retribution often contains a subtext of self-justification aimed at an audience of one, i.e., the erstwhile lover who abandoned the wounded subject. Implicitly, the author addresses an orison of self-justification to the missing consort: "You see, if only you had realized how sensitive, intelligent, perspicacious and warmhearted I actually am, you never would have hurt, harmed, or abandoned me, thus obviating my subjectivity and casting me in the role of phallic/vaginal pleasure-object." Such covert Oedipal pleas for maternal love or paternal approval underwrite a plethora of auto/biographical texts with surface agendas of one-upsmanship. Jacques Lacan would surely warn of the

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futility of such authorial projects. In all probability, the ex-lover will refuse to acknowledge his/her portrait in the polished mirror of autofiction. Or s/he will retaliate with an even more acerbic and auto/biographical testimony in a protracted game of "tit for tat," with no last term ever anywhere in sight. In such personalized contests of dueling word-processors, both authors might be in danger of boring or losing their intended audiences.

Suzette Henke

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REVIEWED ELSEWHERE

Contributing editors Patricia Angley, Judith Lütge Coullie, Michael Fassiotto, Marie-Christine Garneau, Théo Garneau, Corey Hollis, Noel Kent, John W. I. Lee, Barbara Bennett Peterson, and George Simson provided the excerpts for this issue.

Publications reviewed include *Albion, American Quarterly, Bryn Mawr Classical Review, French Review, French Studies, The Historian, Journal of World History, Los Angeles Times Book Review (LATBR), The New Yorker, New York Times Book Review (NYTBR), Pacific Historical Review, Studi Francesi, Times Literary Supplement (TLS), Washington Post National Weekly Edition (WP),* and *Women's Review of Books*; and from Africa, *African Book Publishing Record, Cape Times, Cape Argus, Die Burger, The Herald, H-SAfrica, Mail & Guardian, Pretoria News, Quarterly Bulletin of the National Library of South Africa, Rapport, Saturday Dispatch, Sowetan, The Star, The Sunday Independent, This Day,* and *Weekend Post.*

Adolphus Frederick, Duke of Cambridge

Adolphus Frederick, Duke of Cambridge—Steadfast Son of King George III, 1774–1850. Grace E. Moremen. Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen, 2002. 442 pp. $139.95.

"Moremen's biography . . . is a significant revision of Whig and Radical views of the sons of George III. . . . Moremen gives a perceptive analysis of the religious and intellectual roots of George III's concepts of conduct and duty. . . . Moremen's solid work, despite occasional tedious detail, pedestrian style, shoddy format, and prohibitive cost, is the best biography of a son of George III with the possible exception of George IV. The dukes of York, Clarence, Kent, Cumberland, and Sussex await biographers of Moremen's caliber."

Malcolm Lester. *Albion* 36.1 (Spring 2004): 144–45.

Al Saud Family. See **Bush Family.**

Apollinaire, Guillaume

Apollinaire et le portrait. Ed. Michel Decaudin. Paris: Lettres Modernes Minard, 2001. 271 pp. $43.50.

"This concise volume includes fourteen critical essays covering a broad range of concepts of portrait and portraiture as applied to Apollinaire and his works. From graphic to literary portraits of the author, from self-portraits to critical reviews of others' portraits, few aspects of the art and its interpretations are left untouched. Each essay captivates the reader by its clarity and

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erceptiveness. . . . Readers will undoubtedly find many ideas in this densely written volume to inspire further thought and study. Of particular note is the fine way each essay relates art and literature, in esthetics, themes, and unction."

Ainslie Armstrong McLees. *French Review* 77.6 (May 2004): 1239–40.

udubon, John James

ohn James Audubon: The Making of an American. Richard Rhodes. New York: Knopf, 2004. 516 pp. $30.00.

Great talents have deep roots. Richard Rhodes illustrates this with his 'John ames Audubon: The Making of an American,' an unpretentiously titled ook that is more than a mere biography. It is a comprehensive history of a an and his era."

Avedis Hadjian. *LATBR,* Oct. 10, 2004: 6.

acchus

acchus: A Biography. Andrew Dalby. Los Angeles: Getty, 2004. 166 pp. ISBN 0-89236-742-3, $19.99.

The Greek god Bacchus, a familiar figure to any wine aficionado, is the subject of this intriguing book. The author, Andrew Dalby, interweaves different versions of the myths of the life of Bacchus to form a cohesive whole, ainting a picture of the god's life from its beginnings through his installaion upon Mt. Olympus. The narrative is interspersed by the author's commentary on the different versions of the myths, allowing the reader to get a ense of the scope and complexity of the ancient sources. This is a novel conept that portrays Bacchus in the guise of a real historical figure. This book aimed at the general public and is, overall, an enjoyable read that will appeal anyone interested in . . . Greek mythology, Bacchus and the mythical orin of wine."

R. Marquedant. *Bryn Mawr Classical Review,* Sept. 13, 2004.

aker, Florence

o the Heart of the Nile: Lady Florence Baker and the Exploration of Central Africa. Pat Shipman. New York: Morrow, 2004. 428 pp. $25.95. Published as *The Stolen Woman: Florence Baker's Extraordinary Life from the Harem to the Heart of Africa.* London: Random House, 2004. 428 pp. R150.

The Bakers' story is a marvelous gem, and Shipman is keen to portray it as n epic love affair. . . . The problem with Shipman's style is not that she tries o use novelistic techniques. It's that too often the book ends up sounding ike a dime-store romance."

Zachary Karabell. *LATBR,* Aug. 1, 2004: 8.

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The life of Florence Baker would put lead in the pencil of any biographer. Orphaned at four, she was raised in an Ottoman harem. At the age of fourteen, she was taken to auction to be sold as a white slave. But fate had other plans for her. Attending the auction was the maharajah, Duleep Singh, and his companion, Samuel Baker, a broken-nosed, hirsute Victorian widower. Despite the difference in age, Sam Baker and Florence fell in love and he smuggled her out of the Ottoman territory in his carriage. Together, they travelled in search of the source of the White Nile, which Sam Baker named Lake Albert N'yanza. Although Florence was shunned in England as a loose woman (and Queen Victoria refused to receive her at court), Sam was knighted for their explorations. . . . "All biography is ultimately fiction," writes Pat Shipman. "I consider it my job to portray the deeper truth of [Florence Baker's] character and a more insightful perspective . . . than can be conveyed by mere facts." In this Shipman succeeds admirably, occasional Americanisms notwithstanding.

Caroline Hurry. *The Sunday Independent,* July 4, 2004: 18.

Bannister, Roger

The Perfect Mile. Neal Bascomb. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2004. 352 pp. $24.00.

"'It's a mark of Bascomb's skill. Although the outcome of the race [Bannister's four-minute mile] is well known, he keeps us in suspense, rendering in graphic detail the runner's agony down the final stretch."

The New Yorker, May 10, 2004: 103.

Barres, Maurice. See **Rachilde.**

Baudelaire, Charles

Les souvenirs de Lorédan Larchey sur Baudelaire. J. Duprilot. *Histoires littéraires* XI (July-Sept. 2002). 51–62 pp. Yearly subscription: EURO60.

In *Les souvenirs de Lorédan Larchey sur Baudelaire,* J. Duprilot gathers documents recording Lorédan Larchey's memories of Baudelaire. Baudelaire and Larchey met for the first time during a concert in 1860. Larchey mentions the crucial moments in Baudelaire's life when he visited Jules Sandeau or when he participated in the discussions in Mrs. Sandeau's salon.

Lorena Germano. *Studi Francesi,* Sept.-Dec. 2003: 745.

Bin Laden, Osama

Osama: The Making of a Terrorist. Jonathan Randal. New York: Knopf, 2004. 339 pp. $26.95.

"Reading this book, one is left in horrified awe of what bin Laden has achieved by means of deft public relations, a little money, intense secrecy,

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careful planning and manipulation of fear and anger. Even as he went to ground, probably somewhere on the Pakistan-Afghan border, in much of the Muslim world his reputation for invincibility had attained the status of legend; whether or not he achieves his martyrdom, there is a danger he may already have achieved the immortality of myth. From this perspective America is on the defensive, not Osama."

Ben Macintyre. *NYTBR*, Oct. 3, 2004: 24.

Blair, Tony

Blair. Anthony Seldon. New York: Free Press, 2004. 755 pp.

"This is not a chronological account. Instead chapters alternate between significant individuals in Blair's life and events that have proved to be turning points. . . . Gradually the structure draws on in, beaming fresh light on the familiar personalities and news stories. . . . The author cites Iraq as the fatal aberration, what he regards as reckless, bold support for President Bush's war. . . Seldon manages to make his book revelatory and readable while never pretending that Blair is anything other than a rather unremarkable and youthful leader in an extraordinary political situation."

Steve Richards. *TLS*, Aug. 20, 2004: 9.

Borges, Jorge Luis

Borges: A Life. Edwin Williamson. New York: Viking, 2004. 574 pp. $34.95.

"There are at least 11 biographies of Jorge Luis Borges, three in English; do we need another? Yes, because since Emir Rodríguez Monegal's of 1978, an astonishing quantity of material . . . has materialized. Edwin Williamson, after a nine-year exploration of Borgesean territory, has produced in 'Borges: A Life' the best guide to the intertwined life and writings of the most important Spanish-language author of the 20th century."

Alfred MacAdam. *LATBR*, Aug. 8, 2004: 8.

Boyd Hawes, Harriet

Born to Rebel: The Life of Harriet Boyd Hawes. Mary Allsebrook. Ed. Annie Allsebrook. 1992. Rpt. with corrections and a postscript. Oxford: Oxbow, 2002. 244 pp. $15.00.

"Harriet Boyd Hawes (1871–1945), an 'audacious person of wide, intense interests, always doing the unexpected and frequently becoming involved along the fringes of history,' will be best known to readers of this review as the pioneer archaeologist of Gournia in Crete. Her daughter, Mary Allsebrook, who urged her to write a light-hearted account of her experiences before her death, based this book on what she had sketched out and readily acknowledges that the sources (diaries and letters) were 'hit-or-miss'. The present volume is revised by her granddaughter, with the addition of a postscript

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which takes into account the centenary of the first excavations of the American School of Archaeology in Crete. . . . The title, *Born to Rebel,* sets the tone of the book, as does the first sentence, 'Mother was a problem!' Although she will always be remembered for the excavation of Gournia, she in fact spent only five years of her life in field work. Much of this biography, therefore, is given to her other activities, which included political activism, nursing, and war relief. The pace of the book is partly determined by the intensity of the life of its subject, and perhaps by the fact that her daughter, a journalist, had inherited her zest for adventure. . . . A book like this must be taken on its own terms as a daughter's account of her mother. It is a delightful read. More importantly, Mary Allsebrook has put on record and made accessible Boyd Hawes' astounding achievements. What is needed now is a full-scale critical biography of this remarkable and influential woman."

Annabel Robinson. *Bryn Mawr Classical Review,* Aug. 14, 2004.

Brennan, Maeve

Maeve Brennan: Homesick at the New Yorker. Angela Bourke. London: Cape, 2004. 333 pp. £16.99.

Brennan was an Irish-born writer for the *New Yorker* during the mid-twentieth century. "The parts of the book that deal with Brennan's parents, well-known Republican activists intimately involved in Irish politics in the early twentieth century, are amply documented, lucid, informative, and long; when the biography turns to focus on Maeve, the sources of information dry up. Brennan is a difficult subject . . . and Bourke is hard-pressed even to trace Maeve's movements . . . in the forty years in which she lived alone."

Claire Harman. *TLS,* July 16, 2004: 8–9.

Browning, Robert, and Elizabeth Barrett Browning

Robert Browing: A Life after Death. Pamela Neville-Sington. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 2004. 340 pp. £20.00.

Elizabeth Barrett and Robert Browning: A Creative Partnership. Mary Sanders Pollock. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004. 244 pp. £45.00.

"Literary biography, as it is practiced in these books, is a 'little thing'. *Robert Browing: A Life after Death* has many appealing qualities: a fresh narrative method, shrewd observation of character, a clear and witty style; it is often enlightening about the poet's habits, his friends and family, his intellectual interests; but it is dumb on the subject of his life's work. Pamela Neville-Sington has no conception of poetry as possessing independent energy and interest; Browning's life and work simply illustrate each, as though they were the same sort of thing. But they weren't, and the fruit of the tree of life-writing is not knowledge but gossip. . . . Though [Pollock's] book's title suggests a sustained study of poetic influence, it is rather a series of discrete articles

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held together by a somewhat tendentious web of neo-Bakhtinian 'dialogic' theory and biographical summary. . . . Pollock . . . does pay serious attention to poetic form and genre, and her readings of mixed, intermediate, unsatisfying poems by both Browning and Barrett Browning . . . are interesting and genuinely revisionist."

Daniel Karlin. *TLS,* July 2, 2004: 9–10.

Bush, George W.

Inside America's War on Terror. Richard A. Clarke. New York: Free Press, 2004. 304 pp. $27.00.

"The explosive details about President Bush's obsession with Iraq in the immediate aftermath of the Sept. 11 attacks captured the headlines in the days after the book's release, but 'Against All Enemies' offers more. It is a rarity among Washington-insider memoirs—it's a thumping good read."

James Risen. *NYTBR,* Apr. 11, 2004: 9.

The President of Good and Evil: The Ethics of George W. Bush. Peter Singer. New York: Dutton, 2004. 288 pp. $24.95.

"Singer puts his own finger on the biggest problem with his approach when he insists that 'democratic politics' should be 'not so much . . . a battle for power . . . but rather . . . a kind of public conversation about issues of concern.' This is all very nice, but it seems irrelevant to our real-life democracy."

Paul Mattick. *NYTBR,* Apr. 25, 2004: 17.

Plan of Attack. Bob Woodward. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2004. 467 pp. $28.00.

"For all its imperfections, 'Plan of Attack' is, as its title suggests, a more combative book than anything Bob Woodward has written in a long time, and reminds us of the investigative passion that got him going in the first place. He could not have chosen a better moment for his comeback."

Ted Widmer. *NYTBR,* May 9, 2004: 7.

". . . 'Plan of Attack,' an account of the Bush Administration's decision to make preëmptive war on Iraq, is worthy of the fuss. It is a piece of goods, as surely as a new Lexus or a Chanel frock is a piece of goods, but these are goods that deliver the goods. 'Plan of Attack' is Woodward's best book in years, much superior to its predecessor volume, 'Bush at War,' which chronicled the Administration's deliberations during the hundred days following the events of September 11, 2001."

Hendrik Hertzberg. *The New Yorker,* May 10, 2004: 98–102.

The Folly of Empire: What George W. Bush Could Learn from Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson. John B. Judis. New York: Lisa Drew/Scribner, 2004. 245 pp. $24.00.

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"John B. Judis, a senior editor for the New Republic, proposes a deeper reason for the war [than the protection of the United States from Saddam Hussein], one that the president and his entourage have cited as central to their thinking: their belief that America could bring democracy to Iraq. . . . In an enlightening interpretation of American history, Judis expresses the hope that George W. Bush and his successors will soon understand the folly of imperialism as did Roosevelt and Wilson."

James Chace. *NYTBR*, Sept. 12, 2004: 20.

A Man of Faith: The Spiritual Journey of George W. Bush. David Aikman. Nashville: W, 2004. 240 pp. $21.99.

A Matter of Character: Inside the White House of George W. Bush. Ronald Kessler. New York: Sentinel, 2004. 348 pp. $24.95.

Misunderestimated: The President Battles Terrorism, John Kerry, and the Bush Haters. Bill Saummon. New York: Regan Books/HarperCollins, 2004. 352 pp. $27.90.

"Saummon (Bush nickname: 'Superstretch'), senior White House correspondent for The Washington Times, alternates fly-on-the-wall reportage with narrative structure. . . . [He quotes], without comment, Karl Rove's assertion that the president likes to have his views challenged in free-wheeling discussions. That Rove explains, is why the White House must be so secretive: you can know that 'regardless of how it's resolved, everybody's gonna salute and move on.' This is precisely as believable as the statement, 'Bill Clinton had eyes only for his wife,' and runs entirely counter to even the testimony of the former speechwriter for [Bush], David Frum, who observed, 'One seldom heard an unexpected comment in the Bush White House.' . . . Bush is impatient with the play of ideas because it's undisciplined, and Bush is all about discipline. You would be, too, if you believe that God, speaking in 1999 through the Rev. Mark Craig, had told you to run for president. David Aikman, a former senior correspondent at Time, shares this intelligence. . . . [Bush supporters] will accept this at face value; [Bush detractors] will think it's insane. . . . Ronald Kessler, a veteran of Washington journalism and author of books on the C.I.A., the F.B.I., the White House and the Kennedys, frames his [Bush] book . . . almost entirely as a comparison between an Oscar Madison Clinton, whom he loathes, and a Felix Ungar Bush, whose 'competence in running the government was unparalleled.'"

Timothy Noah. *NYTBR*, Sept. 12, 2004: 24.

The Bush Family

American Dynasty: Aristocracy, Fortune, and the Politics of Deceit in the House of Bush. Kevin Phillips. New York: Viking, 2004. 320 pp. $25.95.

"Phillips, taking the notion of dynasty literally, compares the Bushes to the Stuarts of Britain and the Bourbons of France, and warns the George W.'s

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ssumption of the Presidency so soon after his father's term—with Jeb Bush n the wings—could establish a family succession that would traduce Amer-ca's republican traditions. This prophecy is, to say the least, premature."

David Greenberg. *The New Yorker,* July 12 & 19, 2004: 92–98.

The Bushes: Portrait of a Dynasty. Peter and Rochelle Schwietzer. New York: Doubleday, 2004. 592 pp. $27.95.

'The Bushes' is without question the winner in this [year's] batch of books hat tell you what to think about Bush. Peter Schwietzer is a fellow at the Hoover Institution, a [conservative] outpost, but he and his wife have pro-ided the most layered and absorbing portrait of Bush in any of [this year's] olumes."

Timothy Noah. *NYTBR,* Sept. 12, 2004: 24.

['The Bushes' is] an admiring history of the family."

David Greenberg. *The New Yorker,* July 12 & 19, 2004: 92–98.

The Family: The Real Story of the Bush Dynasty. Kitty Kelley. New York: Doubleday, 2004. 705 pp. $29.95.

. . . like her or not, Kelley has brought new information to bear on a fami-y that, for better or worse, deserves her kind of royal treatment. For all their hortcomings, the Bushes are major figures in American history, and no mat-er who wins the election, the 21st century will bear their stamp for a long ime to come, from the Middle East to the Middle West."

Ted Widmer. *NYTBR,* Oct. 10, 2004: 28–29.

Kelley's reputation as an 'unauthorized biographer' precedes her—how nany authors feel the need to mention that they've 'never lost a lawsuit'?—nd she is best appreciated less as an investigative journalist than as a folk-orist, amassing a compendium of gossip (much of it denied by its subjects). Generally, the Bushes give her plenty of material."

The New Yorker, Sept. 27, 2004: 148.

House of Bush, House of Saud: The Secret Relationship Between the World's Two Most Powerful Dynasties. Craig Ungar. New York: Scribner, 2004. 368 pp. $26.00.

'One of the contributions of Craig Ungar's book is to remind us how much he elder Bush was a product of a bygone establishment—hence his engage-nent, as Vice-President and President, in covert arms swaps and financial rades."

David Greenberg. *The New Yorker,* July 12 & 19, 2004: 92-98.

'Ungar . . . wants to do more than just underscore how avaricious—and nconcerned with the appearance of conflict of interest—the Bushes have een in their long climb to the upper-upper-class. The book claims that, as

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compensation for big bucks, both Bush presidents have actually given Saudi Arabia a 'pass'—that is, deliberately overlooked the kingdom's longtime support for Islamic radicalism and terror in return for personal profit."

Jonathan D. Tepperman. *NYTBR,* Apr. 18, 2004: 11.

Capote, Truman

Too Brief a Treat: The Letters of Truman Capote. Ed. Gerald Clarke. New York: Random House, 2004. 512 pp. $27.95.

"However corrective this volume may prove to Capote's tabloid reputation, it will not gain him much epistolary renown. There are, as one would expect, delicate lines here and there ('The water is as clear and as blue as a mermaid's eye'), along with the nervy charm of the writer's unabashed effeminacy. . . . There are also sharp sightings (André Gide in a Sicilian barbershop 'having his face lathered by little boys of ten and twelve') and some feline boldface dispatches, such as this one from Portofino: 'The Windsors (morons), the Luces (morons plus), Garbo (looking like death with a suntan), the Oliviers (they let her [Vivien Leigh] out).' But the fast, abbreviated nature of these displays bespeaks Capote's over-all lassitude as a correspondent."

Thomas Mallon. *The New Yorker,* Sept. 13, 2004: 84–88.

Care, Henry

The Ingenious Mr. Henry Care, Restoration Publicist. Lois G. Schwoerer. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 2002. 349 pp. $42.95.

"Schwoerer does what she can with limited evidence, though at times her speculations are more intuitive than based on hard evidence. . . . [T]he importance of this book lies . . . in its carefully contextualized examination of the Restoration press. . . . [M]ost readers will agree that Schwoerer has made an important addition to our understanding of the role of print and the press in the Restoration."

Victor Stater. *Albion* 35.4 (Winter 2004): 654–56.

Carême, Antonin

Cooking for Kings. Ian Kelly. New York: Walker, 2004. 301 pp. $26.00.

"Antonin Carême was the most illustrious chef of post-Revolution France—Napoleon, the Rothschilds, and Tsar Alexander all employed him—and he is still remembered as the father of modern French cuisine, the popularizer of the soufflé, and the designer of the iconic chef's hat. Kelly charts Carême's use of food as a tool of social leverage, although he perhaps takes the self-promoting chef too much at his own estimation when he attributes the rise of the Rothschilds to their decision to hire Carême."

The New Yorker, Sept. 6, 2004: 163.

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Carlson, Chester

Copies in Seconds: How a Lone Inventor and an Unknown Company Created the Biggest Communication Breakthrough Since Gutenberg—Chester Carlson and the Birth of the Xerox Machine. David Owen. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2004. 306 pp. $24.00.

"Copies in Seconds' is an interlocking biography of a man, company and machine; of Chester Carlson's conception of xerography and his long, long struggle to find someone to develop it; of the willingness, despite grave divisions within the company, of Haloid, a small Rochester manufacturer of photography paper, to bet the farm on making the idea work; and an invention that now seems indispensable."

David Walton. *NYTBR,* Oct. 3, 2004: 35.

'This history of the Xerox machine starts with its inventor, a Caltech graduate named Chester Carlson, who in 1938 made the first xerographic reproduction—a piece of waxed paper that read '10-22-38 Astoria.' . . . Owen has a knack for explaining technical innovations in laymen's terms, and he vividly conveys the magnitude of Xerox's coup: in 1961 when a television ad showed a young girl making copies, a competitor demanded proof that she was not a midget."

The New Yorker, Aug. 23, 2004: 85.

Cassidy, Michael

African Harvest. Anne Coomes. London: Monarch, 2002. 552 pp. R179.95.

Michael Cassidy was born in Johannesburg in 1936. Forty-two years ago, he started African Enterprise with the aim of spreading the Christian gospel to all corners of Africa. Biographer Anne Coomes captivates the reader from the very beginning of this inspiring biography of a dedicated Christian who has helped to win millions over to Christ and also helped to feed many of the starving masses. At the conclusion of the book Michael states that it continues to be an overwhelming privilege in his life to be in the work of evangelism, adding: "If God has called you to preach, do not stoop to be a king."

Cyrus Smith. *Pretoria News,* July 19, 2004: 8.

Céline

Céline musicien: la vraie grandeur de sa petite musique. Michael Donley. Saint-Genouph: Nizet, 2000. EUR029.

'Michael Donley did a thesis on Céline in the 1960s, and then, largely as a result of the novelist's influence on him, he abandoned the possibility of an academic career: 'En suivant son exemple, j'ai préferé partir outre-mer' (iv). When he was around forty years old, he had another career change; he chose

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to devote himself to the study and teaching of music and religion. His *Céline musicien* marks a return to his initial interests. This brief career summary is important because it helps explain both the strengths and weaknesses of his book. . . . His *Céline musicien* is clearly the work of someone who knows Céline intimately, and has very strong views about him. Donley's ability to move easily from one text to another is indeed impressive. His analysis of Céline's 'petite musique' profits greatly from his musical training and transforms what had become a cliché about Céline's style into the basis for an often insightful commentary on one of the greatest and most controversial novelists of the twentieth century. At the same time Donley's obsession with Céline and music leads him to propose a thesis that will make more than one Céline scholar uncomfortable: 'la musique est la *matrice* qui informe et unifie toute l'œuvre de Céline' (10, emphasis his). . . . Perhaps no other study has so convincingly articulated the role of sound in Céline's writing. This is Donley's real contribution to Céline studies. . . . The problem then, is not with the information assembled, but with the author's single-minded use of it. Also troubling is his uncritical acceptance of Céline's own explanations of what he is doing."

William Cloonan. *French Review* 77.6 (May 2004): 1240-41.

Chatterton, John, and Richie Kohler

Shadow Divers: The True Adventure of Two Americans Who Risked Everything to Solve One of the Last Mysteries of World War II. Robert Kurson. New York: Random House, 2004. 375 pp. $26.95.

"'Shadow Divers' tells the story of some serious recreational divers who in the fall of 1991 discover a World War II era German U-boat in a place it isn't supposed to be, 60 miles off the coast of New Jersey, 230 feet down. The harrowing difficulties of exploring the wreck unfold along with this mystery, with the group of divers tragically narrowing—three are killed—as the submarine stubbornly refused to yield its secrets."

Mark Bowden. *NYTBR,* July 18, 2004: 7.

Chekhova, Olga

The Mystery of Olga Chekhova. Antony Beevor. New York: Viking, 2004. 320 pp. $24.95.

"Beevor soft-pedals the more salacious details of his story and presents a documentary account of the large and complicated Chekhov clan. His painstaking work clears away historical gossip and shows how ingeniously Olga played powerful figures off against each other to survive the revolution, the war, and Stalin's purges."

The New Yorker, Sept. 20, 2004: 102.

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Clinton, Hillary

Rewriting History. Dick Morris with Eileen McGrann. New York: Regan-Books/HarperCollins, 2004. 304 pp. $24.95.

"This book, graced with sharp writing but heavily dependent on reporting done by others, is an attempt to deconstruct Clinton's best-selling memoir, 'Living History.' Written with Morris's wife, Eileen McGann, it is billed as a political insider's assessment of what a Hillary White House might look like. At heart, it amounts to little more than a political hit job, proving the old adage that hell hath no fury like an advisor scorned."

Clyde Haberman. *NYTBR,* June 20, 2004: 13.

Clinton, Bill

My Life. Bill Clinton. New York: Knopf/London: Hutchinson, 2004. 957 pp. $35.00, £25.00.

"Clinton has written two books: a beguiling memoir of growing up in the South and becoming a young Arkansas politician, and a tedious account of being President. . . . [T]he memoir bounces along nicely for several hundred pages, as Clinton goes to college, serves as a junior aide for J. William Fulbright's Senate office, takes up his Rhodes Scholarship, and works towards becoming Governor of Arkansas in 1979. Indeed, if these pages had been published as a separate book, many would think that Clinton has contributed a classic of Southern political memoir. . . . It is hard to understand how the ineptness of the last 500 pages was allowed to pass to the printer. . . . Almost no chapter has a theme . . . so *My Life* degenerates into a medieval chronicle."

Michael O'Brien. *TLS,* Aug. 27, 2004: 3–4.

"Like a boomer's version of 'Pilgrim's Progress,' [Clinton's memoir] has a hero who wanders through the wilderness of the Vietnam-to-Sept. 11 world filled with earnest idealism jostling with unabashed ambition, while confronting trials that produce a conflicting mix of self-righteousness and self-awareness. Faith in psychotherapy joins with religious faith in a quest for sensitive personal insights suitable for sharing. As a result, Clinton's 957-page 'My Life' captures and conveys, in ways that are sometimes brilliant and at other times unintentional, the essence of his personality and presidency: fascinating, undisciplined, deeply intelligent, self-indulgent and filled with great promise alternatively grasped and squandered. . . . The combination of analytic and emotional intelligence that made him a great politician now makes him a compelling raconteur. . . . Back in high school, he recalls, he wrote an essay that still rings eerily accurate: 'I am a living paradox—deeply religious yet not as convinced of my exact beliefs as I ought to be, wanting responsibility yet shirking it; loving the truth but often giving way to falsity. . . . I detest selfishness , but see it in the mirror every day.' . . . His teacher gave him 100 on the essay. . . . Clinton learned how to have a public life in conflict

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with his hidden private one, how to revel in the world of secrets. . . . In his rush to meet his publication deadline, he seems to have sacrificed a more thoughtful historical analysis in favor of pouring every meeting, meal and travelogue into print."

Walter Isaacson. *WP,* July 12–18, 2004: 32–33.

Close, Chuck

Chuck Close Prints: Process and Collaboration. Terrie Sultan. Princeton: Princeton UP, 2003. 160 pp. $49.95.

"Chuck Close, the greatest postmodern pointillist printmaker, is a methodical perfectionist. Fittingly, Terrie Sultan, the director of the Blaffer Gallery, the art museum of the University of Houston, goes far deeper than the usual artist appreciation in 'Chuck Close Prints: Process and Collaboration.'"

Ted Loos. *NYTBR,* Apr. 11, 2004: 16.

Coffin, William Sloane, Jr.

William Sloane Coffin Jr.: A Holy Impatience. Warren Goldstein. New Haven: Yale UP, 2004. 379 pp. $30.00.

"Warren Goldstein has achieved the difficult task of depicting fairly a life storm-tossed by religious and political controversy. I wish he had assessed more fully the ambiguities of Coffin's religiously inspired activism. I could have done with fewer summaries of what I had already been told. But all credit to him for keeping a steady, illuminating light trained on the man, his private pain and courageous public career. Reading this book makes me ask where is Coffin's like today?"

Richard Lingeman. *NYTBR,* May 9, 2004: 16.

Columbo, Russ

You Call It Madness. Lenny Kaye. New York: Villard, 2004. 512 pp. $25.95.

"Kaye, a guitarist for Patti Smith, is evidently a Columbo fanatic; his meticulously researched text is adorned with photographs and memorabilia from his own collection. His breathless, free-associating style occasionally compromises the clarity of the story, but it lets him under the skin of a fellow-musician. In Kaye's telling, Columbo is a cautious craftsman, quietly absorbing influences from Chopin to drag acts in order to arrive at his own inimitable style."

The New Yorker, Sept. 20, 2004: 102.

Condé, Maryse

Maryse Condé: une nomade inconvenante. Madeleine Cottenet-Hage and Lydie Moudileno. Guadeloupe: Ibis Rouge, 2002. 190 pp. EURO22.

"Few creative writers have participated in academia to the extent of Maryse

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Condé. As a just tribute to this unique aspect of Condé's career, on the occasion of her retirement from Columbia University where she taught and directed the Center for French and Francophone Studies, Cottenet-Hage and Moudileno have published a varied and rich collection of personal anecdotes by colleagues and friends ('temoignages') and critical articles ('lectures') that fosters a deeper appreciation of this academic's contribution to the field of Francophone letters. As if to emphasize the equal importance Condé's career itself has placed on the creative and the academic, the editors have produced a volume that consists of two symmetrical sections—one that is poetic and lyrical in nature, the other focused on literary studies. Each of these parts contains fourteen contributions originally written in or subsequently translated into French. . . . [M]uch like the distinctiveness of the individual that this volume celebrates, this mélanges is exceptional because it also stands as a testimony to the development of French Caribbean studies in the United States. In its depth as well as its breadth, this collection conveys a hopeful vision for this relatively newly developed area of Francophone studies to which Maryse Condé has significantly contributed."

Marco D. Roman. *French Review* 77.5 (Apr. 2004): 977–78.

Coram, Thomas

Thomas Coram, Gent. 1668–1751. Gillian Wagner. London: Boydell, 2004. 218 pp. £25.00.

Coram was an English shipbuilder and trader who was also the founder of a home for abandoned children and an ardent feminist. "Wagner steers well clear of the Captain Coram of myth in her biography." She has produced an account which is rigorously unsentimental, a measured biography which does much to flesh out Thomas Coram but leaves his motivation as enigmatic as ever."

Gillian Darley. *TLS,* July 23, 2004: 25.

Cowper, Sarah

Errant Plagiary: The Life and Writing of Lady Sarah Cowper 1644–1720. Anne Kugler. Stanford: Stanford UP, 2002. 288 pp. $55.00.

Kugler makes a useful contribution with this study. . . . The analysis is lucid and engaging. . . . [T]his book will be important reading for any undergraduate and postgraduate students working on early modern gender history or history of ideas. Moreover, Kugler's engagement with the conceptual and methodological problems, at the heart of ongoing debates within women's history, ensures *Errant Plagiary* will also be of interest to other academics in the discipline."

Hannah Greig. *Albion* 35.4 (Winter 2004): 656–57.

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Dampier, William

A Pirate of Exquisite Mind: Explorer, Naturalist, and Buccaneer, The Life of William Dampier. Diana Preston and Michael Preston. New York: Walker, 2004. 372 pp. $27.00.

"The historical and cultural context is good, on the whole, and this is a better all-round book than the last Dampier biography, Anton Gill's 'Devil's Mariner,' published in England in 1997. The Prestons reveal how Dampier bridged the freebooting era of Francis Drake and the naval expeditions of Captain Cook, 'fusing the piratical plundering and derring-do of the former with the scientific inquiry and meticulous chart and record keeping of the latter.' Their protagonist emerges as an outstanding chronicler, recording what he saw with obsessive passion (Coleridge furnished the title of this book when he praised Dampier's 'exquisite mind')."

Sara Wheeler. *NYTBR,* Apr. 18, 2004: 19.

Debs, Eugene. See **Wilson, Woodrow.**

Delay, Tom

The Hammer: Tom Delay, God, Money and the Rise of the Republican Congress. Lou Dubose and Jan Reid. New York: Public Affairs, 2004. 306 pp. $26.00.

"Dubose and Reid simply don't like the Hammer [Delay], and they are ungenerous about it. . . . This book is not a serious attempt to understand or evaluate an important figure in American politics."

John J. Miller. *NYTBR,* Oct. 10, 2004: 11.

Desnos, Robert

Robert Desnos: Surrealism and the Marvelous in Everyday Life. Katherine Conley. Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 2004. 220 pp. $50.00.

"Katherine Conley has now given [Desnos] the critical biography he deserves in English. Conley effectively reinforces Desnos' status as an oceanographer of the unconscious and as a magnificent poet who extended the range and credentials of automatic writing, and strove to take the Surrealist spirit to a broad and varied audience."

Peter Read. *TLS,* Sept. 3, 2004: 8–9.

Dick, Philip K.

I am Alive and You Are Dead: A Journey into the Mind of Philip K. Dick. Emmanuel Carrère. Trans. Timothy Bent. New York: Metropolitan/Henry Holt, 2004. 315 pp. $26.00.

"I sympathize with Carrère's insistence on the literary merit of a writer

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orking in a genre so often condescended to. Smart, sharp writing about fic-
on written in popular genres does not, contrary to the fears of cultural
atekeepers, blur the boundaries between high and low. The critical ability
make the distinction is no less valuable to science fiction or to mysteries
han it is to literary fiction. But the convoluted theorizing and tortured plan
citations of 'I am Alive and You Are Dead' illuminate neither science fic-
on nor the literary legacy of Philip K. Dick. 'I don't know whether God
xists,' Carrère writes in the book's last pages, 'but I do know that the ques-
on is not the province of a biographer.' Why not? He seems to think almost
very other kind of speculation is."

Charles Taylor. *NYTBR*, June 20, 2004: 8.

uveen, Joseph

uveen: The Story of the Most Spectacular Art Dealer of All Time. S. N. Behrman. New York: The Little Bookroom, 2004. 236 pp. $12.95.

uveen: A Life in Art. Meryle Secrest. New York: Knopf, 2004. 518 pp. $35.00.

Throughout his career, Duveen inspired stories of dealerish braggadocio. .. Diverting as they are, such tales risk reducing Duveen to a wise-cracking uffoon. An opposite danger, which Behrman does not wholly avoid either, to make Duveen an all-knowing Jeeves to rich but innocent Bertie Woost-s. In truth, the moguls mostly read his game. . . . Secrest, in her detailed nd fascinating biography . . . is more candid. . . . [She] is sensibly non-dgmental. . . . Secrest has gone deeper than Behrman into how Duveen perated. His personality rather dazzles her, as it did Behrman, but hers is ot a one-man show. Though Duveen remains the star, Secrest surrounds im with a large supporting cast."

Edmund Fawcett. *LATBR*, Sept. 19, 2004: 7.

ichmann, Adolf

ichmann: His Life and Crimes. David Cesarani. London: Heinemann, 2004. 440 pp. £20.00.

Generally, as Professor Cesarani shows in his meticulous and admirably bal-ced study not only of Eichmann's life and crimes, but of the broader idical, moral, political, and ultimately ethnographical issues that continue swirl around the case, it is the negatives that are most compelling."

David Vital. *TLS*, Aug. 20, 2004: 10.

tzRoy, Robert

tzRoy: The Remarkable Story of Darwin's Captain and the Invention of the Weather Forecast. John and Mary Gribbin. New Haven: Yale UP, 2004. 352 pp. $35.00.

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"John and Mary Gribbin, the authors of 'FitzRoy: The Remarkable Story of Darwin's Captain and the Invention of the Weather Forecast,' believe not enough attention has been paid to Robert FitzRoy, the captain of the ship carrying Charles Darwin on the voyage that inspired his theory of evolution by natural selection. The Gribbins argue that FitzRoy had the makings of another Horatio Nelson or James Cook but has been dismissed by history as Darwin's chauffeur."

Bruce Barcott. *NYTBR,* Oct. 10, 2004: 18.

Franklin, Benjamin

The Americanization of Benjamin Franklin. Gordon S. Wood. New York: Penguin, 2004. 299 pp. $25.95.

"This study is not a biography, at least not a conventional one. Wood focuses on Franklin's personal development and constructs his narrative around various turning points in the life, almost like a bildungsroman. We learn the choices Franklin made, the conflicts he had to resolve. This is the most dramatic of the recent Franklin books."

Barry Gewen. *NYTBR,* Aug. 8, 2004: 11.

Gardner, John

John Gardner. Barry Silesky. Chapel Hill: Algonquin, 2004. 222 pp. $24.95.

"Silesky overreaches when he argues that Gardner's advocacy of moral fiction turned the critical tide against metafictions such as John Barth and Robert Coover. Still, his engaging, if sometime cursory, account reminds us of this writer's enormous range."

The New Yorker, Apr. 5, 2004: 79.

Gandhi, Mahatma

Gandhi in his Time and Ours: The Global Legacy of his Ideas. David Hardiman. Pietermaritzburg: U of Natal P, 2003. 338 pp. R155.

Of the many books written about Mahatma Gandhi, this is considered to be one of the very best. It covers almost every aspect of the life of Gandhi and his influence on the world and many of its leaders. He was the creator of a radical style of politics based on a larger vision of an alternative society which believed in mutual respect, lack of exploitation, non-violence, and ecological harmony. Hardiman devotes a number of pages to Gandhi's stay in South Africa and his influence on Nelson Mandela. While the book covers a wide field and repeats well-known facts (albeit in an interesting manner), it also includes a lesser known aspect of Gandhi's views on celibacy and discusses the fact that Gandhi was himself influenced by the writings of Tolstoy.

Cyrus Smith. *Pretoria News,* June 28, 2004: 6.

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Godin, Jean

The Mapmaker's Wife: A True Tale of Love, Murder, and Survival in the Amazon. Robert Whitaker. New York: Basic, 2004. 352 pp. $25.00.

"Whitaker makes excellent use of Jean's narrative as well as of his correspondence, the journals written by four members of the expedition and testimonies gathered in 1770 by the Peruvian authorities. As he attempts to integrate these elements, it's hard to know where the book's center lies—the expedition itself? Jean's difficult decades alone? Isabel's [Jean's Wife] dangerous journey [5,000 miles down the Amazon]?—or how to adjust to the different tones in which we hear these stories. Then again, this is a far from insurmountable problem: each element of 'The Mapmaker's Wife' offers its own distinctive pleasures."

Andrea Barrett. *NYTBR,* May 23, 2004: 16.

Gorbachev, Mikhail. See **Reagan, Ronald.**

Gould, Glenn

Wondrous Strange: The Life and Art of Glenn Gould. Kevin Bazzana. New Haven: Yale UP, 2004. 528 pp. £25.00.

"There will be other books on Gould, but I doubt if there will be one that is more thorough and entertaining than this. Anyone reading Kevin Bazzana's biography will, by the end, have a much clearer picture of Canadian musical life in the twentieth century."

Angela Hewitt. *TLS,* Aug. 20, 2004: 16.

Greene, Graham

The Life of Graham Greene, Volume Three: 1955–1991. Norman Sherry. New York: Viking, 2004. 906 pp. $39.95.

"For anyone interested in Greene's life and work, this three-volume biography is incomparable; as an intellectual and political history of the 20th century it is invaluable; as a literary journey, as well as a journey across the world, it is masterly; as a source book and rogues' gallery it is fascinating. Sherry is not the stylist Leon Edel was when he wrote his five-volume life of Henry James, but this work can be compared with Edel's achievement. It is as satisfying and as exhaustive, and evokes a much more intimate and physical sense of his subject."

Paul Theroux. *NYTBR,* Oct. 17, 2004: 1, 10, 11, 23.

"Operating under the assumption that every place Greene went and every person he met is significant, Sherry has inevitably become bogged down in the most minute details. But he did discover that Greene had based a number of his characters on real people, the most important of whom, Sherry argues, was himself."

Ruth Franklin. *The New Yorker,* Oct. 4, 2004: 100–104.

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Grooms, Red

Red Grooms. Arthur C. Danto, Timothy Hyman, and Marco Livingstone. New York: Rizzoli, 2004. 240 pp. $65.00.

"This new book—with hundreds of pictures, a couple of lively essays on the art and penetrating interviews of Grooms by another artist—is the best account of his accomplishment we have had. Even his most passionate admirers may be impressed by the sheer range of his work—in wood, metal and fabric constructions ranging from toy-size to gigantic; in oil and glass, in acrylics and other chemically based new materials; in film and drama (he's a deft writer) and stage design. The creativity is almost overwhelming."

Thomas Hoving. *NYTBR,* July 11, 2004: 10.

Guthrie, Woody

Ramblin' Man: The Life and Times of Woody Guthrie. Ed Cray. New York: Norton, 2004. 488 pp. $29.95.

"Guthrie's prose was usually impulsive, sometimes affected and so word-drunk that it didn't necessarily connect up very well. But in the well-organized context Cray provides, it makes sense as further proof of a genius who meant to poke holes in the façade of received culture, and succeeded better than the genius in question was lucky enough to see."

Robert Christgau. *NYTBR,* Apr. 11, 2004: 21.

"He [Guthrie] functions as the embodiment of gritty American authenticity, the plainspoken voice of a romanticized heartland. . . . Guthrie was never really so authentic, as Ed Cray shows in 'Ramblin' Man' . . . a work of tempered debunking that is the first notable biography since Joe Klein's 'Woody Guthrie: A Life,' which started unravelling the lore in 1980."

David Hajdu. *The New Yorker,* Mar. 29, 2004: 92.

Hamilton, Alexander

Alexander Hamilton. Ron Chernow. New York: Penguin, 2004. 818 pp. $35.00.

"Other writers, like Forrest McDonald, Liah Greenfield and Karl-Friedrich Walling, have done better jobs describing Hamilton's political philosophy, but nobody has captured Hamilton himself as fully and as beautifully as Chernow. . . . Hamilton, we now see, was a dark thicket: aspiring and optimistic, but also pessimistic about human nature and often depressed. He was a modern striver, but also an archaic man with a deeply self-destructive lust for aristocratic honor. He was devoted to his heroic wife, but he was uncontrollable at times, and easily manipulated by his incomprehensibly stupid mistress, Maria Reynolds."

David Brooks. *NYTBR,* Apr. 25, 2004: 8.

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Harlan, Josiah

The Man Who Would Be King: The First American in Afghanistan. Ben Macintyre. New York: Farrar, Straus, & Giroux, 2004. 351 pp. $25.00.

Macintyre's riveting, scrupulously researched book should place this remarkable man where he rightfully belongs: in the pantheon of 19th-century American folk heroes. Harlan's own journal—never published (there's a story about that too, involving a venomous hate campaign mounted in England) echoes through these pages with an authority and poetic resonance Kipling himself might have admired."

Alexander Frater. *NYTBR,* Apr. 25, 2004: 16.

In 1822, after sailing to Calcutta on a merchant ship, he [Harlan] learned that his fiancée in America had married another man. He set out on a journey that ultimately brought him to Afghanistan, with the mad hope of carving out a kingdom for himself. Amazingly, he almost succeeded. . . . Macintyre recounts Harlan's travels with dispatch, and draws on unpublished journals to let his subject's voice seep through."

The New Yorker, May 17, 2004: 99.

Hermer, Bernie. See **Mehr, Olda.**

Heywood, Stephen, and Jamie Heywood

His Brother's Keeper: A Story from the Edge of Medicine. Jonathan Weiner. New York: Ecco/HarperCollins, 2004. 356 pp. $26.95.

The main story line of Weiner's gripping book follows the efforts of this remarkable family, and especially Jamie, as they race to find a cure for Stephen. But Weiner—who won a Pulitzer Prize for his account of Darwinian evolution, 'The Beak of the Finch'—has a larger canvas in mind. He sees the Heywood saga as a cautionary tale about the promise and peril of contemporary biomedical research, when 'the power of human understanding had reached a point at which it was possible to view all of life as a project in molecular engineering, and the saving of life as nothing more than engineering and genetic carpentry.'"

Stephen S. Hall. *NYTBR,* Apr. 14, 2004: 13.

Hoffa, James. See **Sheeran, Frank.**

Howe, Julia Ward

The Public Romance and Private Agony of Julia Ward Howe. Valarie H. Ziegler. Harrisburg, PA: Trinity, 2003. 228 pp. $24.00.

Valarie H. Ziegler, who teaches religious studies at DePauw University, elucidates the complicated truths behind the Howes' 'celebratory public images'

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of a 'noble Victorian family' headed by parents devoted to each other and to public service."

Sherie Posesorski. *NYTBR*, Apr. 11, 2004: 16.

Jacobs, Harriet

Harriet Jacobs: A Life. Jean Fagan Yellin. New York: Civitas/Basic, 2004. 394 pp. $27.50.

"Yellin's biography suggests that as terrible as slavery was for women, it did not necessarily crush their spirits. Harriet Jacobs, like Anne Frank, endures as a symbol of hope and perseverance in the face of relentless persecution."

David S. Reynolds. *NYTBR*, July 11, 2004: 25.

Jackson, Helen Hunt

Helen Hunt Jackson: A Literary Life. Kate Phillips. Berkeley: U of California P, 2003. 370 pp. $34.95.

"In her excellent new biography . . . Kate Phillips goes well beyond the *Ramona* phenomenon to provide a satisfying and well-researched account of all of Jackson's life, one that restores to modern readers the prolific popular author whose writing Emily Dickinson admired and whom Ralph Waldo Emerson considered the best poet on the continent."

Donna M. Campbell. *Pacific Historical Review* 73.3 (Aug. 2004): 510–11.

Jerrold, Douglas

Douglas Jerrold, 1803–1857. Michael Slater. Dulles, VA: International, 2002. 340 pp. $35.00.

"Slater has rescued Douglas Jerrold . . . from obscurity. In this scholarly labor of love, Slater has gracefully explained in considerable detail Jerrold's mid-Victorian celebrity and the rapid decline. . . . [He] effectively paints the social texture of mid-Victorian popular journalism and the theater, and not incidentally, portrays the vagaries of life among the denizens of mid-century London's Grub Street. . . . Slater has written a very dense and rich account of a forgotten radical journalist and playwright and his era."

Peter Mellini. *Albion* 36.1 (Spring 2004): 154–56.

Joyce, Lucia

Lucia Joyce: To Dance in the Wake. Carol Loeb Shloss. London: Bloomsbury, 2004. 561 pp. £20.00.

"Shloss . . . has chosen to tell Lucia's story as that of a thwarted dancer and a silenced woman. . . . Her research is impressive. Joyce studies are the richer for her mining of the Paul Léon papers at the National Library of Ireland. . . . These have enabled Shloss to give previously unknown details of Lucia's friendships and love affairs in Paris. . . . But all this good scholarship is

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ndermined by Shloss's intemperate, polemical tone. She appears to hold e Laingian view that mental illness is a response to a harsh society's intol- ance of aberrant behavior, rather than a sadly common affliction, often herited, often striking young people in late adolescence or early adulthood. . In Shloss's view, Lucia was not schizophrenic but 'Dionysian.'"

Brenda Maddox. *TLS,* July 2, 2004: 8.

yce, William

rd Haw-Haw: The English Voice of Nazi Germany. Peter Martland. London: National Archives, 2004. 320 pp. £19.99.

rmany Calling: A Personal Biography of William Joyce, Lord Haw-Haw. Mary Kenny. Dublin: New Island, 2003. 320 pp. £17.99.

eter Martland makes use of KV [Intelligence files] material in his new, perbly produced study. With the publication of *Lord Haw-Haw,* we know ore about the politics of Joyce . . . but more veils need to be removed in der to achieve a greater understanding of his life and career." Kenny "is rticularly effective in reconstructing Joyce's early years in Ireland. . . . hroughout her narrative constantly returns to the Irish dimension of his e. . . . Kenny writes fluently on the personal tribulations that followed his pture by British troops in 1945 and on his subsequent trial and execution. his amounts to a more rounded picture than had previously existed."

Colin Holmes. *TLS,* July 16, 2004: 10.

ribbling the Cat: Travels with an African Soldier. Alexandra Fuller. New York: Penguin, 2003. 256 pp. $24.95.

is a remarkable man, well worth a book, but soon after introducing him winningly blunt narrator of 'Don't Let's Go to the Dogs Tonight' comes disingenuous. She sets up K's character as a mystery requiring an swer' and herself as so possessed by the riddle that she proposes a road trip ough land-mine-studded Mozambique in search of the origins of K's ooks.' But K could hardly be more transparent. He readily tells Fuller out his hard-luck childhood (his mother had polio), a harrowing stint at rding school (where he was raped), his episode of berserker-style rage, his htmares about the war, his failed marriage (she cheated on him with his friend), the death of his 5-year-old son from meningitis, his conversion born-again Christianity and his conviction that God killed his child to nish him for the deaths he has caused—all before they hit the road. His kest wartime secret, that he tortured a young African women into reveal- the location of an enemy ambush, Fuller hears about even before they h Mozambique."

Laura Miller. *NYTBR,* May 9, 2004: 6.

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Kennedy Family

Sons of Camelot: The Fate of an American Dynasty. Laurence Leamer. New York: William Morrow, 2004. 638 pp. $27.95.

"Leamer duly remarks how odd their experience of simply being alive in a culture that consumes them so avidly must be, but he doesn't really have the writing chops to make you feel it. The most chilling moment in 'Sons of Camelot' is one that the author, who in his capacity as a Kennedy historian is admittedly not required to know the words to rock songs, doesn't catch: John Jr. on a campus trip staying up late with a friend singing the Rolling Stones song 'Sympathy for the Devil,' one of the most memorable lyrics of which is 'I shouted out 'Who killed the Kennedys?' / When after all it was you and me.'"

Mim Udovitch. *NYTBR,* Apr. 11, 2004: 22.

Grace and Power: The Private World of the Kennedy White House. Sally Bedell Smith. New York: Random House, 2004. 608 pp. $29.95.

"Lacking a theory about how much of his life—regular or irregular—a president owes the people, this amounts to an overdose of similarly sordid tales, some of them familiar, interspersed with accounts of the brighter official occasions, which are even better known."

Judith Martin. *NYTBR,* July 25, 2004: 9.

Kerouac, Jack

Windblown World: The Journals of Jack Kerouac, 1947–1954. Ed. Douglas Brinkley. New York: Viking, 2004. 387 pp. $25.95.

"The publication of 'Windblown World,' a collection of Kerouac's early journals edited by Douglas Brinkley (a sober, well-known political historian who seems an unlikely candidate for the job), may at first strike readers as an attempt to squeeze yet more toothpaste out of Kerouac's flattened tube. Fortunately, the book is better than that. For one thing, unlike other posthumous volumes that have worn Kerouac's name, it's readable. By doing a little tinkering and splicing, which he describes in a helpful introduction, Brinkley has made the journals flow. Most important though, the entries tell a story of self-invention, perseverance and breakthrough that should help rescue Kerouac from the cultists and secure his admission to the mainstream hall of fame, where he deserves to rest."

Walter Kirn. *NYTBR,* Oct. 10, 2004: 6–7.

Kerry, John

Unfit for Command: Swift Boat Veterans Speak Out Against John Kerry. John E. O'Neil and Jerome R. Corsi. Washington, D.C.: Regnery, 2004. 216 pp. $27.95.

"Kerry has never been a particularly beloved figure in Massachusetts politics,

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nd in the presidential race he's buoyed more by hatred for Bush than by any assion for his candidacy. But the irony is that this book goes after the one iece of Kerry's history that left the politician with his greatest friends, the ifelong diehards for the cause. In its determination to wreck Kerry's candidacy, 'Unfit for Command' seems to reveal more about the authors than bout Kerry."

Susannah Meados. *NYTBR,* Oct. 10, 2004: 12.

Khuzwayo, Zazah

Never Been at Home. Zazah Khuzwayo. Claremont: David Philip, 2004. 154 pp. R140.

A thought-provoking chronicle about battery and abuse, *Never Been at Home* is a disturbing record of the down-side of patriarchal culture. Khuzwayo highlights a culture where the breaking of rules is punishable by an accepted form of battery; where women are viewed as property legitimately "bought" with *lobola* (a Zulu word meaning bride price). With classic gender stereotyping firmly entrenched in the South African psyche, African women—both rural and urban—remain disempowered by stringent mores. Khuzwayo's delivery is blunt, and her account of Zulu culture is one that we don't often have access to.

Jane Mayne. *Cape Times,* Apr. 8, 2004: 12.

That Zazah Khuzwayo—born in rural KwaZulu-Natal in the 1980s—retained sufficient sanity to write this book is testimony to her strength. She herself attributes her survival to her mother and sister whose love pulled her through. This account is full of anger. She rages not just against her abusive father (whom she describes as "a pig"), but also against Zulu tradition and the Catholic Church, for fostering patriarchal dominance and the belief that to end a marriage, however terrible, was wrong. . . . Though it is fluently written, the content makes this important autobiography difficult to read.

Jane Rosenthal. *Mail & Guardian: Friday,* Apr. 30–May 6, 2004: 2.

Kissinger, Henry

The Flawed Architect: Henry Kissinger and American Foreign Policy. Jussi Hanhimaki. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2004. 554 pp. $35.00.

Hanhimaki agrees that Kissinger was guilty of 'immoral realpolitik.' He also supports some of the standard criticisms of Kissinger's 'domineering personality' and his excessive penchant for secrecy. Kissinger's personal failings, in Hanhimaki's view, made it difficult for him to muster domestic support for his policies. Still, Hanhimaki is right to hail Kissinger, for all his flaws, as an outstanding diplomatic tactician. The skill with which he conducted complex negotiations with interlocutors ranging from Anwar el-Sadat to Zhou Enlai has seldom been equaled."

Max Boot. *NYTBR,* Sept. 26, 2004: 30.

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Kohler, Richie. See **Chatterton, John.**

Kruiper, Belinda

Kalahari Rain Song. Belinda Kruiper. Pietermaritzburg: U of KwaZulu-Natal P, 2004. 110 pp. R145.

Apartheid South Africa has provided ample evidence of the truth of Napoleon's dictum that history is written by the victors. If the majority of African people were marginalised, the Khoisan were almost pushed over the edge of historical consciousness. Now we've entered a new phase in which their remote, shadowy figures are moving into the foreground. Compelling us to question past assumptions, in *Kalahari Rain Song,* Belinda Kruiper tells us of her love for her husband, for his people, the Khomani Bushmen, and for the land they belong to. Because she is now accepted as one of them, her depiction of the Bushmen has none of the mystic gloss of a Laurens van der Post. The reality of people struggling not only for survival and for land but also for identity is far more complex, including profound spirituality on the one hand and the brute fact of drunkenness and abusive behaviour on the other. . . . It is a grippingly authentic account. Belinda Kruiper's story is only one element; in the book there are also a number of powerful photographic studies of Bushmen life, a selection of Belinda's poems, and representations of the art of her husband, Vetkat Kruiper. The whole is at once intellectually stimulating and aesthetically pleasing.

John Boje. *Pretoria News,* Aug. 9, 2004: 8.

Lansbury, George

George Lansbury: At the Heart of Old Labour. John Shepherd. New York: Oxford UP, 2002. 407 pp. $55.00.

"This is the first substantial biography of . . . Lansbury . . . since the first written by Raymond Postgate, his son-in-law. . . . [T]his biography was a labor of love. . . . Thoroughly researched, it provides a fresh review of Lansbury's career, often with fascinating new details on most aspects of his career. . . . Shepherd's book will be the standard biography of George Lansbury for a very long time. It is a splendid, very readable yet scholarly study of a major figure in early twentieth-century British political history."

Chris Wrigley. *Albion* 36.1 (Spring 2004): 179–81.

Lawes, Lewis

Miracle at Sing Sing: How One Man Transformed the Lives of America's Most Dangerous Prisoners. Ralph Blumenthal. New York: St. Martin's, 2004. 320 pp. $25.95.

"Lawes, according to Ralph Blumenthal's informative and entertaining 'Miracle at Sing Sing,' treated the inmates like human beings, capable of

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edemption. Before his reign, 'prisons had too long been viewed as giant olding pens for criminal animals. Now his Psychiatric Department of seven . . . would evaluate each man individually and decide on a course of mental nd social rehabilitation."

Charles Salzberg. *NYTBR,* July 11, 2004: 20.

incoln, Abraham

Why Lincoln Matters Today More Than Ever. Mario Cuomo. New York: Harcourt, 2004. 187 pp. $24.00.

Mario Cuomo's 'Why Lincoln Matters' is an attempt to resurrect our great-st president as a spokesman for the Democratic agenda. The heart of the ook is a chapter called 'What Would Lincoln Say?,' which, 139 years after incoln's death, attempts to divine his opinion on the issues before us today. rom George W. Bush's doctrine of preemption to federal spending on nfrastructure to the repeal of the estate tax, the 16th president, not surpris-ngly, turns out to be a fierce critic of the 43rd."

Ryan Lizza. *NYTBR,* July 18, 2004: 8.

incoln, Abraham, and Walt Whitman

incoln and Whitman: Parallel Lives in Civil War Washington. Daniel Mark Epstein. New York: Ballantine, 2004. 400 pp. $24.95.

Epstein, an accomplished poet as well as a biographer, imbues his tale of two ves with a natural sense of detail and period that revivifies the familiar fig-res he writes about."

The New Yorker, May 24, 2004: 87.

indemann, Frederick

rof: The Life and Times of Frederick Lindemann. Adrian Fort. London: Cape, 2004. 320 pp. £12.50.

indemann was a physicist and a close advisor to Winston Churchill. "*Prof* thorough and evenhanded. Fort reveals many aspects of his subject that ve been glossed over by historians; and he clarifies what Churchill found valuable in his close friendship with Lindemann. But where Fort is less ccessful is in the exploration of Lindemann's personal life: one wonders hat drove him."

Sam Schweber. *TLS,* July 2, 2004: 25.

ockhart, George

eorge Lockhart of Carnwath, 1680-1731: A Study in Jacobitism. Daniel Szechi. East Linton, UK: Tuckwell, 2002. 230 pp. $31.95.

n part one . . . Szechi seeks to provide a conventional biography. . . . This

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sets the scene for part two of the book in which Szechi discusses his subject's mind. . . . All in all there is little to criticize in this book. Szechi carefully eschews the more extreme claims made by some scholars in the field. . . . A genealogical table might have been helpful when reading chapter one, but there are few errors in the book."

Stuart Handley. *Albion* 35.4 (Winter 2004): 710–11.

Marivaux

Études sur les journaux de Marivaux. Nicolas Cronck and François Moureau. Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2002. 173 pp. EURO14.42.

This volume gathers a series of essays by English and French scholars on Marivaux. For instance, Peter France analyzes the genre of the essay according to its French (Montaigne) and English (Addison) models. Jenny Mander comments on personal writing in Marivaux's journals in relationship to Diderot's *Jacques le fataliste.* "Very interesting is François Bessire's contribution entitled 'I do not know how to write letters which deserve to be published': the letter in the *Spectateur français* and *Le Cabinet du Philosophe,*" which reflects Marivaux's philosophical and esthetical choices. Other notable contributors are Catherine Gallouet-Schutter, Frédéric Deloffre, and Aurélie Julia.

Maria Rosaria Ansalone. *Studi Francesi* May-Aug. 2003: 451.

Masekela, Hugh

Still Grazing: The Musical Journey of Hugh Masekela. Hugh Masekela and D. Michael Cheers. New York: Crown, 2004. 394 pp. R180.

Masekela's blissful nonchalance sometimes lays him open to charges of lack of context. There are several unsubstantiated claims and, sometimes, sheer myths. There are, for instance, large unsupported claims like, "Even Hitler's Nazi machinery never equalled the timely responses of the police forces to disruption, or the swiftness with which black 'lawlessness' was defused," and the claim that dead miners' bodies were used by medical researchers. Also, solecism and sheer editorial oversights abound. . . . But all of this seems mere carping in the light of his anal retentive memory (he seems to remember verbatim all conversations with Miles Davis, Marlon Brando, Don King, Nga Machema and many others), and carefree vigour and sheer cleverness. Strangely, Masekela's life—in which seeds of distrust for journalists were planted by *Drum* journalist Lewis Nkosi—is quintessentially sleazy tabloid.

Mduduzi Dlamini. *Sowetan,* Aug. 27, 2004: 23.

This must-read autobiography . . . is a bitter-sweet musical journey through the anti-apartheid system, a struggle with addiction, hardship, bewilderment, womanising and tragedy. The story, told in brutally frank style, is divided into three parts. The first is entitled "Home" and is about growing up in apartheid South Africa, prior to Masekela's going into exile in the

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1960s. In it he tells about his romantic association with "Mama Afrika," Miriam Makeba, and how he became a musician. His first trumpet was courtesy of Louis Armstrong via Masekela's mentor, the anti-apartheid campaigner, Trevor Huddlestone. In the second part, called "The World," Masekela accepts an invitation to study music at the Manhattan School of Music, rubbing shoulders with jazz greats like Dizzy Gillespie, Miles Davis, Harry Belafonte, Otis Redding and Marvin Gaye. While in exile, Masekela sank into drug and alcohol abuse. He recorded over thirty albums and later conceived the musical *Sarafina* with Mbongeni Ngema. In the third part, "Africa," Masekela kicks the addictions and then returns home.

Jimmy Matyu. *Weekend Post,* Aug. 28, 2004: 21.

Mashinini, Tsietsi

A Burning Hunger: One Family's Struggle Against Apartheid. Lynda Schuster. London: Cape, 2004. 451 pp. R275.

Tsietsi Mashinini was a student leader in the 1976 riots in South Africa. This account, written by a foreign correspondent for the *Wall Street Journal* and *Christian Science Monitor,* tells the remarkable story of black South Africa through the Mashinini family. It embraces just about every facet of the liberation struggle and makes the point that if the Mandelas were the generals in the fight for black liberation, the Mashininis were the foot soldiers. Their story is one of imprisonment, torture, separation and loss. It is also a story of dignity, courage and strength in the face of appalling adversity. Readers will also get a glimpse of Tsietsi's life in exile, and of his subsequent death from AIDS in Guinea. The book also mentions that it is painful for his parents to watch the ANC government heap honours on all manner of freedom fighters—except their son.

Ali Mphaki. *City Press,* July 11, 2004: 1.

McCarthy, Eugene

Eugene McCarthy: The Rise and Fall of Postwar American Liberalism. Dominic Sandbrook. New York: Knopf, 2004. 416 pp. $25.95.

"Sandbrook's book is distinguished by extensive research—notably, many interviews with people who knew and worked with McCarthy, including his estranged wife, Abigail (she died in 2001), along with interviews and correspondence with the subject himself."

Louis Menand. *The New Yorker,* Apr. 5, 2004: 80–83.

Mehr, Olda, and Bennie Hermer

The Piano War: A True Story of Love and Survival in World War II. Graeme Friedman. Claremont: David Philip, 2003. 287 pp. R159.

Talented young South African pianist, Olda Mehr, and the young doctor,

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Bennie Hermer, met in Johannesburg in the 1930s. Then, in 1938, Olda and her mother Ida sailed to London so that Olda could take up a music scholarship at the Royal Academy. In August 1939, on her summer break from her music studies, they went to visit relatives in eastern Europe and were caught up in Hitler's Holocaust: Olda and her mother were taken to Pawiak, Warsaw's primary terror centre. At this time, Olda took courage from the letters of the loyal Bennie, who was now a captain in the South African army fighting in North Africa. Later, Bennie was taken as POW. Amazingly, they met in Egypt and married, returning to South Africa and enjoying nearly 50 years of married life together. . . . The narration is at times a tad overblown but this does not hamper an extraordinary story.

Caroline Hurry. *The Sunday Independent,* Feb. 15, 2004: 18.

Meldrum, Andrew

Where We Have Hope: A Memoir of Zimbabwe. Andrew Meldrum. London: John Murray, 2004. 272 pp. R220.

In *Where We Have Hope,* journalist Andrew Meldrum (who was deported from Zimbabwe in 2003) gives us a fascinating and fast-moving memoir of his 23 years there, a time in which he observed the nation decline from democracy to virtual dictatorship. He is not naive, or some rightwinger. Matters such as land reform and economic equality are real issues. The question he raises is how to deal with these effectively—and here we could have done with much more analysis. . . . Despite the repression, we see a different Zimbabwe through Meldrum's eyes, one of courageous journalists and lawyers, honest political analysts, brave MPs, an opposition movement that persisted under increasing repression, and ordinary people who somehow manage to survive. It is such people who offer the hope of Meldrum's title.

Anthony Egan. *Mail & Guardian: Friday,* July 30-Aug. 5, 2004: 3.

Where We Have Hope is one of those rare books that achieves a symbiosis between personal experience and political fact and analysis. Written by America-born journalist Andrew Meldrum, part of the strength of this book is that Meldrum does not snatch the entire story for himself. The book is inhabited by the stories of his friends, colleagues and even enemies. If you want an update on what has happened in Zimbabwe since liberation, this book will provide it. I read *Where We Have Hope* in one night. It's a wonderful book that pays tribute to a country and a people.

Jennifer Crocker. *Cape Times,* July 7, 2004: 7.

Morton, Henry Vollarn

In Search of H. V. Morton. Michael Bartholomew. London: Methuen, 2004. 248 pp. £18.99.

"Few travel writers have so artfully evoked the idea of England as a rural

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Arcadia as H. V. Morton. . . . Michael Bartholomew's intriguing biography, therefore, comes as something of a revelation. Extracts from Morton's unfinished memoir and diaries show him to have been a highly complex and somewhat bigoted man, whose public image was almost entirely fictive. . . . Drawing from Morton's private papers in addition to his books, Bartholomew systematically peels back the literary façade."

Piers Moore Ede. *TLS*, July 16, 2004: 32.

Motherwell, Robert

Robert Motherwell: The Complete Prints 1940–1991. Siri Engberg and Joan Banach. Minneapolis: Walker Art Center, 2003. 432 pp. $95.00.

By the time of his death, Motherwell had created more than 500 editions, whose boldness and brio are beautifully reproduced in this, the first definitive catalogue raisonnè of his prints. Motherwell came to realize that respecting those pesky rocks was the key. 'Great lithography,' he said, 'has to do with the stoneness of stone.'"

Ted Loos. *NYTBR*, July 11, 2004: 20.

Motteville, Madame de

Les Mémoires de Madame de Motteville: du dévouement à la devotion. Mélanie Aron. Collection publications du Centre d'études des milieux littéraires, 3. Nancy: Presses Universitaires de Nancy, 2003. 229 pp. EURO26.00.

When Madame de Motteville became femme de chambre to the queen regent in 1643, she started compiling what would be published only in 1723 as the *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire d'Anne d'Autriche.* Motteville's position as Anne of Austria's devoted confidante until the latter's death in 1666 allowed her a privileged perspective on the life of the French court in a period which saw civil unrest, political instability and the eventual emergence of Louis XIV. 'Observatrice mais rarement actrice' (p. 8), Motteville remains for the most part detached from the frivolity and the machinations of the court, and this distance both colours her attitude towards court life and parallels the generally secondary role to which she relegates herself in the *Mémoires.* Melanie Aron's study provides a lucid discussion of, and introduction to, Motteville's memoirs. Aron approaches the text from a variety of different perspectives (biographical, compositional, thematic, stylistic, and so forth), but perhaps engages most successfully with the interrelated questions of literary genre and authorial perspective that take up the second of the study's three parts. . . . Accordingly, Aron's aim, she claims, is to 'dresser, au travers d'une étude littéraire des Mémoires, le portrait en diachronie d'une personnalite mysterieuse' (p. 9). Generally speaking, this is a thoughtful and worthwhile study; if on occasion it fails to carry its reader with it, the fault may well lie with its subject matter rather than its author. . . . Indeed,

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the various comparisons Aron makes between Motteville's writings and those of other memoir-writers (La Rochefoucauld, Retz, Montpensier) or moralistes (La Rochefoucauld again, La Bruyère) often give the impression that, despite her privileged perspective on the court, Motteville's general observations on it are in fact rarely particularly original. In this respect at least, Aron's portrait of the 'personnalité mystérieuse' that is Madame de Motteville turns out to be something of a disappointing demystification."

Joseph Harris. *French Studies* 58 (2004): 409.

Moulin, Jean

Jean Moulin, 1899–1943: The French Resistance and the Republic. Alan Clinton. New York: Palgrave, 2002. 273 pp. $72.00

"[This] biography of the life of Jean Moulin, the republican prefect who became a martyr of the French Resistance, begins with his upbringing in Béziers. . . . Following the successful completion of his baccalauréat and while enrolled at the Université de Montpellier, Moulin began his career in the early 20s in the office of the prefect of the department of Hérault. . . . He was to become consecutively secretary general in the Somme, prefect in the Aveyron and prefect in the Eure-et-Loir departments. . . . During the Nazi invasion in June 1940, Moulin chose to remain at his administrative post in Chartres. Confronting the invader, he was soon arrested and tortured for not complying with the directives of the occupants. Eventually released, he continued in his role as prefect, ignoring unacceptable official decrees and remaining true to his own beliefs. In November 1940 Moulin was relieved of his functions by Pétain. . . . In France he linked up with other Frenchmen who were opposed to collaboration with the enemy. Outside of France he contacted those who had refused to yield to the Vichy government. Jean Moulin met Charles de Gaulle on 25 October 1941 in London and became convinced that all resistance groups in France must throw their lot with the Free French movement. On 3 November 1941 de Gaulle designated Moulin as his personal representative in France. . . . Moulin's activities as a leader of the resistance were to stop abruptly with his capture by the Gestapo in Caluire, near Lyon, on 21 June 1943 and his subsequent torture and death at Metz at 2 a.m. on 8 July. . . . Clinton ends his biography with the examination of Moulin's changing reputation throughout the years. He notes that initially, after the tragedy of Caluire and Moulin's death, there was little effort to commemorate him as a hero. Sporadic forms of remembrance grew eventually in importance and Moulin became a cult figure as his remains were placed in the Pantheon during the twentieth-anniversary commemoration of the Liberation. In later years, the actions of his life were disputed by some with political or publicity-seeking agenda. Despite this, he continues today to receive official veneration for his individual achievements and martyrdom. . . . The book is based on documentary sources in France and England,

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including recently released archives. The author concentrates on Moulin's background and motivation, his work in the public sector and his resistance activities, which are presented within the ideological and political context of the times. The book offers English readers access to the inner workings of the French Resistance and to the maze of its major players, thus allowing for a more complete understanding of the events of World War II."

Colette G. Levin. *French Review* 77.4 (Mar. 2004): 799–800.

Musil, Robert

Robert Musil: Eine Biographie. Karl Corino. 3 vols. Hamburg: Rowholt, 2004. 2,026 pp. EURO78.

"Corino . . . has a vital, succinct, individual and frequently amusing style. . . This brilliant biography is essential reading for all those who wish to be informed about one of the leading European novelists of the twentieth century."

Philip Payne. *TLS*, Aug. 6, 2004: 9.

Namath, Joe

Namath: A Biography. Mark Kriegel. New York: Viking, 2004. 514 pp. $27.95.

"If you recognize his name but don't know why you should, 'Namath: A Biography' by former New York Daily News columnist Mark Kriegel will tell you what all the fuss was about. . . . ['Namath' is] irreverent and highly entertaining."

Allen Barra. *LATBR*, Aug. 29, 2004: 4.

Napoleon

Napoleon: His Wives and Women. Christopher Hibbert. New York: Norton, 2002. 381 pp. $27.95.

"This is a work of popular biography. . . . It is well written and lavishly illustrated, making for agreeable light reading on a journey by train or plane, but it will not appear on many academic reading lists. . . . The book's main purpose is to entertain and—like most biographies of the boudoir—to tease and titillate. . . . [I]t helps create a more rounded picture of the world in which Napoleon lived, but it is not aimed at professional historians, either."

Alan Forrest. *The Historian* 66.3 (Fall 2004): 621–22.

Newman, John Henry

John Henry Newman: The Challenge to Evangelical Religion. Frank M. Turner. New Haven: Yale UP, 2002. 740 pp. $35.00.

"Turner's chapter on Evangelicalism is certainly the strongest and most convincing part of the book. The force of even this first chapter, however, is

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weakened by a lack of nuance. . . . The major weakness in Turner's approach, however, is his marginalization, if not almost disregard, of the formative intellectual, moral, and spiritual factors in both Newman's personal religious journey and in the shaping of the history and progress of the Oxford Movement. . . . Turner has written a provocative, stimulating, and thoroughly researched, but ultimately flawed and very one-sided book. . . . Turner's study is written with verve and style, and argued with dexterity, but is clouded by a myopic misreading as to what constituted the Tractarian vision and religious integrity of the Anglican John Henry Newman."

Peter B. Nockles. *Albion* 35.4 (Winter 2004): 669–73.

O'Keefe, Georgia

Full Bloom: The Art and Life of Georgia O'Keefe. Hunter Drohojowska-Philp. New York: Norton, 2004. 630 pp. $35.00.

"Drohojowska-Philp never puts us in touch with the imaginative adventure that is the crux of an artist's life. Instead of gathering her observations about O'Keefe's paintings of flowers and deserts and darkened cities into focused discussion, she scatters brief descriptions throughout her book, so that we never move beyond a superficial survey of the work. She lacks the literary gifts that might give O'Keefe's world some color and depth, and it is a huge relief when we are presented with some lines from Christopher Isherwood's diaries about the bohemian decrepitude of Taos in the 1940's, for Isherwood can give us the low down on Mabel Dodge Luhan and the rest of the tough-as-nails old avant-gardist dames with a few rightly placed words."

Jed Perl. *NYTBR,* Sept. 26, 2004: 10–11.

Palmerston, Henry John Temple, Viscount

Palmerston. Paul L. Ziegler. New York: Palgrave, 2003. 156 pp. $69.95.

"There is a lot packed into this small book. . . . [It] provides a remarkably succinct assessment of Palmerston's contributions. . . . While based on some archival research, this study lacks the density of an H. F. C. Bell or Kenneth Bourne or the stylistic verve of a Jasper Ridley or Donald Southgate. However, it offers some new insights. . . . Also this book assumes a kind of familiarity with people and events that only specialists would have. . . . It is also a political biography, narrowly defined. . . . Despite these caveats and quibbles, this is a very good book. The concluding paragraphs of each chapter are models of cogent analysis—sensible, solid and persuasive."

David F. Krein. *Albion* 36.1 (Spring 2004): 157–58.

Palmerston: "The People's Darling." James Chambers. London: John Murray, 2004. 564 pp. £25.00.

"James Chambers' *Palmerston* is to be welcomed for bringing its subject's colourful character, and the Victorian poltical world in which it operated to

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life. Where the author fails to do Palmerston justice, however, is in delineating the political and social connections that enabled the pursuit of his career."

T. G. Offe. *TLS*, Aug. 27, 2004: 6–7.

Pankhurst, Christabel

Christabel Pankhurst: Fundamentalism and Feminism in Coalition. Timothy Larsen. Rochester: Boydell, 2002. 156 pp. $75.00.

"This is not a biographical study, but Larsen does restore a more understandable version of Christabel Pankhurst in her later incarnation [as evangelist, not suffragist]. . . . This book provides a useful analysis of the context of contemporary fundamentalism in which to situate Christabel's evangelical writings and practice. . . . Although this book gives most attention to explaining and contextualizing the years after Christabel's conversion . . . Larsen has equipped future biographers . . . to explore more sensitively the personal and political connections between her suffragist and her Adventist years."

Karen Hunt. *Albion* 36.1 (Spring 2004): 177–78.

Paul

Paul: His Story. Jerome Murphy-O'Connor. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2004. 259 pp. $21.00.

Rabbi Paul: An Intellectual Biography. Bruce Chilton. New York: Doubleday, 2004. 335 pp. $24.95.

"Both Jerome Murphy-O'Connor of the École Biblique et Archéologique Française of Jerusalem and Bruce Chilton of Bard College are old hands at Pauline scholarship. Here they offer short but meaty biographies aimed at the general reader. Murphy-O'Connor wants to emphasize the passionate side of Paul, Chilton his intellectual development. They differ in many other ways as well. In his bold reconstruction, Murphy-O'Connor, a Roman Catholic priest, has Paul born in Galilee and his parents carried off to Tarsus, where the family is eventually set free. He also guesses that Paul probably married and had children before losing his entire family in an accident. Chilton, an Episcopal priest, upholds the tradition that Paul was born in Tarsus to well-off Jews and was celibate for life. Had Paul been a Galilean, Chilton argues, he would have boasted of his common roots with Jesus's original Twelve Apostles."

Kenneth Woodward. *NYTBR*, Sept. 26, 2004: 20.

Peter the Great

Peter the Great: A Biography. Lindsey Hughes. New Haven: Yale UP, 2002. 285 pp. $29.95.

"Hughes's elegant portrait of the dynamic and troubled ruler who gave Russia

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its modern European orientation is balanced and comprehensive enough to be used as a reference work by specialists, while it is written in such a manner that it can be read and enjoyed by a general reader."

Peter C. Pozefsky. *The Historian* 66.3 (Fall 2004): 624–25.

Phelps, Elizabeth Porter

Earthbound and Heavenbent: Elizabeth Porter Phelps and Life at Forty Acres (1747–1817). Elizabeth Pendergast Carlisle. New York: Scribner, 2004. 368 pp. $26.00.

Carlisle uses Elizabeth Porter Phelps's diary as her source, and although this diary covers many decades, Carlisle must "reclaim a coherent life story from the ravages of traditional female modesty and sexist evaluations of historical evidence." Carlisle had access to letters that she was able to use to contextualize Phelps' life in Massachusetts. "This volume supplies a valuable and complex female perspective of the Revolutionary and Early National era, on women's contribution to the growing prosperity of the elite, and on the special utility for women of both Puritanism and literacy." Carlisle has created a "well-drawn account of Elizabeth Phelps' life, rewarding to specialists and nonspecialists alike" despite sometimes "fanciful evocations of an imagined symbiosis between Elizabeth and her house."

Martha Saxton. *Women's Review of Books* 21.9 (June 2004): 10.

Plaatje, Sol T.

Peaceable Warrior: The Life and Times of Sol T. Plaatje. Maureen Rall. Kimberley: Sol Plaatje Educational Trust, 2003. xvi + 314 pp. R265.

There is something inspiring, intriguing and remarkably complex about Sol Plaatje: a largely self-taught man who establishes an international reputation as a journalist, interpreter, translator, writer, politician and statesman. He speaks several languages fluently, translates Shakespeare, collects Setswana proverbs and folklore, collaborates on the first phonetic study of an African language and is a pioneer of Africa-language journalism—all this while he tirelessly defends the dwindling rights of African people in post-Union South Africa. Nevertheless, Plaatje's work remains relatively unknown beyond a small circle of dedicated scholars. . . . Maureen Rall, who worked as a curator at the Plaatje Museum in Kimberley, South Africa, attempts to provide a popular account of Plaatje's life. At times, Rall succeeds admirably in her attempts to draw Plaatje's enormous output and varied interests into the confines of a single book: for instance, we get a real sense of the people with whom Plaatje interacted in Kimberley. Unfortunately, this passion and acute sense of place and period is not apparent throughout the text and, at times, the scholarship becomes sloppy. Large chunks of the book are comprised of verbatim quotes from Brian Willan's meticulous and scholarly biography and in some

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instances, Rall's choice of editions when discussing Plaatje's work is troubling. Furthermore, Rall's text itself is in need of editing and proofreading, and several photographs are poorly reproduced. While this book does cover all the bases, it often does so in a cursory fashion and with little enthusiasm.

Peter Midgley. *H-Safrica*@h-net.msu.edu, Mar. 2004.

Pluche, Abbot

Trois introductions à l'abbé Pluche, sa vie, son monde, ses livres. Benoit de Baere. Genève: Droz, 2001. 193 pp. SWISS FR35.

The importance of Pluche (1688–1761) in France between 1730 and 1770 is shown through a study giving the details on the number of his volumes published, of the translations of his volumes, and of the critical essays on his work. However, rare are the studies devoted to Pluche today. Hence the necessity of this volume. . . . It presents Robert Estienne's *Éloge historique de Monsieur l'Abbé Pluche* (1764), in which all the information on Pluche's life is found. As Estienne probably met Pluche, this information is considered reliable enough. Estienne insisted on the writer's pedagogical gifts and his profound interest in moral questions. However, Estienne has a tendency to hide Pluche's predilection for Port-Royal and the Jansenist ideas. This predilection is an established fact since Pluche was in touch with a famous Jansenist named Nicolas Le Gros. Estienne's *Éloge* also has "the merit to report the debate on an unresolved mystery" when he "mentions some manuscripts that he may have consulted directly do not appear in his library" or anywhere else.

Paola Sosso. *Studi Francesi,* May-Aug. 2003: 451–52.

Poitier, Sydney

Sydney Poitier: Man, Actor, Icon. Aram Goudsouzian. Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 2004. 480 pp. $29.95.

His book is well researched and well enough written. But it is also profoundly irritating, grudging and persnickety about Poitier's achievements, which he judges to be insufficiently revolutionary both in the roles he played in film and in real life. It is not enough for Goudsouzian that Poitier marched with Martin Luther King Jr.; he seems to have wanted Poitier to throw some Molotov cocktails."

Richard Schickel. *NYTBR,* Apr. 25, 2004: 12.

Powell, Anthony

Anthony Powell: A Life. Michael Barber. London: Duckworth, 2004. 338 pp. £20.00.

Readers of the Powell *Journals* and *Memoirs,* and of the better-known biographies of the mid-twentieth century figures, will find very little in this book

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which is new. . . . Barber is at his best when chronicling the friendship" between Powell and Malcolm Muggeridge. "One can recommend this book as a perfectly workable compendium of the secondary sources consulted."

A. N. Wilson. *TLS*, July 9, 2004: 9.

Quilter, Roger

Roger Quilter: His Life and Music. Valerie Langfield. Rochester: Boydell, 2002. 375 pp. $70.00.

"Langfield's *Roger Quilter* . . . will certainly remain the definitive exploration of Quilter's life and music for a long time to come. Sympathetic but judicious, Langfield possesses the ideal background for a biographer of a composer whose songs form the greatest part of his oeuvre. . . . This book is beautifully researched, aptly organized, well edited, and carefully written."

Bryon Adams. *Albion* 35.4 (Winter 2004): 694–95.

Rachilde, and Maurice Barrès

Rachilde-Maurice Barrès: correspondance inédite. 1885–1914. Edition préfacée et annotée par Michael R. Finn. Brest: Centre d'étude des correspondances et journaux intimes des XIXième et XXième siècles/CNRS (UMR 6563), 2003. 197 pp. EURO15.

"At the end of 1884 two young writers met at the Parisian office of their editor, René Brissy, and discovered a strong mutual attraction that led to a passionate and wordy friendship. Rachilde was twenty-four, a complicated, pugnacious young woman who was already writing her fourth (and fifth) novels, had published numerous stories and articles, and was still enjoying the notoriety provoked by her scandalously erotic *Monsieur Vénus* (1884). At twenty-two, Barrès had published articles in his home town of Nancy while studying law, and was in the process of launching his own literary review *Les Taches d'encre*. . . . In this, the first volume of Rachilde's extensive correspondence ever to be published, Michael R. Finn sets out the 104 letters they exchanged within an explanatory framework provided by an introduction, a chronology, substantial footnotes and four appendices. . . . Despite Michael Finn's painstakingly researched and often illuminating notes, the nature of the relationship remains uncertain, for most of the letters aim more at self-display than at sincerity. . . . Whereas Barrès occasionally drops his languid tone and slips into what reads like spontaneous affection ('ma Rachilde', 'ma petite amie') or, goaded by her teasing, into anger, Rachilde remains consistently ironic, defensively paradoxical ('Mon Dieu! Comme je ne vous aime pas et comme vous étes adorable!', p. 60). . . . The letters chart an *amour de jeunesse,* and one that throws light on the emotional and intellectual development—still more on the textual self-construction—of two important literary figures."

Diana Holmes. *French Studies* 58.2 (2004): 275–76.

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Reagan, Ronald, and Mikhail Gorbachev

Reagan and Gorbachev: How the Cold War Ended. Jack F. Matlock, Jr. New York: Random House, 2004. 363 pp. $27.95.

"A veteran foreign service officer and respected expert on the Soviet Union, he [Matlock] reached the pinnacle of his career under Reagan, serving first as the White House's senior coordinator of policy toward the Soviet Union, then as ambassador to Moscow. In both the title of his memoir and the story it tells, he gives co-star billing to Mikhail Gorbachev."

Strobe Talbot. *NYTBR,* Aug. 1, 2004: 7.

Rhodes, Cecil John

Cecil Rhodes and his Time. Appolon Davidson. Pretoria: Protea Boekhuis, 2002. 324 pp. R199.95.

In this very different biography of the money magnate and imperialist, Cecil John Rhodes, Davidson studies Rhodes as both the product and personification of the greatest wealth in history. But for Rhodes, the acquisition of millions was never enough. His ideal was always to establish an "African Empire" under the British flag. . . . Davidson describes the tragic course of Rhodes' political life and his growing ill-health. Although Davidson does not give a psychoanalytic interpretation and broaches Rhodes' emotional life cautiously, he does introduce the reader to the main points regarding Rhodes' way of thinking and acting. Only those who are averse to historical biographies will be able to resist the attractions of this book.

Tienie van Schoor. *Die Burger,* Apr. 12, 2004: 7.

Robbins, Jerome

Jerome Robbins: His Life, His Theater, His Dance. Deborah Jowitt. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2004. 622 pp. $40.00.

"'Jerome Robbins' is candid yet balanced, insightful about his work and revelatory about his theater. It lays bare the tension between Robbins the person and Robbins the artist, and what his associates endured to have access to the art. . . . Jowitt approaches the major episodes of Robbins' life with a wise dispassion."

Janice Ross. *LATBR,* Aug. 8, 2004: 9.

"Jowitt, a dance critic at The Village Voice, depends too much on other critical voices and too little on her own authority. Her exhaustive text is often more a scrapbook than a probing narrative; she would have done better to go deeper beneath the surface of Robbins's professional metamorphosis and complex personal relationships than to quote other critics endlessly."

Nicholas Fox Weber. *NYTBR,* Aug. 1, 2004: 8–9.

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Rodin, Auguste

Auguste Rodin. Rainer Marie Rilke. New York: Archipelago, 2004. 128 pp. $30.00.

"Combining Daniel Slager's elegant translation from the German of Rilke's writing on Rodin with Michael Eastman's photographs of Rodin's sculptures, 'Auguste Rodin' offers a fresh look at an unlikely mentorship. Adopting the rapturous tone of a new disciple, Rilke finds in Rodin's sculpture much of his own ideal of the solitary genius."

Hugh Eakin. *NYTBR,* Aug. 1, 2004: 12.

Roosevelt, Franklin

The Fall of the House of Roosevelt: Brokers of Ideas and Power From FDR to LBJ. Michael Janeway. New York: Columbia UP, 2004. 284 pp. $27.50.

"In keeping with its scholarly subtitle, Michael Janeway dutifully navigates the ideological differences that developed among the New Dealers and the ways in which the Democratic Party later moved away from their crowd. But his book is far more interesting and original as a biographical study of what human beings will do to acquire great power and try to hold onto it—especially after their time has passed."

Michael Beschloss. *NYTBR,* Apr. 18, 2004: 17.

Roosevelt, Theodore. See **Bush, George W.**

Ross, Dennis

The Missing Peace: The Inside Story of the Fight for Middle East Peace. Dennis Ross. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2004. 840 pp. $35.00.

"As important as this work is to history, I am sorry to report that it makes little contribution to the art of story-telling. It is overly long and frequently dull. In 800-plus pages, Ross offers a landscape virtually devoid of humanity. We do not really get to know any of the leaders or any of Ross's close colleagues. What was it like to negotiate with Assad? We aren't told. Instead, we are treated to endless talk of the need for sleep and a shower."

Ethan Bronner. *NYTBR,* Aug. 8, 2004: 10.

Sand, George

George Sand et la franc-maçonnerie. Simone Vierne. Paris: Éditions Maçonniques de France, 2001. 126 pp. EURO50.11.

This volume, entitled *George Sand and Freemasonry,* examines the interest exerted by freemasonry on an author such as George Sand whose lifelong doctrine was based on liberty, equality, and fraternity. Pierre Leroux is found to be the main initiator of the Masonic idea in Sand, especially when she

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wrote "novels of initiation" such as *Consuelo* or *La comtesse de Rudolstadt* (1841–43): in the latter, for instance, the female protagonist is in search of answers about the meaning of life, death, and afterlife. Another novel, such as *Le compagnon du tour de France* in 1840, was inspired by *Le livre du compagnonnage,* written by Agricol Perdiguier in 1839. Sand "was also particularly fascinated by secret societies such as the Carbonara and the 'Compagnonnage' because they responded to a profound archetype of her imaginary world."

Annarosa Poli. *Studi Francesi,* May-Aug. 2003: 471.

Sandys, George

George Sandys: Travel, Colonialism and Tolerance in the Seventeenth Century. James Ellison. Rochester: D. S. Brewer, 2002. 286 pp. $85.00.

"This is a rich work, marred only by a few typographical errors and some repetition in the argument. Ellison . . . wrestles strenuously and on the whole successfully with important issues in early seventeenth-century history and literature. . . . [Sandys] emerges from these pages as a remarkably engaging and provocative writer, whom historians and literary critics have generally failed to appreciate adequately."

W. Brown Patterson. *Albion* 36.1 (Spring 2004): 118–20.

Satie, Eric

Strange Mr. Satie. M. T. Anderson. New York: Viking, 2004. 222 pp. $16.99.

"Anderson, the author of the novel 'Feed,' shows Satie as brutally temperamental, unable to keep friends, succeed at school or even keep his room clean. He argues with his girlfriend and throws her out the window. Nowhere, however, does Anderson relate this behavior to the nature of Satie's music, nor does he suggest what makes the music fun. Rather the text seems to echo Satie's complaint on the score of his ballet 'Relâche' ('cancelled'): 'When will people get out of the habit of explaining everything?'"

Harold Meltzer. *NYTBR,* Apr. 14, 2004: 17.

Schocken, Salman

The Patron: A Life of Salman Schocken, 1877–1959. Anthony David. New York: Metropolitan, 2003. 452 pp. $30.00.

"David's engrossing new book, 'The Patron,' is the first full-scale biography of one of the most interesting . . . figures, whose career, perhaps more clearly than anyone else's, embodies the brief moment when it was possible for a self-made German Jew to occupy a leading role at the intersection of big business, high culture and Zionism."

Michael André Bernstein. *LATBR,* Aug. 8, 2004: 4–5.

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Shakespeare, William

Will in the World: How Shakespeare Became Shakespeare. Stephen Greenblatt. New York: Norton, 2004. 430 pp. $26.95.

"'Will in the World' really comes alive when Greenblatt sets aside . . . psychological speculations and turns instead to the historical context, and specifically the Catholic connection. . . . Attempting [the] approach [of the Great Artist bio-pic genre] has led Greenblatt to surprising forms of inattention and to contradiction of principles he has himself refined. . . . To use his own terms, Shakespeare is self-fashioning rather than self-revealing. . . . The current form of biography won't let [Greenblatt] honor those qualities."

Marina Warner. *LATBR,* Sept. 26, 2004: 9.

"It is very difficult to connect any of the events of Shakespeare's personal life with his work. Greenblatt concedes that 'very little is understood about the life experiences' that caused the imaginative leaps Shakespeare made. He is ready to imagine a set of plausible triggering events, but he is not always convincing. Because Shakespeare's own marriage may have been unhappy, for example, he may as a result have not written about happy marriages. But on the other hand, unhappy marriages are by their very nature more dramatic, so the creation of exciting drama may have impelled him more than the obvious display of his conscious experience."

Colm Toibin. *NYTBR,* Oct. 3, 2004: 22–23.

Sheeran, Frank

I Hear You Paint Houses: Frank "The Irishman" Sheeran and the Inside Story of the Mafia, the Teamsters, and the Last Ride of Jimmy Hoffa. Charles Brandt. Hanover, NH: Steerforth, 2004. 293 pp. $25.00.

"'Houses' is a cut above the usual Mafia memoir. Brandt keeps the focus tightly on Sheeran and Hoffa, quick-marching the reader through Sheeran's rise from carnival gofer to klepto-trucker to union organizer to trusted assassin. The story is told mostly in Sheeran's voice, with Brandt intervening to provide chapters on Hoffa's career and the legal troubles that sent him to prison. Sheeran doesn't have the eye for detail of a Henry Hill, the oily suburban Judas whose memoir served as the basis for the movie 'Goodfellas,' but he makes up for it with cool, silencer-smooth prose."

Bryan Burrough. *NYTBR,* June 20, 2004: 5.

Shostakovich, Dimitri, and Josef Stalin

Shostakovich and Stalin. Solomon Volkov. New York: Knopf, 2004. 222 pp. $30.00.

"Volkov's story depends too often on hunches and assumptions, but he is illuminating when he places the composer in the context of other authors

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(Pasternak, Bulgakov, and Mandelstam) who attempted dialogue with Stalin and were alternately supported and persecuted by him."

The New Yorker, Mar. 29, 2004: 97.

Simenon, Georges

Sur les routes américaines avec Simenon. Michael Carly. Paris: Omnibus, 2002. 369 pp. EURO18.

"A variety of events in France in 2003 celebrated the centennial of Georges Simenon's birth, making the timing of Michel Carly's work fortuitous. Carly retraces the journey of Simenon, who resided in North America from 1945 to 1955, from Sainte-Marguerite, Québec, to Anna Maria Island, Florida, to Tucson, Arizona, Carmel, California, and then Lakeville, Connecticut. Carly, at times accompanied by Simenon's son, John, did extensive research in the U.S. over a period of five years, delving into the archives of the local press for interviews with Simenon and visiting the extant places of residence. Carly plunges the reader into the American cultural context of the period, describing the rise of the new icons of popular culture during the period (Elvis, Marilyn Monroe, James Dean, Kerouac). He depicts for French readers the exotic landscapes and ambiances that Simenon encountered, including the western coast of Florida, the deserts of the Southwest, the California coast, and the forests of New England. . . . The ten years in America were 'l'étape la plus importante' (346) of his life, as Simenon wrote to a friend following his return to Europe. Carly's work is an intriguing examination of the writer's little-known American experience, more of a biographical 'road movie' than a literary study, but an appropriate approach to Simenon."

Homer B. Sutton. *French Review* 77.5 (Apr. 2004): 994–95.

Smith, Karen

West of Then. Tara Bray Smith. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2004. 336 pp. $24.00.

"In this memoir, Smith combs the parks, rehab clinics, and red-light districts of Honolulu for her mother, examining not only Karen's descent into prostitution and heroin but also the family's genteel past on Hawaii's sugar cane plantations. Her sense of place and of history amplifies the narrative, though at times she relies too heavily on the well-worn trope of corrupted paradise."

The New Yorker, Oct. 4, 2004: 105.

Stalin, Josef

Stalin: The Court of the Red Tsar. Simon Sebag Montefiore. New York: Knopf, 2004. 785 pp. $30.00.

"I am not entirely persuaded that Stalin was either 'a super intelligent' politician or an 'intellectual.' But however one interprets the evidence Montefiore

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has so assiduously collected and vividly presented, no future biography of Stalin will be able to ignore this intimate portrait."

Richard Pipes. *NYTBR,* Apr. 18, 2004: 10.

"This haunting book gets us as close as we are likely to come to the man who believed that 'the solution to every human problem was death.'"

The New Yorker, May 31, 2004: 81.

Stendhal

Lac de Côme. Sur les traces de Stendhal. Photography by Patrizia Bellei, text by Philippe Berthier. Tournai: La Renaissance du Livre, 2002. 136 pp. EURO39.95.

"No one was better designated than Philippe Berthier, author of the best introductory book on *La Chartreuse de Parme* (Paris: Gallimard, 1995)" to handle this volume. In the 14-page introduction to *Lake Como: In the wake of Stendhal,* Berthier manages to mention all the *luoghi ameni* of the lake and the names of those who were initiated to them: Manzoni, Wordsworth, Liszt, Pasta, Rossini, Verdi, Flaubert, Taine, Henry James, Barrès, Gabriel Faure, Morand. However, Lake Como is remembered mostly because of Stendhal and his novel *The Charthouse of Parma.* This volume comes with sumptuous pictures of Griante, Villa Monastero, Vezio, Bellagio, etc. This volume is indeed a good illustration of this sentence: "To the person who had only his shirt left, Stendhal advised sell it presto in order to run to Como."

Jacques Houbert. *Studi Francesi,* Sept.-Dec. 2003: 733–34.

Stoker, Bram

From the Shadow of 'Dracula': A Life of Bram Stoker. Phil Murray. London: Cape, 2004. 340 pp. £18.99.

"Murray's specifically Irish expertise prevents the transatlantic errors that occasionally marred Barbara Belford's otherwise impressive Bram Stoker." Murray's work "is a valuable supplement to the earlier Stoker biographer, while not being well enough written to supercede it. It is critically unsophisticated, and contains a large—although in its way admirable—amount of undigested background information in its granular text."

Paul Murray. *TLS,* Sept. 3, 2004: 36.

Stuart, Mary

The True Life of Mary Stuart. John Guy. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2003. 581 pp. $28.00.

"Guy's scholarly biography, as enthralling as a detective story, provides a wider vision of Tudor history and shows with stunning clarity how the historical narrative was shaped. It shifts the focus from the murderous nobles to

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the web of deceit woven by Cecil and Walsingham, a web that not only trapped this 'ill-fated queen' but also formed the basis for all future accounts. She said her heart was her own; but her story never has been."

Gerard Kilroy. *NYTBR,* Apr. 11, 2004: 11.

Sweet, Ossian

Arc of Justice: A Saga of Race, Civil Rights, and Murder in the Jazz Age. Kevin Boyle. New York: Holt, 2004. 415 pp. $26.00.

"Kevin Boyle's 'Arc of Justice' is by far the most cogent and thorough account yet of the trial [of Ossian Sweet for shooting into a crowd of white people and killing one of the mob attacking his house] and its aftermath (another book, Phyllis Vine's 'One Man's Castle,' appeared earlier this year). One of its virtues is the way Boyle vividly recreates the energy and menace of Detroit in 1925."

John J. Miller. *NYTBR,* Sept. 12, 2004: 30.

Taft, William Howard. See **Wilson, Woodrow.**

Taine, Hippolyte

Fleur et affleurement du corps imaginaire dans le "Voyage en Italie" de Taine. A. Lavernhe-Grosset. *Revue des Sciences Humaines* 264 (2001). Yearly subscription: FR110.

Flower and the Emergence of the Imaginary Body is a study on the floral images in Taine's "Journey in Italy." According to the author of this volume, it is through these images that "the traveler's dreams and nostalgias manifest themselves in Italy." According to A. Lavernhe-Grosset, "during a journey, taking notes on what you see is useful to fill in moments of waiting. This way, the author's gaze embraces the Italian landscape from which he extracts the quintessential flower of life."

Paola Bruzzone. *Studi Francesi,* May-Aug. 2003: 478.

Thomas, Clarence

Judging Thomas: The Life and Times of Clarence Thomas. Ken Foskett. New York: William Morrow, 2004. 339 pp. $24.95.

"It is virtually impossible to read Foskett's book without concluding that Thomas's life and philosophy are a sequence of extreme reactions to terrible shaming events in his past. His pattern has been to join groups, then break with them—often as a consequence of some act of racial shaming. While attending segregated schools he reacted badly against the lighter-skinned blacks who looked down on him. He left seminary after overhearing a white student's callous comment on the shooting of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. He broke with his friends at Holy Cross's Black Students Union, who elected

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him president and then changed their minds. And his sullen silence on the court and his refusal to read newspapers have all been a lingering reaction to his confirmation hearing. One cannot help but wonder whether—had he been seated on a Supreme Court composed of extreme conservatives—he might not have emerged as the greatest liberal of our time."

Dahlia Lithwick. *NYTBR,* Sept. 5, 2004: 11.

Thomas, Dylan

Dylan Thomas: A New Life. Andrew Lycett. New York: Overlook, 2004. 434 pp. $35.00.

"Lycett's detached journalistic approach is best on the early years and in this final section, where facts can be found out and ordered into a narrative. The central failure of his oddly unliterary 'Dylan Thomas: A New Life,' as with many previous biographies, is its inability to locate the poet in the unstable mass of stories and legends."

Lindsay Duguid. *NYTBR,* July 4, 2004: 14.

"Lycett's thorough and well-written biography—rich in anecdote, if short on psychological and literary penetration—shows that Thomas's entire life was an experiment in how much he could get away with."

Adam Kirsch. *The New Yorker,* July 5, 2004: 88–92.

Turkington, Kate

Doing it with Doris. Kate Turkington. Johannesburg: Penguin, 2004. 254 pp. R95.

In this memoir, Turkington reminisces about her mother, Doris, and recounts her own life journeys. Her mother, she says, was liberated before the term was invented and always encouraged to her daughters to accept no boundaries. Both mother and daughter believed that it is never too late to have an adventure. This is a book that inspires. Her enthusiasm is catching, her storytelling has you turning the pages, and when you have finished you will want to get out there and do it!

Diane de Beer. *The Star: Tonight,* June 17, 2004: 9.

Van Buren, Martin

Martin Van Buren and the Emergence of American Popular Politics. Joel H. Silbey. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2002. 235 pp. $35.00.

"This brief biography is part of a series intended for the general reader. The text lacks documentation, and many aspects of Martin Van Buren's career are passed over lightly. . . . Although this study is much too brief for specialists . . . Silbey has been judicious in his judgments, and he has done a creditable job of placing Van Buren in his proper role as a pivotal figure in

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the establishment of the modern political system. Silbey has provided a well-written and concise analysis of his career."

C. Edward Skeen. *The Historian* 66.3 (Fall 2004): 598–99.

Van Houten, Gillian

The Way of the Leopard. Gillian van Houten. Claremont: Spearhead, 2003. 169 pp. R165.

Animal-lovers of all ages will delight in this true-life account by one-time TV newsreader and photojournalist Gillian van Houten of how she reared, and eventually reintroduced into the wild, two orphaned leopard cubs at South Africa's Mpumalanga's Londolozi game reserve. Many of the anecdotes are humorous, and the scientific and personal observations interesting, but her attempts to analyse the twins' personalities—especially through the use of astrology—seem to be a bit fanciful.

Sheila Hadden. *The Herald,* May 19, 2004: 6.

Van Wyk, Chris

Shirley, Goodness and Mercy. Chris van Wyk. Johannesburg: Picador Africa, 2004. 333 pp. R162.

Chris van Wyk was born in Soweto, South Africa, in 1957 and grew up and still lives in the poor "coloured" suburb of Riverlea, Gauteng. His award-winning poems have been published in several countries, and six years ago, he published his first novel. Van Wyk grew up in an apartheid world in which he is not only poor, but is a second-class citizen. During the struggle years, he is arrested a couple of times and once is beaten by the police. But he gets his reward: in 1994, he performs his work in front of Nelson Mandela. . . . Here and there, van Wyk has interspersed his childhood memoir with his poems, and they slip into place like a hand in a glove; they are personal, tender, pertinent. This is a wonderfully crafted childhood memoir.

Beverley Roos Muller. *Cape Argus,* July 17, 2004: 12.

If you delight in stories of childhood and growing up you will delight in *Shirley, Goodness and Mercy.* It's the tale of growing up in Johannesburg in the suburb of Riverlea. It's an amazing sense of place and time that van Wyk brings to this childhood memoir that raises it a generous cut above many other books in this genre. Van Wyk's prose is wonderfully fleshed out, without resorting to maudlin sentiment or adjectival excess. Although it has documentary value pertaining to the socio-political climate, the last thing I would want to do is reduce van Wyk's work to a stereotype of "what it was like to grow up in a coloured township in the apartheid years." The book is simply too much of a joyful celebration of life. But it is a memoir that does give general access to a reality that has not been well-documented in the past. . . . That van Wyk loves words is evident from his writing, that he remembers his

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past in a way that makes you feel like you are stepping into memories, is stamped all over his work. A lovely book, well told and beautifully executed.

Jennifer Crocker. *Cape Times,* June 11, 2004: 10.

This is a text in which self-deprecating humour and punning are let loose. Driven by an unassuming verbal dexterity in which everyday occurrences are transformed by spontaneous, anarchic wit, as if by magic, it reads like an outrageous running gag. The writer's skill in seeking out and amplifying moments from his experiences with a keen sense of the ludicrous, the absurd, the abject, and the marvellous makes it read like a risky bar-room yarn. Yet it is all pure narrative wizardry. The "magic" here is not the exotic, crypto-religious variety of the epigones of Latin American fiction. Van Wyk's magical aesthetic is grounded in everyday experience gathered among the exploited in a society blighted by prejudice. His text speaks unflinchingly of the ugly realities of life in South Africa between the late 1950s to the early 1990s, but avoids the curdled staples of South African autobiographical writing. Most strikingly, it does not fabricate a narrative nor does it invent a fictional consciousness to give a literary gloss. In mimicking memory, it accentuates a random selection of incidents and enlarges fragments to cohere marvellously by virtue of its sustained humour. This is a memoir not to miss.

Andries Oliphant. *The Sunday Independent,* June 6, 2004: 18.

Villedieu, Madame de

Madame de Villedieu: une chroniqueuse aux origines de 'La Princesse de Clèves'. Gérard Letexier. Paris: Minard, 2002. 238 pp. EURO40.

"Feminist criticism of the past decades has done much to refresh critical attitudes to French seventeenth-century women writers. In the case of *La Princesse de Clèves,* this has sometimes involved stepping past biographical uncertainties to see a necessarily sole female author as 'rewriting gender' in the person of its heroine. Mme de Villedieu criticism has also benefited from this new orientation. . . . At the outset of this study, however, Gérard Letexier contends that her literary production makes her an unconvincing feminist. However much in her life she may have failed to conform to society's norms, in her work he sees her as a traditional *moraliste,* with little evidence of a revolt against a repressive patriarchal society. Why then should we read her works? Letexier's response is two-fold. First, he stresses the intrinsic interest of Mme de Villedieu's use of historical material, viewing her as a privileged witness of love and life, politics and society, in the overpowering context of the court of Louis XIV. Second, he sees her as a literary pioneer, composing prototypes, such as the semi-autobiographical *Mémoires de la vie de Henriette-Sylvie de Molière,* that were to resurface much later in more celebrated literary works. For Letexier, as for others before, the major inheritor is *La Princesse de Clèves.* . . . Here we might wish to contest some of Letexier's

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arguments in support [of] his author's influence. It seems legitimate to speculate whether a serious trawl through the multi-volume novels of the mid-century might not throw up just as many possible 'sources' to which the author(s) of *La Princesse de Clèves* would have had access as easily as to the works of Mme de Villedieu. That said, and despite the frustrating absence of a bibliography, this book will be welcomed as an informed guide and as an engaging plea for reconsideration of the work of a serious and original woman author."

John Campbell. *French Studies* 58.2 (2004): 252.

Villon, François

François Villon in His Works: The Villain's Tale. Michael Freedman. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2000. 269 pp. EURO50.

"In his introduction, Freedman defines the peculiarities and challenges of Villon's work that make him such a fascinating and elusive poet. The chapter includes reasonable conjectures on the circumstances surrounding the composition and dissemination of Villon's work, and elucidation of the problematic relationship between Villon and his readers. . . . In 'Living on the Edge' Freeman sketches Villon's biography, based on a careful reading of legal documents and internal evidence from the poet's work, fleshing out the skeletal outline with persuasive deductive reasoning and helpfully situating certain personally revealing passages of the *Testament* within a biographical context. The following chapter, 'Paris: The City That Knows No Equal,' provides a useful overview of mid-fifteenth-century Paris, especially those aspects of the city that occur most often in Villon's poetry—its taverns, brothels, cemeteries, monasteries, the Halles, the Left Bank, the Latin Quarter—allowing the reader better to understand and appreciate the Parisian context of the *Lais* and the *Testament*. . . . Perhaps the most provocative chapter, 'Crime Does Not Pay' argues that the poetry in criminal jargon, normally thought to be directed at the 'Coquillards,' a loosely organized band of infamous criminals, was actually intended for Villon's well-educated comrades, 'clercs' like himself, and maybe even 'respectable readers,' with political influence 'who might have a hand in Villon's fate' (197). The final two chapters ('Ain't Misbehavin' and 'A Lantern in the Wind') contain observations on various elements in Villon's poetry, including the fluctuation of tone in the *Testament*, speculation about the poet's relationship with his adoptive father, Guillaume de Villon. . . . Freeman's work is refreshingly readable, an appealing blend of erudition, keen observation, sensible speculation, and wit. He skillfully situates the poetry within its biographical and historical context, providing revealing glimpses into the fifteenth-century Parisian milieu that is inextricably woven into almost every aspect of Villon's poetry. . . . This volume is a welcome contribution to Villon studies."

David A. Fein. *French Review* 77.4 (Mar. 2004): 778–79.

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Voltaire

Visages de Voltaire (18th & 19th c.). Raymond Trousson. Paris: Champion, 2001. 461 pp. EURO73.20.

In *Voltaire's Faces* Trousson offers a "vast panorama" of negative judgments on the "king Voltaire" emanating from Prince de Ligne, Isabelle de Charrière, Barruel, Madame de Stael, de La Harpe, Geoffroy, Frayssinous, Joseph de Maistre, Lamartine, Stendhal, Michelet, Delacroix, Comte, Balzac, Nerval, Louis Blanc, Barbey d'Aurevilly, the Goncourt brothers, Taine, Brunetière, Villemain, Vinet, Sainte-Beuve, Nisard, Faguet, Lanson, and even the Larousse dictionary. "In fact," remarks Trousson, "whether positive or negative, this dialogue with Voltaire is not always based on a real knowledge" of Voltaire. Voltaire seems to play the "efficient role of catalyst of passions." Stendhal's numerous comments on Voltaire, such as the "small-minded Voltaire," are used as examples. "Loved or hated, Voltaire has imposed himself on the collective consciousness with the strength of a myth to which no one has remained indifferent."

Nadia Minerva. *Studi Francesi,* May-Aug. 2003: 455.

Warhol, Andy

I'll Be Your Mirror: The Selected Andy Warhol Interviews, 1962–1987. Kenneth Goldsmith. New York: Carroll and Graf, 2004. 448 pp. $17.00.

"During his lifetime, and perhaps even today, his [fame] rested as much on his deft, witty, catch-me-if-you-can exchanges as on the spectral presence that stares out from his self-portraits. Yet, those exchanges have never been readily accessible, and Kenneth Goldsmith, a poet and radio host, had the brilliant idea of collecting and reprinting them. He seems to have envisioned a single comprehensive volume, but once he had uncovered close to 200 interviews with many more on the way, along with brief asides, one-liners, movie walk-ons and other tidbits of Warholiana, he realized he would have to curb his enthusiasm. The notoriously laconic Warhol apparently couldn't shut up. Instead Goldsmith has given us a likeable, if uneven, sampling."

Barry Gewen. *NYTBR,* Sept. 12, 2004: 16.

Washington, George

Washington's Crossing. David Hackett Fischer. New York: Oxford UP, 2003. 384 pp. $35.00.

"Fischer's thoughtful account describes how Washington, in a frantic, desperate month, turned his collection of troops into a professional force, not by emulating the Europeans but by coming up with a model that was distinctly American. The army Washington fielded had innovative artillery, moved with startling speed, and even, in one of the first recorded instances, synchronized its watches."

The New Yorker, Mar. 29, 2004: 97.

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Washington, Martha

Martha Washington: First Lady of Liberty. Helen Bryan. New York: Wiley, 2002. 417 pp. $30.00.

"Bryan . . . provides a long overdue scholarly biography of the 'First Lady.' . . . 'Martha Washington' is a quirky book. Thoughtful and entertaining, Bryan is strong on the law as well as Virginia society, culture, and genealogy. But the text is long-winded, full of digressions, contains too many factual errors, and is weak on political affairs. Other shortcomings include inadequate documentation of sources and a rigid chronological narrative format."

Stuart Leibiger. *The Historian* 66.3 (Fall 2004): 576–77.

Whitman, Walt. See **Lincoln, Abraham.**

Williams, Ted

Ted Williams: The Biography of an American Hero. Leigh Montville. New York: Doubleday, 2004. 513 pp. $26.95.

"Montville, a former sportswriter for The Boston Globe and Sport Illustrated, vacillates between being agape and being aghast as he traces the increasingly dark tale of his boyhood hero."

Alan Schwarz. *NYTBR,* May 9, 2004: 12.

Wilson, Woodrow, Theodore Roosevelt, William Howard Taft, and Eugene Debs

Wilson, Roosevelt, Taft and Debs: The Election That Changed the Country. James Chace. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2004. 323 pp. $25.95.

"Chace does quote Taft's lonely cries in the wilderness, though they are somewhat lost in the shuffle of anecdotes. Maybe the fault isn't Chace's. Hamilton and Jefferson, the supposed models for his subjects, were both smart, argumentative and capable politicians. They not only put their ideas into words, they could, given the chance, put them into effect. By contrast, one side won too easily in 1912. We, and the men now contending to play providence, still live with the consequences."

Richard Brookhiser. *NYTBR,* May 9, 2004: 10.

Wong, Anna May

Perpetually Cool: The Many Lives of Anna May Wong (1905–1961). Anthony B. Chan. Lanham, MD: Scarecrow/Roman & Littlefield, 2003. 312 pp. $45.00.

Anna May Wong: From Laundryman's Daughter to Hollywood Legend. Graham Russell Gao Hodges. New York: Palgrave, 2004. 284 pp. $27.95.

These biographies "add to the scholarship that has emerged around minority

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actors who were cast in stereotypical roles that reflected the racist majority perspectives of the time." Both biographers address Wong's erotic screen appeal. Hodges believes that Wong "deliberately created a 'Chinese persona'" that "appealed to non-Chinese audiences' fascinated notions of the 'Orient.'" On the other hand, Chan argues that Wong is a positive role model, but "he repeatedly fails to examine the provocative questions about race, culture, and environment that he raises." Johnson points out that by "leaving her ethnic community for an international career, [Wong] became marginal to it, removed from the interests and concerns of her people," and notes that both Hodges and Chan "fail to consider that [Wong] was like other independent-minded women of her generation, who grew up in the heady modern times of the early 20th century but did not fit comfortably into the norm."

Eithne Johnson. *Women's Review of Books* 21.9 (June 2004): 18.

Woodhull, Victoria

A Woman for President: The Story of Victoria Woodhull. Kathleen Krull. New York: Walker, 2004. 336 pp. $16.95.

"'A Woman for President: The Story of Victoria Woodhull' brings a fascinating character from history to schoolchildren."

Cokie Roberts. *NYTBR,* Oct. 17, 2004: 20.

COLLECTIONS, GROUP BIOGRAPHIES, LIFE WRITING THEORY, AND OTHER WORKS OF INTEREST

Absinthe Drinkers

Hideous Absinthe: A History of the Devil in a Bottle. Jad Adams. Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 2004. 304 pp. $24.95.

"Adams offers a rich historical context, cultural perspective, anecdotes and pointed observations, for instance, that for turn-of-the-century British bohemians, 'coming to terms with absinthe was as much a part of becoming an artist as finding a studio.' He finds no reason to believe, as is often claimed, that the 'green fairy' sparked the radical new art of heavy drinkers like Verlaine, Rimbaud, van Gogh, Gauguin, Wilde and Strindberg. Still, as absinthe's recent European comeback demonstrates, the promise of rare new altered states remains. This book is as titillating as it is sobering."

David Kaufman. *NYTBR,* Aug. 1, 2004: 12.

American Characters

A Terry Teachout Reader. Terry Teachout. New Haven: Yale UP, 2004. 448 pp. $35.00.

"That the 58 engaging essays in 'A Terry Teachout Reader,' on subjects

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ranging from Dawn Powell and Louis Armstrong to David Ives and Martha Graham, tell us as much about America as they do about Teachout's evolving sensibility makes the book an intellectual memoir by way of enthusiasms. His detailed snapshots of bygone cultural moments are introduced by a thoughtful history of our cultural climate over the last half-century."

Kate Bolick. *NYTBR,* Apr. 11, 2004: 16.

American Teenagers

Wonderland: A Year in the Life of an American High School. Michael Bamberger. New York: Atlantic Monthly, 2004. 256 pp. $23.00.

"The juniors and seniors of Pennsbury High—whose fortunes Bamberger traces in this account of a year in the life of a suburban Pennsylvania public school—are a familiar menagerie; jocks, grocery baggers, the odd A.V. Club geek. . . . It's unclear whether Bamberger found a campus preserved in fifties-era amber or merely ignored aspects of it that would complicate his white-bread vision. Still he succeeds in evoking the strangely obdurate innocence of a place where generations come and go but the school restrooms still smell of grapefruit disinfectant."

The New Yorker, June 7, 2004: 93.

American Writers and Artists

A Chance Meeting: Intertwined Lives of American Writers and Artists, 1854–1967. Rachel Cohen. New York: Random House/London: Cape, 2004. 363 pp. $25.00, £16.99.

"In a manner that half recalls the friezes behind Barnes & Noble coffee bars of literary notables hobnobbing in an idealized café, Cohen's innovative study examines a century of culture by describing historical encounters between such figures as Henry James, William Dean Howells, Gertrude Stein, James Baldwin, and Richard Avedon. Purists may quibble that Cohen varnishes her accounts with a layer of imaginative license, but her instincts are faultless; she gives a more intimate portrait of these people in a few pages than one sometimes gleans from entire biographies."

The New Yorker, Apr. 5, 2004: 79.

"Taken together, these engaging and generously detailed essays reveal the necessity of friendship, in all its forms and phases—the rush of infatuation, the substance of a lifelong correspondence, the bitter embers of a falling out —to the creative life."

Kate Bolick. *NYTBR,* Apr. 25, 2004: 20.

"*A Chance Meeting* . . . chronicles in thirty-six brief chapters, encounters between American writers, artists and photographers over roughly a century. . . . *A Chance Meeting* is both an exercise in the brief—very brief—biographical form and a history of modern American literature. . . . Cohen's

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willingness to step outside the boundaries of fact, to adopt the role of the unstable narrator . . . is at least in part a creative strategy for dealing with the familiarity of her material. Rather than imaginative non-fiction, it should be called fictional biography."

James Atlas. *TLS,* July 9, 2004: 8.

Antarctic Explorers

The Longest Winter: The Incredible Survival of Captain Scott's Lost Party. Katherine Lambert. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian, 2004. 236 pp. $24.95.

"[Lambert] tells the story of six members of Scott's 1910–12 Antarctic expedition who survived an extreme winter with no permanent shelter, no winter clothing and almost no provisions. As FitzRoy [the captain of Darwin's boat] was overshadowed by Darwin, so the epic story of the Northern Party (as the six men were known) was lost in the hullabaloo over Scott's doomed dash to the pole."

Bruce Barcott. *NYTBR,* Oct. 10, 2004: 6.

Autobiography and Fiction

Fictions de l'ipséité: Essai sur l'invention narrative de soi. Laurent Mattiussi. Genève: Droz, 2002. 340 pp. SWISS FR40.

In *Fictions of Ipseity: Essay on the Narrative Invention of the Self,* Laurent Mattiussi concentrates on authors of fictions or auto-fictions whose works "interrogate the secret part of ipseity while initially negating the real self," authors such as Beckett, Hesse, Kafka, Musil, and Virginia Woolf. "Mattiussi's critical work is part of a very fertile vein these days, especially in France, which studies the ambiguous and complex relationship between autobiography and fiction. Today the expert in the matter is Philippe Forest, author of essential essays on the modern writing of the self (*Le roman, le réel,* Nantes, Pleins Feux 1991; *Le roman, le je,* Nantes, Pleins Feux, 2001)".

Gabriella Bosco. *Studi Francesi,* Sept.-Dec. 2003: 776.

Biography

Paradoxes du biographique. Dominique Viart. Revue des Sciences Humaines 263. 264 pp. Yearly subscription: FR110.

This fascicule entitled *Paradoxes of the Biographic* gathers contributions (critical reflections, interviews with authors, writers' testimonies, studies of specific texts) on the status of biography, either as a genre, as autobiography, or in its relationship with fictional novels. An exhaustive introduction written by Dominique Viart treats the various meanings of the term biography. Contributors inclde Pierre Bergounioux, Gérard Titus-Carmel, Alain Buisine (author of a recent biography of Pierre Loti), Dominique Rabaté, Claude

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Louis Combet, and many others. The authors interviewed are Claude Ollier, Jean-Claude Montel, and François Bon.

Rosa Galli Pellegrini. *Studi Francesi,* May-Aug. 2003: 486–87.

Black Women in Western America

African Women Confront the West, 1600–2000. Ed. Quintard Taylor and Shirley Ann Wilson Moore. Norman: U of Oklahoma P, 2003. 352 pp. $34.95.

"In the past quarter-century, the omission of African Americans and women from significant roles in the history of the American West has been rectified by a growing stream of literature. This book links these efforts by showing the experiences of black women in the West from Spanish settlements in New Mexico to the Black Panthers. . . . The result is a convincing testimony to the point that, in every period and area of the West after 1600, black women were a significant presence."

Lawrence B. De Graaf. *Pacific Historical Review* 73.3 (Aug. 2004): 496–98.

British Bohemians

Among the Bohemians. Virginia Nicholson. New York: Morrow, 2003. 384 pp. $25.95.

"In a vibrant catalogue of anecdotes and tragicomic episodes, Nicholson pays homage to British writers who challenged convention before the Second World War. . . . Although the eccentric domestic arrangements of the Bloomsbury group are a familiar topic, she casts her net wide to include lesser known figures."

The New Yorker, Apr. 5, 2004: 79.

Conjoined Twins

One of Us: Conjoined Twins and the Future of Normal. Alice Domurat Dreger. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 2004. 208 pp. $22.95.

"Part history of medicine, part consciousness-raising freak show, this surprisingly entertaining book examines cultural reactions to conjoined twins and other anatomical anomalies. . . . Dreger sometimes strays into lit-crit goofiness—for her, conjoined twins call to mind every 'crazy-in-love' song you've ever heard—but her examples persuasively make the case that the anatomically different feel normal to themselves."

The New Yorker, Apr. 12, 2004: 85.

French Women of the Enlightenment

The Other Enlightenment: How French Women Became Modern. Carla Hesse. Princeton: Princeton UP, 2001. 233 pp. $22.95.

"Carla Hesse's *The Other Enlightenment* challenges the idea of a monolithic

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"Enlightenment" as created by the great male philosophes such as Voltaire and Rousseau. Taking as her starting point the contradiction between the notion of an "other Enlightenment" and a traditional definition of "the Enlightenment" as a universal concept, Hesse follows in the footsteps of historians such as Robert Darnton who in the 1980s transformed our understanding of the Enlightenment with his study of the "Grub Street" writers. . . . The story of women, and particularly of the women writers who are the subject of Hesse's book, is surely one of these many enlightenments, one that has been sorely neglected by historians until very recently."

Linda Lierheimer. *Journal of World History* 15.2 (June 2004): 258–61.

Gangsters and G-Men

Public Enemies: America's Greatest Crime Wave and the Birth of the F.B.I. Bryan Burrough. New York: Penguin, 2004. 592 pp. $29.95.

"'Public Enemies' is the story of these outlaws [of the 20s and 30s], of the country that produced them and of the government's panicky response. There had, of course, been criminals before 1934. What set this group apart was their cold and dreamy instinct for a sort of doomed and pulpish glamour. Call it the American pop tragic. . . . Burrough, a special correspondent for Vanity Fair and the author of 'Barbarians at the Gate,' has written a book that brims with vivid portraiture. His Dillinger is haunting, a figure out of the fiction of Richard Ford, a man of meanness and sorrow and deep rural pessimism. . . . The portrait of J. Edgar Hoover is even more compelling. Strict, dapper and devoted to the business of suppression, Hoover comes off as a borderline hysteric poignantly struggling for self-control."

Mark Costello. *NYTBR,* Aug. 1, 2004: 5.

Gay History

Strangers: Homosexual Love in the Nineteenth Century. Graham Robb. New York: Norton, 2004. 342 pp. $26.95.

"Graham Robb is neither gay nor an academic. It is perhaps these fortunate circumstances that have allowed him to view the history of homosexuality with a fresh eye. In 'Strangers,' he has produced a brilliant work of social archaeology, all the more remarkable because the truths he unearths were never buried very deep; for decades if not centuries they have been hidden in plain sight. Robb, who comes to gay history by way of his work as a biographer of Balzac, Rimbaud and Victor Hugo, is also one of those rare historians who actually feel at home in the past, who see our great grandparents not as an alien species of primitive organisms but as creatures much like ourselves: complicated, neurotic and capable of the full human range of generosity and stupidity."

Adam Goodheart. *NYTBR,* Mar. 7, 2004: 10.

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Hollywood Blacklistees

Hide in Plain Sight: The Hollywood Blacklistees in Film and Television 1950–2002. Paul Buhle and Dave Wagner. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003. 328 pp. $27.95.

"With *Hide in Plain Sight,* Paul Buhle and Dave Wagner complete their three-volume study of radical filmmaking in Hollywood. Here, as in their earlier work, the authors defend against the anticommunist charge of left-wing subversion. . . . [T]hey point to (and celebrate) the many successful ways in which the Hollywood left infused popular entertainment with left-leaning ideas. The authors begin their story at the dawn of the blacklist, but what makes *Hide in Plain Sight* truly unique is that it is the first comprehensive study on the work of the blacklistees extending through the aftermath of the McCarthy era."

John Sbardellati. *Pacific Historical Review* 73.3 (Aug. 2004): 522–23.

Immigration Prisoners

American Gulag: Inside U.S. Immigration Prisons. Mark Dow. Berkeley: U of California P, 2004. 384 pp. $27.50.

"Long before Abu Ghraib and even before September 11th, detainees in American immigration prisons were being stripped, beaten, and sexually abused. Dow has spent years interviewing inmates, guards, and officials, and he gives a jarring account of a dangerously arbitrary system."

The New Yorker, June 28, 2004: 105.

Italian Immigrants

White on Arrival: Italians, Race, Color, and Power in Chicago, 1890–1945. Thomas A. Guglielmo. New York: Oxford UP, 2003. 280 pp. $45.00.

"In its own way . . . this is a synthetic micro-study, an old fashioned/new-fangled social history of race and politics in Italian Chicago. If, in the future, all books on this general theme could be so judicious, whiteness studies would be much better insulated from charges of footloose interpretation. . . . In his final chapter and conclusion, Guglielmo finds that the space between race and color had largely been closed by the end of World War II."

Matthew Pratt Guterl. *American Quarterly* 56.2 (June 2004): 439–47.

Journalists (South Africa)

Something to Write Home About. Claude Colart and Sahm Venter. Bellvue: Jacana, 2004. 279 pp. R200.

This collection of pieces from a wide variety of journalists and correspondents focuses on telling the story of getting the story. It gives an alternative, often very personalised and sometimes indulgent view of conflict the world over. But it makes an interesting read, and you will certainly learn things that

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you didn't know before. The collection is something to dip into rather than to read in one go. The Foreword is by Archbishop Desmond Tutu. His describes the stories as "deeply moving" written by "wonderful, sensitive human beings."

Jennifer Crocker. *Cape Times,* June 8, 2004: 7.

Modern information technologies have given us almost boundless access to information, yet these same technologies mean that there is a danger of information overload; also, many can remain secure in their comfort zones and wish away the harsh realities on their screen with a mere flick of their remote control. Sometimes, images appear so unreal that the viewer feels as though this is a fiction. Then, too, the images repeat themselves day after day on different channels until the ways of the world seem both monotonous and also hopeless. Furthermore, the journalists at times seem so detached and anaesthetised to the reality around them, that one imagines them as civilised visitors to rather strange, unfamiliar, barbaric and exotic worlds. This increases the viewer's alienation from the events taking place and often serves to reinforce a notion of the "backwardness" of people in the developing world. . . . Given all of this, *Something to Write Home About* is a breath of fresh air. The journalists in writing about their experiences in working in war zones or places very different from their own do try to empathise and bring out the very real humanity of the people they meet and work with. They make meaning out of seemingly absurd situations or articulate their inability to make meaning. They capture the banality of evil that is often left out of newscasts. The stories take us around the world. All the royalities from this book go to the special funds of two of the journalists who were killed.

Lisa Combrinck. *Sowetan,* June 25, 2004: 13.

Medieval Biography

La biographie dans la littérature médiévale. Revue de Médiévistique 20. Lille: Presses Universitaires de Lille, 2002.

This review gathers contributions on biographies in Medieval Literature. Robert Baudry proposes a reading of the antecedent of Robert de Boron's work: Geoffroy de Monmouth's *Vita Merlini* (ca. 1150), and two parallel narratives: the *Madness of Suibhné* (8th/9th c.) and *Vita sancti Kentigerni* (12th c.). . . . Chantale Connochie-Bourgne concentrates on the *Lives of Philosophers* in the second redaction of the *Image of the World* (ca. 1250) which, as a *translation studii,* contains a "sort of history of scientific men since Adam." Jean Devaux deals with the 4000 verse *Life of the Black Prince* (ca. 1385), which contains biographical, autobiographical, and historical elements. To comment on the life choices left to those born as sons of warriors, Yves Ferroul uses the examples of Guillaume, Count of Bordeaux, Guilbert de Nogent, and Abélard. Marie Grossel analyzes Jacques de Vitry's "Marie

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d'Oignies's Life," a work which may be considered the first extant biography of a woman. Philippe Logié treats the relationship between myth and the themes of life and death in medieval biographies. According to Silvère Menegaldo, *The Novel* of Castelain de Couci and Lady de Fayel is a poetic biography: very similar to Provencal Vidas and Razos, it escapes strictly defined categories of genres. Nathalie Nabert deals with the last Vita written by Guignes on a bishop named Hughes of Grenoble. Finally, Michèle Vauthier focuses on ambiguities of genres (biography and hagiography) in Chrétien de Troyes's works.

Maria Colombo Timelli. *Studi Francesi,* Sept.-Dec. 2003: 679–80.

Native Americans

A Dancing People: Powwow Culture on the Southern Plains. Clyde Ellis. Lawrence: UP of Kansas, 2003. 232 pp. $29.95.

"Dance has historically been a vehicle through which Plains Indians articulated their values, ordered their societies, and perpetuated their identities. It still serves those purposes. . . . Part history, part 'collaborative ethnography,' historian Clyde Ellis's book tracks powwow's development from pre-reservation military, social and religious societies' dances; through Wild West shows; to contemporary pan-Indian gatherings in urban and rural communities across the Southern Plains. . . . The roots of the modern powwow derive from tribal dances whose purposes included establishing order and hierarchy within the community, emphasizing and validating courage, and encouraging generosity and benevolence."

Sherry L. Smith. *Pacific Historical Review* 73.3 (Aug. 2004): 508–509.

Indian Metropolis: Native Americans in Chicago, 1945–75. James B. LaGrand. Urbana: U of Illinois P, 2002. 284 pp. $34.95.

"This well-researched and informative book . . . is an important addition to the literature on the relocation era, the urban Indian experience, Indian activism, Indian pride, and the quest for Indian self-determination. Chicago and its Indian population is only the beginning point of this study as the author draws from the experience of reservation-based Indian people, urban Indian people, and Indian centers across the nation."

Troy R. Johnson. *Pacific Historical Review* 73.3 (Aug. 2004): 515–16.

Presidential Families

If Walls Could Talk: Family Life at the White House. Jane O'Connor. New York: Paula Wiseman/Simon & Schuster, 2004. 48 pp. $16.95.

"'If Walls Could Talk: Family Life at the White House' is a good introduction to the presidency for slightly younger readers. Gary Hovland's caricatures of our 43 presidents and most of their wives should appeal both to

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school children and to their parents, as should the fun facts provided by the author, Jane O'Connor. . . . On every page is a quotation from a president or first lady, often on the subject of living in the White House that Harry Truman called a 'glamorous prison.' At the end, more facts about the White House are presented in an 'Ask the Presidents' format."

Cokie Roberts. *NYTBR,* Oct. 17, 2004: 20.

Presidents

When Presidents Lie: A History of Official Deception and Its Consequences. Eric Alterman. New York: Viking, 2004. 447 pp. $27.95.

"Setting up Alterman's four case studies—Franklin Roosevelt and Yalta, John Kennedy and the Cuban missile crisis, Lyndon Johnson and the Gulf of Tonkin and Ronald Reagan and the Iran-contra scandal—is a brief exegesis, 'On Lies.' Exploring Judeo-Christian ethical, moral and spiritual ambiguities in the arena of deception, Alterman asserts that current American discourse possesses a 'degree of naiveté that becomes its own sort of dishonesty.'"

Gary Hart. *NYTBR,* Oct. 10, 2004: 25.

Outsider Women

Alone! Alone! Lives of Some Outsider Women. Rosemary Dinnage. New York: New York Review of Books, 2004. 296 pp. $24.95.

"In 'Alone! Alone!,' Rosemary Dinnage focuses 'on women who, by choice or circumstances, defiantly or sadly, stood outside the boundaries of the ordinary.' In these nuanced biographical pieces (all previously published), Dinnage adeptly characterizes the solitary essence of a wide-ranging group of women, including Katherine Mansfield, Simone Weil, Gwen John and Isak Dinesen."

Sherie Posesorski. *NYTBR,* July 11, 2004: 20.

Railroad Porters

Rising from the Rails: Pullman Porters and the Making of the Black Middle Class. Larry Tye. New York: Holt, 2004. 314 pp. $26.00.

"The porter's transformation from shuffling factotums to militant labor movement heroes is so compelling that one wants to applaud them in every way possible, but the numbers just do not add up, especially when one knows that the 12,000 porters of the 1920's constituted just a whisper more than one-tenth of 1 percent of the total black population of 10 million. In the end, Tye's anecdotal evidence, captivating as it may be, is less than sufficient to deliver fully on his subtitle's promise."

A'leilia Bundles. *NYTBR,* July 25, 2004: 15.

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Really Smart Kids

Count Down. Steve Olson. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2004. 256 pp. $24.00.

"At the Forty-second International Mathematical Olympiad, held in Virginia in 2001, nearly five hundred kids from eighty-three countries sat down to solve six math questions in the course of two days. This engaging study follows six American Olympians and investigates the nature of child genius, the role of gender differences in spatial perception. And Einstein's claims he thought wordlessly."

The New Yorker, May 17, 2004: 99.

Revolutionary Women

Founding Mothers: The Women Who Raised Our Nation. Cokie Roberts. New York: Morrow, 2004. 384 pp. $24.95.

"In 'Founding Mothers,' Cokie Roberts, the television and radio commentator, examines the mothers, sisters, wives, daughters, and lovers of America's early leaders: 'While the men were busy founding the nation, what were the women up to?' She quotes liberally from primary source material like diaries and letters. While her commentary—mainly glib quips or superfluous recapitulations—provides little insight, she creates a strong, though perhaps overstated, case that without the patriotism of women on the home front, the Colonies would have lost the Revolutionary War."

Amanda Fortini. *NYTBR,* May 9, 2004: 20.

Royal Sex

Sex with Kings: 500 Years of Adultery, Power, Rivalry, and Revenge. Eleanor Herman. New York: Morrow, 2004. 304 pp. $25.95.

"Open 'Sex With Kings' at almost any page and you'll find yourself immersed in a bawdy, deliciously appealing illicit scene occurring in the highest places. In her first book, Herman has written an enlightening social history that is great fun to read, provided you keep a chart as you go."

Carol Peace Robins. *NYTBR,* Aug. 1, 2004: 12.

Shipwrecks

Caliban's Shore: The Wreck of the Grosvenor *and the Strange Fate of Her Survivors.* Stephen Taylor. New York: Norton, 2004. 297 pp. $24.95.

"'Caliban's Shore' is a fragmentary story but a powerful one, and Taylor has diligently glued the pieces together. Like all good histories, it opens a window onto the past—in this case the exotic, pestilential and perilous world of those doughty men and women who braved the high seas more than 200 years ago."

Sara Wheeler. *NYTBR,* July 18, 2004: 6.

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South African Women

Inspirational Women at Work. Lisel Erasmus-Kritzinger. Pretoria: Lapa, 2003. 490 pp. R210.

This compilation of interviews is an empowering handbook, a groundbreaking guide to success. The author says that the women—all of whom are South Africans, representing a cross-section in terms of geography, age, cultural background, business experience and lifestyle—have in common their tenacity, caring and optimism and all are achievers who are making a difference in the lives of other women and in South Africa as a whole. The responses of the women to the interview questions remain in their own words. . . . Easy to navigate, the book is divided into sections taking you through many spheres of business. Each chapter closes with a workbook section which you can use to take yourself forward. I found particularly helpful the sections "taking it a step further" where strategic skills are identified for achievement within the discipline discussed. In addition, a list of resource books gives you more options for improvement. . . . With a foreword by Graça Machel and special messages from Oprah Winfrey, Irene Charnley, Albertina Sisulu and Yvonne Johnston, the author says that the world can learn a lot from the stories of these women.

Beryl Eichenberger. *Cape Times,* Apr. 2, 2004: 12.

Spanish Explorers

Rivers of Gold: The Rise of the Spanish Empire from Columbus to Magellan. Hugh Thomas. New York: Random House, 2004. 696 pp. $35.00.

"The people who carried out this mission [the pursuit of glory, gold, and entry into heaven] were larger-than-life figures, many of them scoundrels, many of them ruthless, most of them obsessed. The greatest strength of Thomas's book is to bring so many of them to life—so much so that one fears several swashbuckling Hollywood movies will emerge from this volume."

Paul Kennedy. *NYTBR,* July 25, 2004: 10.

Travel Writers (South Africa)

The Wind Makes Dust: Four Centuries of Travel in South Africa. Ben Maclennan. Cape Town: Tafelberg, 2003. 378 pp. R250.

Maclennan's anthology includes attractive as well as disturbing extracts and anecdotes by travellers, explorers, convicts, entrepreneurs, people of title, naturalists, missionaries and native peoples. This is not a once-off read, but rather a book to dip into selectively. Maclennan helpfully gives introductions to each author and the context in which the extract was written.

M.B. *Quarterly Bulletin of the National Library of South Africa* 56.1 (Jan.-Mar. 2004): 39–40.

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This collection of travel writings by writers who visited South Africa between 1497 and 1900 demonstrates just how insightful the accounts of ordinary travellers can appear to readers a hundred years or so later. This anthology is a valuable and readable asset for collectors of Africana, although the absence of an index is troubling.

Pieter Malan. *Rapport: Boeke,* Mar. 14, 2004: 17.

Vietnamese Children

Voices from the Camps: Vietnamese Children Seeking Asylum. James Freeman and Nguyen Dinh Huu. Seattle: U of Washington P, 2003. 235 pp. $35.00.

"James M. Freeman and Nguyen Dinh Huu provide a careful and important book to demonstrate that it is necessary to continue to focus on the Vietnamese refugee experience because it tells an important story about the global inequality between nation-states that led to the worldwide dispersion of this particular ethnic and cultural group. The authors do so by drawing our attention to unaccompanied children from Vietnam who were 'boat people' . . . and who were seeking asylum in 'transit' countries like the Philippines and Thailand in the late 1980s and early 1990s . . . with hopes of resettlement in a third country like the United States."

Hung Cam Thai. *Pacific Historical Review* 73.3 (Aug. 2004): 521–22.

Welfare Mothers

American Dream: Three Women, Ten Kids, and a Nation's Drive to End Welfare. Jason DeParle. New York: Viking, 2004. 422 pp. $25.95.

"Jason DeParle, a senior writer for The New York Times, had been reporting on inner-city life for more than a decade when 'welfare reform' took hold, and, he says, he 'inevitably . . had opinions.' Resolving to clean his 'mental slate,' DeParle sets out to explore the effects of the landmark law. The courageous and deeply disturbing result, 'American Dream,' confounds the clichés of the left as well as the right about race, poverty, class and opportunity in the early 21st century."

Anthony Walton. *NYTBR,* Sept. 26, 2004: 16.

"DeParle spent these years [after the inauguration of welfare reform] in Milwaukee, welfare reform's unofficial capital, studying the lives of three former welfare mothers: Jewell, Opal, and Angie. The narrative pans across generations of poverty—the women's grandparents sharecropped cotton—while, in the present, results vary."

The New Yorker, Sept. 13, 2004: 89.

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Women Artists of the 1920s

All Night Party: The Women of Bohemian Greenwich Village and Harlem 1913–1930. Andrea Barnet. Chapel Hill: Algonquin, 2003. 254 pp. $16.95.

"Barnet paints her subjects as pioneering feminists in revolt against established mores, though, arguably, money was as important as a spur to eccentricity; it is instructive that the collective good times came to an end with the crash of 1929."

The New Yorker, Apr. 5, 2004: 79.

"The acute personal and professional challenges they faced were more complex then Barnet lets on, requiring a more rigorously analytical history of the period to make sense of these renegade women and the brave new world in which they lived."

Laura Ciolkowski. *NYTBR,* Apr. 11, 2004: 16.

The Yankees

The Last Night of the Yankee Dynasty: The Game, the Team, and the Cost of Greatness. Buster Olney. New York: Ecco/HarperCollins, 2004. 346 pp. $26.95.

"Contrary to Olney's title, it is not clear yet that the Yankees' dynasty is over, but it most likely will end sometime in the near future, when Steinbrenner passes from the scene and the team is acquired by the same sort of faceless corporate ownership that has reduced almost all other New York teams to such boring mediocrities. This will be a shame and not only for Yankee fans."

Kevin Baler. *NYTBR,* Oct. 3, 2004: 9.

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LIFELINES

Call for Papers. "From Self to Shelf: The Artist Under Construction." 1 July 2005. Balliol College, Oxford. "From Self to Shelf" is a one day conference to investigate different national, social, political, and personal concepts of the public function, and public identity, of the artist as a figure for cultural production, construction, and interpretation. The kinds of questions we would like to address include: How is the life of an individual transformed into the life of an artist? Has the role of the artist changed in an age of mechanical and digital production? How is the identity of the artist taken up in the formation of a national tradition and a national character, and how might traditions of cultural nationalism be affected by an era of globalization? How is the importance of an artist related to the popularity or the monetary value of her work? Possible topics include the artist as critic; the artist as medium; the artist as performer; the artist as genius; the artist as prophet; the Artist as celebrity, icon, and object; the artist as character; the artist as biographer; the artist as autobiographer; the artist as revolutionary; the artist as consumer; the artist as nation; the artist as hero; the artist as commodity; the artist as fraud; the artist as God; the artist as outsider; the artist as culture-bearer; the death of the artist. The concept of the artist ranges across all forms of cultural production, and for this conference we invite papers on multi- and interdisciplinary topics dealing with a range of media, including literature, film, television, music, and comic books, to name a few. Academics, graduate students, artists, biographers, authors, curators, critics, and artists are invited to submit proposals (no more than three hundred words) for twenty minute papers to Monika Class at self2shelf@gmail.com or by post to Monika Class, Holywell Manor, Manor Road, Oxford, OX1 3UH. More information regarding the details of the day may be found on the conference website: users.ox.ac.uk/~ball1210/selftoshelf.html. **Deadline** 30 Apr. 2005.

Call for Papers. "Speaking Memory: Oral History, Oral Culture, and Italians in America. "38th annual conference of the AIHA—American Italian Historical Association. Los Angeles, California. 3–6 Nov. 2005. This meeting will provide an opportunity to highlight the culture and history of Italians in Southern California, while examining current methods of oral historical and ethnographic research as they pertain to Italians in America. Proposed themes include oral history research and Italians in America: methodologies and applications; ethnography, oral tradition, and its sites:

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academia, community, and public sector; and Italians in Southern California: local history, institutions, organizations, community life, special projects, etc. While participants may submit individual paper proposals, panel sessions are especially welcome. Possible topics include John Fante and other southern California writers; Italian folk art sites and artists (e.g., Sam Rodia and the Watts towers, Baldassare Forestieri and the Underground Gardens of Fresno); Italian Americana on display: patron saint feast days, Columbus celebrations, and heritage festivals; Folk art sensibilities in children's literature (e.g., Leo Politi, Tomie de Paola); the Italian folk music revival in the U.S. (e.g., the legacy of Alessandra Belloni and I Giullari di Piazza; the Salentine pizzica in the U.S); performing, inventing, and subverting tradition; community documentation projects; selling Italian culture in the public sector (festivals, museums, and cultural tourism); personal experience narrative and the scholar (self-referential ethnography, personal history, and reflections on the insider/outsider paradigm). To participate, send a conference registration form (including name, affiliation, contact information, a paper title, and short and long abstracts of proposal) to the Conference Chair: Luisa Del Giudice, Director, Italian Oral History Institute, P.O. Box 241553, Los Angeles, CA; luisadg@humnet.ucla.edu, www.iohi.org. **Deadline:** 1 June 2005.

Call for Papers. "'This is Living Art': Elizabeth Barrett Browning in the Twenty-first Century—A Bi-Centenary Celebration." Armstrong Browning Library, Baylor University. 3–6 Mar. 2006. To mark the bicentennial of EBB's birth, the Armstrong Browning Library will be hosting a major international conference to re-assess her life and work. Possible topics for papers include biography and legend; editing EBB's poetry and letters; politics, nationhood, and cultural critique; expatriatism, communities, and networks; Robert Browning—courtship, literary partnerships, EBB as muse; EBB and motherhood; Italy, France, Greece, America, and transatlanticism; generic innovations; literary precursors and afterlives; copyright, piracy, and forgeries; periodicals and newspapers; hero-worship; sexuality, love, and eroticism; spiritualism and mesmerism; reviews and reception history; religion—the Bible, non-conformism, paganism, Swedenborgianism; romanticism and modernism; poetic vocation and identity; translations. Abstracts should be sent to Alison Chapman, EBB Bi-Centenary Conference Organizer, Department of English Literature, University of Glasgow, Glasgow G12 8QQ, UK; A.Chapman@ englit.arts.gla.ac.uk (email submissions preferred). **Deadline:** 1 Nov. 2005.

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Call for Articles. *Storytelling, Self, Society* is a bi-annual, interdisciplinary peer-reviewed journal that publishes on a wide variety of topics related to storytelling as interpersonal, performance, or public discourse. Papers may represent disciplines including but not limited to storytelling, folklore, cultural studies, communication, English, education, library science, health care, business, peace studies, psychology, sociology, anthropology, pop culture, and theater and performance studies. Manuscripts, abstracts, references/works cited, figures, and tables must conform to either the *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association* (2001, Fifth Edition), or to the *MLA Handbook for Writers of Research Papers* (2003, Sixth Edition. Each submission should include a single-paragraph abstract of no more than 120 words on a separate page, preceding the manuscript. Submitters should indicate whether their submissions conform to MLA or APA style, and include in the letter to the Managing Editor the history of the manuscript (conference paper, dissertation, part of a larger study, etc.). By submitting to *SSS,* authors warrant that (a) they will not submit their manuscript to any other publication while the manuscript is under review with *SSS,* (b) the work is original and not previously published in any form, and (c) appropriate credit has been given to other contributors, including students, to the project. Manuscripts should be no more than twenty double-spaced pages (excluding references, tables, figures, or appendixes; 12-pt. Times New Roman, 1-inch page margins all around). Manuscripts that do not conform to the mission of the journal, or do not comply with the submission guidelines, will not be reviewed. In submitting, authors agree to assign copyright of their manuscripts, if accepted, to *SSS.* For more information, visit www.fau.edu/storytelling/journal.htm, or contact managing editor Caren S. Neile at cneile@fau.edu.

Conference Report. "Canonization of Auto/Biographies." Ninth National Conference on Auto/Biography. Peking University. 28–30 Nov. 2004. Organized by the World Auto/Biography Center; Zhou Baisheng, Convener. The aim of the symposium was to evaluate the suitability of works for teaching life writing in higher education. At present, courses in auto/biography are not extensively offered in Chinese universities, and much of the discussion focused on well-known figures in Chinese literary history, such as Xu Zhimo, Zou Zuoren, Lao She, and Wen Yiduo. Several participants, including well-known scholars Qian Liqun and Zu Yuanchong, drew on their experiences as authors in discussing the challenges involved in writing biographies. Theoretical studies addressed the relationship between biographer and biographee; genre-crossing between autobiography and self-help texts; a

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comparison of Lejeune's, Eakin's and de Man's conceptions of autobiography; the spatial dimensions of biographical writing; the interaction between feminist theories and autobiography; and multicultural perspectives embracing Arabic bio-fction, German memoirs, Indo-European self-defense literature, and ancient Chinese biographical sketches.

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Donna Krolik Hollenberg is Professor of English at the University of Connecticut at Storrs. The author or editor of three books on H.D., she has also published widely on other twentieth-century writers. Her recent publications include *HD and Poets After* (Iowa, 2000) and an essay on Denise Levertov in *Modernism/Modernity,* "'History as I desired it': Ekphrasis as Postmodern Witness in Denise Levertov's Late Poetry" (Sept. 2003).

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John M. Kopper is Chair of Comparative Literature and Professor of Russian at Dartmouth College. He has co-edited *Essays in the Art and Theory of Translation* (Edwin Mellen, 1997), and specializes in the prose of Russian modernist novelists Andrei Bely, Vladimir Nabokov, and Boris Poplavsky.

Elizabeth A. Lehfeldt is Associate Professor of History at Cleveland State University. She has published several articles and essays on gender and political sovereignty in the reign of Isabel of Castile, including "Ruling Sexuality: The Political Legitimacy of Isabel of Castile" (*Renaissance Quarterly,* Spring 2000).

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Juan Francisco Maura is Associate Professor of Spanish at the University of Vermont. His publications include *Women in the Conquest of the Americas* (Peter Lang, 1997).

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Frédéric Regard is Professor of British Literature at the Ecole Normale Supérieure de Fontenay/St. Cloud, recently relocated to Lyons, where he convened an international conference in 2002 culminating in the publication *Mapping the Self: Space, Identity, Discourse in British Auto/biography* (PU de Saint-Étienne, 2003).

David Rock is Professor of Latin American History at the University of California-Santa Barbara.

Verene A. Shepherd is Professor of Social History at the University of the West Indies-Mona. She has published widely on Caribbean Black and Indigenous history and literature, including most recently (with Hilary Beckles), *Caribbean Indigenous Societies and Slave Systems* (Cambridge UP, 2004).

Phyllis E. Wachter has helped to compile *Biography*'s annual bibliography for twenty years. She continues to teach, conduct life-writing scholarship, and work as a chaplain. Most recently, she presented "Ethel Arnold's Platonics: Homorelationality and the New Victorian Woman" as part of a special session on Romantic Friendship: Texts, Theories, Histories, at the 2004 MLA Conference in Philadelphia.

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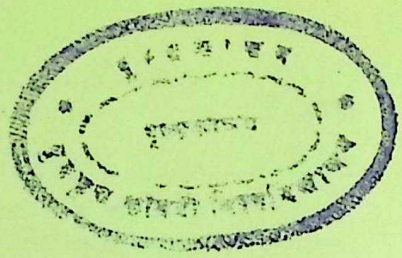

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